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Speculum Gy de Wallerwyke.

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Extra Series, LXXV.

1898.



# Speculum Gy de Warewyke

An English Poem

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

HERE FOR THE FIRST TIME PRINTED  
AND FIRST EDITED FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS

BY

GEORGIANA LEA MORRILL, A.M., PH.D.

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R. CLAY & SONS, LIMITED, LONDON & BUNGAY.

To THE MEMORY OF  
Professor Julius Zupitza  
AND TO  
Professor Eugen Kölbing  
GRATEFULLY DEDICATED



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## PREFATORY NOTE

THE following edition of the *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* is indebted for its origin to the kindness of the late Professor Julius Zupitza. The preparation of the volume was begun under Professor Zupitza's immediate direction and personal guidance and was interrupted only by his sad and unexpected death. The name Zupitza, to-day at once an inspiration and a lament, recalls a central figure in English scholarship. Whatever is of worth in these pages, should reverently and gratefully bear tribute to connection with the master student.

The text of the poem has been carefully arranged from six manuscripts on basis of the Auchinleck MS. and was printed in May 1896, an edition having been already completed in German and in English. In harmony with the suggestion of Dr. Furnivall, the work does not present a distinctively critical text, but it aims to mark fidelity to its original, and to avoid arbitrary changes by which a picturesque meaning would be lost or an interesting philological form obscured. Full material for such a text, subject to the judgment of the individual student, is offered in the decisive readings of the various manuscripts of the *Speculum* and in its critical notes. The arrangement of the Introduction needs no explanation. It will be seen that Part I contains a description of the manuscripts of the poem and a critical investigation of its texts. Part II is limited to the examination of its sources and its genesis with reference to history and literature, and particularly to the Guy of Warwick romances. Part III treats of the language, and the metrical and inflectional forms used by the poet, his dialect, and the chronology and authorship of the poem.

It is recognized, that in some decisions there is ground for other opinions than those adopted in these pages. I am aware that there are three readings of no great importance, that might contradict the pedigree of the manuscripts as it stands at present. The question is

open to the friendly opinion of the public. The peculiarly individual development of each of the texts has rendered the arrangement of the genealogical tables one of marked delicacy. Some points could have been discussed more briefly than I have judged<sup>1</sup> advisable. Others could have been treated with greater fulness. The enumeration of the Biblical sources of the various passages is not complete, but has received additional references in the explanatory notes. The chapter on inflection could have been enriched by other appropriate illustrations, the phonology with more complete comparison with other M.E. texts, and the analysis of the relationship of the various Guy of Warwick manuscripts could have been more exhaustive, but additional expansion was believed to be beyond the scope of the volume. The present edition seems to set forth the main peculiarities of the poem.

Adequate recognition will, it is trusted, be conceded the *Speculum*, not merely through reverence for antiquity and susceptibility to romance, but through an instinct for the preservation of what is in itself of individual merit. The poem, a quaint conceit of an author of the M.E. period, has an aesthetic value, preserving traces of the *naïve* vigour of pre-conquest literature, and reflecting the culture of the mediaeval poet. It is a fair example of the homily of the thirteenth century and gives testimony to the theological status of that period of English life; but, in general tendency, incorporating an episode in the career of the marvellous hero of Warwick, it links itself with the metrical romance. Its text possesses philological interest in its vocabulary through the introduction of rare words, and through its phonology as marked in its rime. The volume opens to the public for the first time manuscripts of unique interest.

I have here to thank the friends<sup>2</sup> of the *Speculum*—among them the most distinguished scholars of the day—for the unselfish interest with which this edition has been favoured. Although foreshadowed by calamity in the loss of Professor Zupitza's genial counsel, my book has matured in auspicious atmosphere through the helpfulness of Professor Kölbing. Professor Kölbing's generosity placed before me his exact and beautiful *fac simile* of one of my texts,<sup>3</sup> when

<sup>1</sup> Some allowance must be made for the difficulty of transferring this work from the German edition. Traces of German training, chiefly at the University of Berlin, must be attributed to their proper source.

<sup>2</sup> Thanks are due to the skill and patience of the printers, Messrs. Richard Clay and Sons, and particularly the kindness of Mr. Archibald of their office, for careful execution of trying work.

<sup>3</sup> This edition has been prepared from the MSS. as consulted by the editor.

access to the original was impossible. Putting aside more important work of his own, he showed me the great kindness of reading most carefully many pages of my proof, and he has aided me from the earliest beginning of my work with judicious suggestions, marking the excellence of his skilful and varied scholarship. I have also had the advantage of consultation with Mr. Donald of Gray's Inn. I am deeply indebted for clerical and other service rendered by Mr. Donald. Mention should be made of Zupitza's pupil, Professor Schick, to whom, in April 1894, the interests of my work were intrusted. Traces of Professor Schick's influence, direct and indirect, will be recognized in the Introduction and in the arrangement of the text. I share with all students of English the debt to Professor Wüllker and Professor Sievers through their noble contributions<sup>1</sup> to philological investigation, but my obligation is enhanced by the benefit of direct instruction in lecture hall. I am grateful for a few valuable words from Dr. Furnivall, Mr. Henry Bradley, and my earlier critic, Mrs. Truman J. Backus.

Gratitude is to be extended for the courtesy of the officers and attendants in the various libraries<sup>2</sup> where I have had the pleasure of study upon the *Speculum*. I wish to express my obligation to Mr. Bickley and Mr. Herbert of the British Museum, for aid in determining the age of the manuscripts and for other assistance; to Mr. Clark of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; and to the librarian of the Princeton University Library, Dr. Richardson, editor of *Liber De Viris Inlustribus*.

I am indebted to Professor J. Ulrich of the University of Zürich, who, having announced<sup>3</sup> in *Englische Studien* his intention of publishing this text from the MSS., yielded in my favour any prior claim to editorship.

GEORGIANA LEA MORRILL.

*London, May 1896.*

<sup>1</sup> The editor is indebted to the valuable works of Professor Skeat, Mr. Gollancz, and Professor Morsbach, editions of special importance to the student of this period of English literary history, and expresses thanks to Miss Edith Luther for kind interest in the *Speculum*.

<sup>2</sup> Here are to be included the *Königliche Bibliothek*, Berlin, the University Library, Cambridge, England, the Library of the Lambeth Palace, and the Astor Library and the Columbia University Library, New York City.

<sup>3</sup> In *Englische Studien*, vol. vii, p. 183.

[The editor begs to state, that a single text of the six employed in the *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* appeared in Horstmann's *Yorkshire Writers*, Vol. II, after the preparation of this edition had been completed, and after the present text had been printed. She believes it to be unnecessary to add, that, on the authority of the most eminent critics, the print of one manuscript alone without reference to the oldest and best transcript is of comparatively small value. Owing to circumstances for which neither editor nor publisher is responsible, interruption of nearly two years occurred in work upon the *Speculum*, after the edition was at press. The volume has been otherwise retarded by the author's absence in America during the printing of the book.]

## INTRODUCTION TO THE *SPECULUM*

“sothe stories ben stoken vp and straught out of mynde  
and swolowet into swym by swiftenes of yeres.

. . . olde stories of stithe, þat astate helde,  
may be solas to sum . . . . .

. . . . . þat suet after,  
to ken all the crafte, how þe case felle,  
by lokyng of letturs, þat lefte were of olde.”<sup>1</sup>

### Part E.

#### CHAPTER I.

#### THE GUY OF WARWICK SAGA AS ADAPTED TO THE *SPECULUM*.

##### § 1. *The Argument of the Main Guy Legend.*

THE history of Guy the Earl, in whom the romance and the chivalric glory of Warwick early came to the distinction of letters, has never been fully made clear. His conquests have been magnificently immortalized in verse and tale, and his exploits have become so intimately the poetical treasure<sup>2</sup> of centuries, that the immediate and objective facts of his achievement have been obliterated, and the traces of his true development have been concealed. Yet the documents preserving the incidents of his career have been scrutinized by critics so keen and so illustrious, that to say of Guy of Warwick what is unique and unexpected seems not possible. The tradition marking his romantic life is assimilated with landscape<sup>3</sup> and history in name and event, so that an impression of actual presence is firmly engendered, and to the visitor of modern Warwick Guy is invested with the same proud claim to English fatherhood that is the inheritance of that bright English gem Sidney. To doubt the

<sup>1</sup> From the *Destruction of Troy*, verses 11, 12, and 21 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The most exquisite of parchment folios preserve the history of Guy. Incrusted with gorgeous illumination, the Guy documents are in themselves a priceless treasure, as is assured by those of the Royal Library alone.

<sup>3</sup> “On a ryuere syde hys hows he hadde  
(A full holy lyff he there ladde)  
Besydes Warwyke, þat was hys,  
And Gybbe clyf clepyd ys.”—Auch. 22, v. 10,527 ff.

genuineness of Guy's adventures impresses one as involving a suggestion of insincerity. The discovery of decisive facts might add to the interest of the romance, localizing current theories in clear-cut environment, but it could not modify the sentiment emanating from Guy the hero. In publishing pseudo-Guy manuscript the *Speculum* deals with fresh material and endeavours to establish the reality of much-debated tradition, but it does not succeed in enlarging the probability of the tale. The Guy history must be regarded as an exotic from the misty shadow-land<sup>1</sup> of fairy knighthood. Guy is the Prince of Romance, brave, strong, beautiful.

In the memory of the people the main current of history was of striking importance. Influenced by the barbaric splendour of the mediæval epic, the conspicuous element in Guy's career centered in warfare. To the English folk of the thirteenth century, as no doubt to their fathers of a more remote period, Guy was known as the conqueror of giant and Saracen, the slayer of boar and dragon. He was famed for romantic connection with the estate of the hereditary Earl of Warwick, and for valiant adventure far from his birthplace. He suddenly appeared in Winchester, found England in extraordinary political condition, and restored civil authority to its earlier vigour. The English, helpless and passive under a foreign enemy, elected Guy leader and gave battle to returning adversaries. The knight single-handed commanded a British victory. Weak points of this conception of Guy were detected, and a later growth presented the legend in a new aspect in English life.

The after-glow in the tradition is the reflection of letters, not the "twilight of ancient memory." A touch of the fanciful illuminates the saga. Not the hero but the heroine becomes the central luminary. Felice, the gracious lady of knighthood, one of the earliest of mediæval women and one of the most lovely, gives character to the narrative. Guy, the subordinate figure, establishes his constancy to Felice by submission. He voluntarily accepts exile, and masks himself as ally to the oppressed. This episode marks "tragic night" for Guy and Felice, the "struggle of might and beauty" in a "world of adversity." In another sense it ushers in the dawn of modern literature<sup>2</sup> in England. These primitive germs have been circulated

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mr. Jacobs's interpretation in the introduction to *Old French Romances*.

<sup>2</sup> The history was "reprinted at the Renaissance, read under Elizabeth," and plays taken from it "supplied matter for popular *Chap Books*, written for the love of the people of merry England."—Jusserand, *A Literary History of the English People*.

under the name Guy. The early Guy poetry continued to be in favour through adaptations emanating from the original names, and ultimately the evolution of a Guy fiction proceeded in prose rather than in verse. Prose writers obtained for Guy the qualities predominant in the novel, or the elements of a genuine tragedy.

A half light of ecclesiastical feeling touches the legend. Guy, the sovereign representative of honour and chivalry, is also the obedient servant of the church. The influence of mediæval Christianity is active, prescribing penitence and penance as atonement for sin. In this influence the province of the *Speculum* is to be accorded. The poem reflects the most charming elements of the main tradition, the religious and the romantic as emanating from Felice. It turns a hallowed religious light on the storied regions of beautiful Warwickshire; it transfigures with a fine spirit of devotion any harshness attending the history of Felice; and, while seeming to encroach upon a distinctly Zupitza province,—for Zupitza's service is almost inseparable from the Guy of Warwick texts,—it exists as an independent literary product. The reader will be stimulated to analyze the relationship of the *Speculum* to the main legend from study of the argument and purpose of the poet as sketched in the following section.

## § 2. *The Motif of the Speculum.*

“See where he rides, our Knight!  
Within his eyes the light  
Of battle, and youth's gold about his brow.”

The *Speculum* presents its hero to the reader at the very point at which the attractiveness of his history culminates. Here Guy's character, a beacon shining at the opening of a national literature, would embody all that is lofty in generous purity and patriotism. In this attitude alone is he designated in the *Speculum*. All dull experiences and all tedious accessories<sup>1</sup> are banished; the *Speculum* exists only as exponent of romantic and chivalric charm. A few words summon its bright picture.

In time of Æthelstan of England a gentle lady, Felice, lived at the castle of Warwick. Guy, enraptured with this sweetest vision, fostered a hope that he might for her sake make chivalric vow of eternal fealty. He pondered in his heart how he could find deeds of greatest prowess. With devout prayer, guided by the idealized vision of his lady, Guy rode forth in dauntless courage to deed and

<sup>1</sup> See ten Brink, *Eng. Lit.*, vol. i., pp. 246, 247.

to warfare. He did not cease to seek a chance to win a royal accolade. And when the hour of battle came, the sword was drawn in brave fight, and the foe was brought to naught in manful battle. God that guideth all kept Guy in safety, and granted him victory.

The months passed on ; Guy's journey was perilous ; giants, dragons, and a Saracen host fell in his way. Still his heart did not fail. Felice was ever before him. His bed, a cold stone, was to him the soft and dewy grass. Sleet and snow were the sweet and tender winds ; heavy skies, the sunny Maytime. Guy kept faith with devout prayer, and honour came ; fair ladies courted his smile ; wealth was added to him, the lordship of distant lands, and by the will of God Guy became the most faultless hero of all the earth.

In great joyance he went to England and held bridal with Felice within the castellated walls of Warwick. Title and honour through God of grace descended to Guy, and the days passed merrily. Then it seemed that earth's blisses were complete.

Forty happy days<sup>1</sup> passed ; Guy lived joyously with Felice. Then his heart saddened : he recalled the homes darkened, the thousands sleeping in death through his aspiration for honour and for empty title. Remorse gnawed his soul. Repentance and confession alone would atone for this bloody past. Guy had never spared one minute for his soul's health. Sacrifice must compensate for dreadful slaughter. A brief parting from Felice, a farewell to castle tower and to home, and Guy again wandered forth. His robe was grey. He wore a pilgrim's garb. No glittering sword was at his side. With bent head he left home and fatherland. He would visit the sepulchre of Him who parted with life for sinful man's resurrection. Guy forsook the world and served God ever more (*Speculum*, verses 27—36). He lived all in God's law (v. 38). Meanwhile Felice at home sorrowed comfortless. She found consolation only in Divine meditation and in prayer. She daily fed the poor.

Guy in his stern zeal seeks<sup>2</sup> spiritual counsel (*Speculum*, verses 45—64). He turns to Alquin (46—48), Dean of a brotherhood, who led his life in holiness (39—42), and asks counsel to free his soul from the world's guile (52—64). Alquin in joy praises Christ (65—67), grants Guy's prayer, and as spiritual guide shows moral qualities to be discriminated (68—80). The friar-hermit teaches

<sup>1</sup> The length of the period in number of days varies in different accounts.

<sup>2</sup> The transition to the present tense occurs in these paragraphs through the deliberate purpose of the editor.

how to shun the world that “is too much with us.” He classifies the virtues and the vices upon well-known standards (81—136) and unfolds a discourse, whose theological tenets will obtain permit to heaven. The knight is directed as to the means of acquiring true wisdom through the saving grace of pain (137—198). His creed is outlined, and he is instructed through reverence to quell rebellious disobedience (199—250). Guy’s incentive to endeavour is offered in a picture of the dreadful hour of doom (250—284). Encouragement is bestowed in promises of heaven-bliss; for it is not God’s fault, if man commit sin (285—322).

Charity, love to man, is depicted as a prudential motive to the rapture of seeing the eternal God (323—346), an experience already rejoiced in by Abraham and by Moses (347—368), and by other saintly spirits (369—400). The peacefulness of a pure life is contrasted with the terrors of condemnation (401—458). The solace of hope is held forth to Guy (459—496) through the service of prayer and of reading the Holy Scriptures. When we read, God speaks with us; we speak with God, when we pray (497—510). This is followed by instruction regarding peace (511—522), a plea that Guy be merciful (523—550), and an entreaty that he bear misfortune with forgiving spirit (551—568), with patience (569—622), and in humility (623—634).

After a reference to the fall of Lucifer (635—656) and a renewed exposition of humility and compunction of heart (657—698), a vivid description of *gostli silt* (699—752) is supplemented by a petition for spiritual growth through confession (753—784). The various types of shame are classified (785—812). A *naïve* exposition of the Scriptural *wassheþ*, and *bēþ clene* (813—850) introduces an appeal for the achievement of good (851—918). The sermon to Guy concludes with an exhortation to almsgiving (919—946), with practical application through the story of the woman and her miraculous cruse of oil (947—1028), designed to inflame benevolence in the spirit of the penitent knight. Alquin invokes Christ’s blessing and calls for the succour and comfort of the Heaven Queen, the Holy Mary (1029—1034).

Guy may be depicted as again going steadfastly forward, continuing his pilgrimage. At last age creeps over the knight, and an old man<sup>1</sup> he drags his way to England. The giant Colbrand worsted, England freed, the weary pilgrim wandered to home, but not to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Vision of Sir Launfal*, II. 2, 3 ff.

friends. Alone in solitary cave in pious meditation he lived till death came, and he and Felice were again together. Their faithful spirits were united in peaceful rest.

Thus the narrative suggested by the title of the present volume is briefly outlined. The *Sperulum* opens with terse verses, conveying the purpose of the poem (1—26). A friar-hermit then instructs Guy of Warwick (68 ff.) and unfolds the discourse closely outlined in immediate connection with the introductory theme.

In presenting Guy as the subject of theological study, the poet advances an independent moral purpose. He would inculcate the doctrine of the development of power through actual experience, as based upon definite human choice.<sup>1</sup> Guy, craving immortal blessedness, touched a vital theme in the development of character. He would choose eternal life, renounce earth, and win heaven. The problem of earthly choice is the crux untouched by the strong “grasp of centuries,” for the Victorian poet<sup>2</sup> also discovers the “gracious lights” of earth only,—

“when a soul has seen  
By the means of Evil, that the Good is best.”

---

## CHAPTER II.

### TITLE AND LITERARY NOTICES OF THE POEM.

#### § I. *Study of the Title of the Poem.*

1. THE title under which the poem of the present edition appears, *Speculum Gy de Warewyke*, is extant in the MS. 525 of the Harleian collection, fol. 53. That *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* designated the text at the period of its authorship, or even that the poet ascribed title to his composition, contemporary history does not determine. Four manuscripts add nothing in proof, three being incomplete. The MS. Bibl. Reg. 17 B. XVII. confirms preference for the element *Speculum*.

*Speculum Gy de Warewyke* incorporates the exact form of the parchment, but the colophon as justified by the narrative may be

<sup>1</sup> See particularly the *Speculum*, verses 215—220.

<sup>2</sup> The mediæval poet brings to mind incidents where the soul is surprised at the judgment, as depicted in Robert Browning's *Easter Day*, sections xvi and xx. Compare v. 551 with 31—32 of the *Speculum*:

“There stood I . . .  
Choosing the world : : : : : : .”

interpreted to read *Speculum Gy[douis] de Warewyke*,<sup>1</sup> *heremite*,<sup>2</sup> secundum *Alquinum*. This modification is not necessary, as is indicated, if punctuation be inserted in the seemingly inaccurate title. *Speculum: Gy de Warewyke* presents a mediaeval aspect of the Guy doctrine; it was a received tradition, that the stalwart conqueror of Colbrand was “England’s mirror and all the world’s wonder.” Was it not his high destiny, “to hold, as ’twere, the mirror<sup>3</sup> up to Nature; to show virtue her own feature”? The exact reading of the scribe admits of varied interpretation, subject to individual speculation, whether it be rendered *Mirror to Guy* or *Mirror of Guy*, glorious “myrour” in whom to “sen al” his “socour,” or uphold for emulation a national hero as a mirror reflecting an ideal line of conduct. The *Speculum* mirrors the knight himself in his exalted religious consecration. In the idealized glorification of the poet Guy, no longer mortal, becomes *Speculum sine maculâ*:

“Thou mirror,  
In whom, as in the splendour of the sun,  
All shapes look glorious, which thou gazest on !”

That the poet availed himself of mediaeval licence, departed from the rigid application of verses 505, 506, and portrayed his warrior as example to all the world, *A cheef mirour of al the feste*,<sup>4</sup> *An exemplarie, & mirrouer*,<sup>5</sup> *Mirrouer of wit, ground of gouernaunce*,<sup>6</sup> the MS. itself assumes. Similar appearance<sup>7</sup> repeats itself in the person of the English Sidney, “glorious star” of Penshurst, in intellectual and moral characteristics also “lively pattern . . . lovely joy . . . . born into the world to show our age a sample of ancient virtue” in chivalric soldiership and princely gentlemanliness. The poetical Mirror<sup>8</sup> is explained again through the language of Langland, v. 181, CXII.; Spenser, *Shepheardes Calendar* for October, v. 93; *Henry V.*, ii. Chor. 6; *Gorboduc*, Act I. sc. 3, v. 798.

The excellence of the title in any of its interpretations is evident. Embodying characteristic features of the poem whose hero is Guy of Warwick and in harmony with a popular mediaeval phase of literature, *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* places the associated text in

<sup>1</sup> The significance of the bracket (]) uniting *Warewyke* and *heremite* seems to be purely connective, and not indicative of couplet formation; cf. Chap. III. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Mediaeval genitive equivalent to *heremita*.

<sup>3</sup> *Hamlet*, III. ii. 20. <sup>4</sup> Ch., *The Book of the Duchesse*, v. 974.

<sup>5</sup> Lyd., *Temple of Glas*, v. 294. <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 754.

<sup>7</sup> Piero della Mirandola was likewise Phenix to his age among his contemporaries.

<sup>8</sup> See *Temple of Glas* 974, with note to 294, p. 92, and Chaucer *Against Women Unconstaunt*, v. 8: *Right as a mirour nothing may empresse*.

its natural environment. The interest of the episode centres in the valiant knight Guy of Warwick, and the name *Speculum* gives to the homily-romance with which the poem is clothed, it is not to be denied, a mediæval charm. In literary worth Guy's sweet English “sarmoun” gains by association with the greater romance. It gains in historical and philological interest through the factor *Speculum*, for thus it links itself with the period of its composition. The term *Speculum* was, in the estimate of Lorentz,<sup>1</sup> applicable to Alcuin's *De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber*. Lorentz maintains, that the *Liber* was devised as a mirror, and that to the mind of Alcuin it existed as a *Speculum*, where Count Guido could see *was er zu thun und was er zu lassen habe*.<sup>2</sup> Lorentz thus paraphrases liberally the passage, *Caput V.*, lines 5 f. of Alcuin's work, underlying verses 505, 506 united with 71—74 of the present text. Paulin Paris, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 1866, Tom. IV., p. 315, refers to the *Liber* in the following words: *qu'il lui servit de miroir, où il retroit d'un coup d'œil ce qu'il auroit à faire, et ce qu'il auroit à éviter*. Yet nowhere is the *Liber* formally termed *Speculum*. But the argument of Lorentz had been anticipated by some hundreds of years, and had been practically applied to the English version addressed to Guy of Warwick. The title *Speculum* is amply supported by the subject-matter of the poem, and *Speculum*, it is believed, could not have been without worth in the sympathies of a mediæval poet.

2. In its brief literary connection the tenth poem of the Auchinleck folio has attained recognition as *Epistola Alcuini*. Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, vol. vii., p. 183, Morley, *English Writers*, vol. iii., p. 281, and Zupitza in private correspondence with the editor, have given sanction to that title. The eminent authority of so illustrious a triumvirate in letters, and the prestige of literary and printed notice, would, at momentary glance, seem to make additional search for the lost heading of the Auchinleck poem unnecessary. But *Epistola Alcuini* names Alcuin's *De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber* and other treatises<sup>3</sup> ascribed to Alcuin. The following MSS., each an *Epistola*

<sup>1</sup> Lorentz, Professor of History at the University of Halle, author of *Alcuins Leben, ein Beitrag zur Staats-Kirchen- und Culturgeschichte der Karoling. Zeit*, Halle, 1829, translated by Jane Mary Slee, *The Life of Alcuin*, and published in 1837. See p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> The exact passage, *Liber V.*, is translated as follows: “Here lies the knowledge of true blessedness; for therein, as in a mirror, man may consider himself, what he is and whither he goes,” applied by West in *Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools*, 1893, pp. 115 f.

<sup>3</sup> See *Alcuini Epistole*, ed. Jaffé-Dummler in *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, pp. 131—397.

*Alcuini*, obliterate the claims of an English poem to the title *Epistola*: Bodl. MS. *E Musaeo* 214, formerly numbered 68, fol. 51 b—fol. 68 b; Bodl. 3558.5, *Catalogus* Bernardi of the Bodleian Library; Cotton Vesp. A. XIV.; *Epistola Alcuini Levitee*, i. e. *Diuconi, qui illie in quibusdam epistolis nuncupatur Albinus cum versibus in fine*; Bibl. Reg. 5. E. IV. and Bibl. Reg. 6. A. XI. (cf. Book Index); and the *Epistola ad Ealdum*, etc. Apart from primary grounds for discarding *Epistola Alcuini*, the co-existence of numerous distinct works having legitimate claim upon that title, the form itself is not exact. It could be employed only at the cost of the testimony of the poem concerning its contemporary history. Morley's title correctly applied should read *Epistola Alquini* or *Alquyni*. Historically and on basis of the MS. *Alquyn* is the orthography demanded by a work of the period of the *Speculum*; cf. ten Br., *Ch.* § 103; Sievers, § 208; Sweet, *N.E. Gr.* § 779. The name of the Dean is in O.E. *Alhwine*, *Ealhwine*; Latin period *Alcuinus*; M.E. *Alquin* or *Alquyn*.<sup>1</sup> The poet writes of the author Alquin, *Alquyn* in MSS. A<sub>2</sub>DII<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R: *Alquin was his rihte name*, v. 39. Even Latin MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries do not hesitate to adopt the orthography Alquin, Alquyn (the distinction *i*, *y* having no philological weight; cf. ten Br. § 9 and § 22; Morsb. § 112) in transcripts of the works of Alcuinus Albinus Flaccus; cf. *Epistola Alquini*, MS. Bibl. Reg. 5. E. iv.; MS. Bibl. Reg. 6. A. xi.; and Lambeth MS. 378, where *in librum alquini, Pro alquino*, etc. occur.

Apart from the misconception liable to result through confiction among texts bearing the same title, the English poem, distinct and individual in character, a new creation, merits distinctive recognition and a specific place in literature. Its value rests neither in its connection with Alcuinus, nor in his theological views. It does not incorporate the philosophy of the schools of Charlemagne. Its interest centres in that vivid personality, that illustrious knight Gy de Warewyke. *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* belongs to the field of literary history, not to theology. It is a member of that greater Romance cycle, whose brilliant hero is Sir Gy.

3. Warton's title ranks the discourse among poems of the ballad order. *Guy and Alquine* has the merit of granting its poem environment in the English Guy legend, classifying it, through analogy, with

<sup>1</sup> Over forms of Aluin's name compare Schönefelder in his monograph, *Alcuin et Charlemagne*, p. 4, and Pertz, *Monum. Germ. Script.*, I, p. 632; over its significance, see Hanelin, *Essai sur la vie et les ouvrages d'Alcuin* (1873), p. 10.

*Guy and Colbronde*, *Guy and Phelis*, *Guy and Amarant*.<sup>1</sup> Warton was probably indebted to some MSS. Catalogue for the suggestion, perhaps in connection with the heading of the *Catalogue of the Arundel MSS.*, vol. ii, edition of 1832, naming the poem *Gy Earl of Warwyke and Dekne Alquyne*.<sup>2</sup> Warton's title is without authority historical or manuscript. Equally ungrounded is Scott's (also Laing's) title. As "A Moralization upon certain Latin Texts," apparently an invention of Scott (or of Leyden, cf. § 2) to characterize the subject-matter of the selection, it figures in *Sir Tristrem* and also in *A Penni worth of Witte*, etc.

4. The merit accredited to the genus *Speculum* in mediæval literary history is testified to with eloquent voice through its popularity. Hundreds of varieties of the general type are locked up in MS. collections throughout the world. *Speculum Stultorum*, ed. Wright, 1872, depicted in satire English foibles of the 12th century through Nigel Wireker, and the 14th century is resplendent with a glittering array of *Specula*. The position of the *Speculum* in that period is in the technique of theology.<sup>3</sup> The following list of theological *Specula* from MS. works has been collected, but the various Christian attributes associated with the *Speculum* are surprisingly numerous. The *Speculum* links with itself *humane salvationis* in a large family of virtues. It is *Speculum Confessionis*, *Christianorum*, *Mundli*, *Philosophie*, *Religionum*, *Speculatorum*, *Innocentie Derotorum*, *Contemplationis* (a *Ladder of Perfection*), *Peccatoris*. It is a *Christian Mirror*, a *Mirror for Maydens*, *Of Penance*, *Of Sinners*, *Of Lewd Men and Women*, *Of Chastite*,<sup>4</sup> *Of the Sacrament*, *Of Penance*, *Le Mirouer des Dames*, *Le Miroir du Monde*, *Die Sprighel der souden . . . van Jan iof Weert*, a heterogeneous collection<sup>5</sup> indeed, elaborate attributes of a unique type of literature. The *Specula* include all the tenets of Christian doctrine and embrace all aspects of life inspiring to the 14th century mind. The spiritual history of the 15th century is enriched by the exquisite seriousness of a *Speculum of 7 gyftus of the holt gost*, MS. Ff. iv. 9, Camb. Univ.,

<sup>1</sup> Percy's *Reliques*. Edition of Walford, 1880. Part II, pp. 329 ff. and 331 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Also description of *The Index to the Arundel and Burney MSS. in the British Museum*.

<sup>3</sup> This distinction applicable to the generic *Speculum* is irrespective of the subject-matter of the individual text.

<sup>4</sup> The *Mirrouer of Chaastice*, MSS. Harl. 2322, 2325.

<sup>5</sup> For MSS. *Specula* compare MSS. Harl. 113, 116, 953, 1255, 1706, 1713, 2339, 2388, 6581, etc.; Add. MSS. 17,539, 22,283, 25,089, 29,951; Royal MSS. 16 E v.; 8 F X.; 5 B IX., etc.

of a *Myroure to deuot peple*, MS. Gg. I. 6, and by a *Speculum etatis hominis*, MS. Gg. IV. 32, whose mirror is depicted twelve times in twelve distinct circles to reflect the twelve ages of man. Bonaventure's "boke that is elepid" *Myroure of the blissid Lif of Jesu Crist* has disseminated its truths through manifold translations,<sup>1</sup> and was printed by Caxton. In MS. Arundel 112, also MS. Arundel 120, the text is embalmed in a paper 4to. of the 15th century entitled: "The myroure of the blessed lyfe of oure Lorde Ihesu Criste, translated from the Latin of Bonaventura with some additions by the translator, and a Treatise at the end on the Body of Christ against the Lollards." A Bodleian MS. is an *Apology for a looking-glass* by Apuleius against Aemilian, in English verse. Harley MS. 3277 contributes a paper book, *A Looking glasse for Looveres*, "wherein are conteyned two sortes of amorous passions, the one expressing the trewe estate and perturbations of hym that is overgon with love; the other a flatt defyance to love and his lawes," containing "78 passions or chapters of prose verse." In 1509 the *Ship of Fooles* dimmed the fair radiance of the theological *Speculum* by the profane *Mirour of good Manners*. So late as the 17th<sup>2</sup> century is still to be found the ubiquitous *Speculum*, a spectrum for laymen in the *Mirror for Martyrs* (1601), from the hand of Weever. In *Speculum Crape-Gownorum*, of the Advocates' Library, are "Observations and Reflections upon the late sermons of some that would be thought Goliahhs for the Church of England." London, 1682. Berjean published, 1861, *reproduit, en Fac-simile, Le plus ancien Monument de la xylographie et de la typographie réuni, Speculum Humane Salvationis*.

The various *Mirrors* belong to a later period. These descendants of the *Speculum* have imbued new life into earlier saintly themes, and *Speculum* no longer suggests *deelly synnes, confessiones* and bands *clericorum* (Arund. 452) for the religious life of the soul, a *Speculum Conscientiae*,<sup>2</sup> but names worldly activity and profane subjects in its rank and file of *Princely Deedes* (1598), *Constant Penelopes* (cf. Percy's *Reliques*), and *Mirrors of Knighthood*, not to forget Gower's *Speculum* of "Virtues and Vices," i. e. Meditantis, and that most "dolefully dreary"<sup>3</sup> *Mirror for Magistrates* (London, 1563), Gascoigne's *The Steel Glas* (1576), his *Glass of Goverument*, and the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Add. MSS. 11,565, 19,901, 21,106, 22,558, 30,031; Sloane MS. 1785; Cet. Tib. 6, VII.; Harl. 435, 2241, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. MSS. Harl. 5398; Sloane 3551.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lowell, *The Old English Dramatists*, "Marlowe," p. 30.

looking-glass of Thomas Lodge and Robert Green: *A Looking Glasse for London and England*. Here could be numbered from every age all those *Specula*, in whose “immortal flowers of poesy,”—

“As in a mirror, we perceive  
The highest reaches of a human wit.”—*Tamburlaine*.

### § 2. *Literary History of the Manuscripts.*

Specific mention of the *Speculum* is to be found in a brief and inexact description of its Auchinleck text,<sup>1</sup> published by Sir Walter Scott<sup>2</sup> in 1804 through the “Introduction”<sup>3</sup> to *Sir Tristrem*,<sup>4</sup> Appendix IV., p. cxii., and reprinted in various subsequent editions,<sup>5</sup> in 1811 and 1819 under the same numbering of the page, in 1806,<sup>6</sup> p. cviii., in 1833, p. 113. After 1811 *Sir Tristrem* was included with its Introduction in the collective editions of Scott’s *Poetical Works*, notice of the *Speculum* being printed often with the pagination 112. Compare the edition of 1868, mentioned by Kölbing, *Engl. Stud.* vii., p. 178.

In 1857 David Laing, in his “preface” to *A Penni worth of Witte, Florice and Blauncheflour*,<sup>7</sup> etc., incorporated Scott’s Intro-

<sup>1</sup> This description plays a minor part as a single detail in a general sketch of the various texts comprising the Auchinleck folio. Scott’s summary is still offered in the *MSS. Catalogue* of the Advocates’ Library, classifying the Auch. MS.

<sup>2</sup> Reference to the life of Sir Walter Scott, as employed in this edition, is afforded by *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, by John Gibson Lockhart, The Riverside Press, 1881, and by Richard H. Hutton’s *Sir Walter Scott* in Morley’s *English Men of Letters*, 1878.

<sup>3</sup> Material for this “Introduction” seems to have been collected by John Leyden (d. 1811 in India), the eminent Oriental scholar (cf. Hutton, pp. 65, 66), and the faithful ally of Scott in the transcription of *Sir Tristrem*; cf. Lockhart, vol. ii., p. 54. Leyden aided Scott in the preparation of the *Border Minstrelsy* (see Lockhart, vol. ii., p. 46), and it was Leyden who prepared the bulky transcript of *King Arthour*, a fragment of seven thousand lines (*Life of Scott*, vol. ii., pp. 60, 61), used by Ellis in his *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*. Leyden published, on his own responsibility, *The Complaynt of Scotland* (written 1648) in 1802.

<sup>4</sup> *Sir Tristrem*; a Metrical Romance of the Thirteenth Century; by Thomas of Erceldoune, called the Rhymier. Edited from the Auchinleck MS. by Walter Scott, Esq., Advocate, Edinburgh. This work was published the second of May, 1804.

<sup>5</sup> The edition of 1804 comprised but one hundred and fifty copies, to be sold at two guineas a volume. These are now broadly scattered and are difficult of access. Indebtedness is due to the British Museum for the copy used in the preparation of this edition.

<sup>6</sup> Seven hundred and fifty copies of the subsequent edition in 1806 were necessary to satisfy the public demand. These editions heralded that ill-fated connection with Ballantyne, the *Aldiborontiphoscophornio* of Scott.

<sup>7</sup> *A Penni worth of Witte: Florice and Blauncheflour: and other Pieces of Ancient English Poetry*, “Selected from The Auchinleck Manuscript. Printed at Edinburgh, For the Abbotsford Club.” 1857. Laing’s edition is also with

duction without attributing it to its direct source. Notice of this poem in its Auch. MS. stands on p. xiv., numbered 11, and called "A Moralization upon certain Latin texts," thus retaining Scott's title, and failing to correct his defective enumeration as preserved in *Sir Tristrem*. For recognition of later date the *Speculum* is indebted to Eugen Kölbing, in his exhaustive study of the Romance selections preserved in the Auchinleck MS., *Englische Studien*, vol. vii., pp. 178 ff. Here, p. 183, designated "Epistola Aleuini," occurs the only entirely reliable account of the *Speculum*. Kölbing prints the first ten verses of the poem and the remaining portions of the twenty-five imperfect lines, ll. 1007—1031. The Auchinleck text received casual notice by Warton and by Morley. In Warton's *History of English Poetry*, edited by Hazlitt, vol. ii., p. 29, the *Speculum* is classified as "Guy and Alquine" in a list that, Warton claims, includes the "principal pieces" of the Auchinleck MS. Morley gives a table of the contents of the folio, naming the *Speculum* "Epistola Aleuini," in *English Writers*, vol. iii., p. 281.

But the earliest known reference to the poem, apart from meagre statistics, was furnished by Ritson,<sup>1</sup> two years earlier than the appearance of *Sir Tristrem*. In *Ancient Engleish Metrical Romunceſſ*,<sup>2</sup> London, 1802, vol. i., pp. xcii. and xciii., Ritson connects with the Canticum Colbrondi (*Geste, Guy and Colbronde*, Percy, *Reliques*, vol. iii., Part 4, page 26; see also pp. 145, 152, and Percy's Folio MS., vol. ii., pp. 509 ff.), "the cream" of the Guy romance,<sup>3</sup> an "old Engleish poem" of the Harley MS. 525, *Speculum Gy de Warewyke per Alquimum heremitam* (according to Ritson). Thirty-five lines beginning this MS. were printed in *Germania*, vol. xxi., pp. 366-7, in

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difficulty accessible. The *Speculum* is indebted to the copy in the library of the British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> The attitude of his contemporaries toward Ritson, "the ill-conditioned antiquary of vegetarian principles," is well known. He was tolerated only by Scott. Leyden's stanzas, characteristic of Ritson, may be recalled :

"That dwarf, he is so fell of mode,  
Tho ye shold drynk his hert blode,  
Gode wold ȝe never finde."

"That dwarf, he ben beardless and bare,  
And weaselblowen ben al his hair,  
Like an ympe or elfe ;  
And in this world beth al and hale,  
Ben nothyngt that he loveth an dele  
Safe his owen selfe."

<sup>2</sup> Of this first edition, the Königliche Bibliothek, Berlin, has preserved the copy referred to in this issue.

<sup>3</sup> Scott, see Lockhart, II., p. 63.

an article by Prof. Kölbing. Here Kölbing, calling attention to the importance of the Auchinleck text in the Guy of Warwick question, enumerates the other MSS. of the British Museum, the Arundel MS. 140, and the Harleian MS. 1731, but does not mention MS. Dd 11 and MS. Bibl. Reg. 17 B xvii.

Of the various MSS. of the *Speculum* the Harley MS. 525 has represented its text to the general public. This MS. has received the weight of attention in print, and apparently from Harley 525 interest has developed in other transcripts of the same text. The striking feature of the title, the introduction of the name *Guy of Warwick*, and, indeed, the fact of the existence of a title<sup>1</sup> in connection with what is apparently a complete poem,<sup>2</sup> having introduction, conclusion, and colophon, in a well preserved and beautifully written parchment, explain the popularity of MS. Harley 525. Interest in the Auchinleck MS. was awakened through its association with important Romance texts of the same MS. volume. MSS. Harley 1731 and Arund. 140 have received scanty notice, and no printed mention of MSS. Dd 11, 89, and MS. Reg. 17 B. xvii., has been discovered outside of MSS. Catalogues. There is likewise no account to be found of Worseley 67 of this group of texts.

Notices of a hitherto unprinted poem form naturally no imposing list, yet for nearly a century the *Speculum* has been before the public. Its history is nearly contemporaneous with the printed record of the Auchinleck MS. itself. That folio was mentioned first in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*; cf. *Engl. Stud.*, vii., p. 178. It is described as a whole, or in application to some individual work, with greater or less regard for detail and accuracy, in the various editions of the Auchinleck texts. Kölbing's valuable publications, *Sir Beues, Arthour and Merlin, Amis and Amiloun, Tristrem*, etc., Zupitza's *Guy of Warwick* (see edition 1875-76), Mall's *The Horrouring of Hell*, the shorter poems through medium of the *Englische Studien*, the editions of Laing, Ritson, and Turnbull, edited privately and for the Maitland Club or the Abbotsford Club, may be consulted,<sup>3</sup> as well as Ellis in *Early English Pronunciation*, vol. ii., pp. 448, 449. So early as the date of Ritson's arrangement of its table of contents in 1792, the youthful Scott,<sup>4</sup> with a "great meikle

<sup>1</sup> Other MSS. have no marked individuality in MS. relationship, and could be mistaken in each instance for a continuation of a preceding text, except in case of MS. D.      <sup>2</sup> The most conspicuous MSS. are not otherwise complete.

<sup>3</sup> This list is by no means complete.

<sup>4</sup> The correspondence between Scott and Ellis began March 27, 1801, but

nowithorn<sup>1</sup> to rout on," was scouring the Highlands for ancient lays, and searching for "auld Thomas o' Twizzlehope," seeking for the information, that would culminate later in the interchange of enthusiastic letters between the bard of the *Border Minstrelsy* and George Ellis over the identity of Thomas of Ereldoune. Possibly to that year (1792) might be ascribed Scott's earliest study of the Auchinleck texts.

If the date of the publication of the greater romances become the standard, then the *Speculum*, in contrast with the broader popularity of the greater Guy history, has not been late in attaining to the dignity of a distinct edition. *Sir Gij* was completed only in 1891, and *Sir Beues* first in 1894. Bibliography of the poem in its connection with the Guy of Warwick tradition would follow each century of the history of printing in England, beginning with Copland's fragmentary edition, placed in 1560, and ending only with the present decade.

### CHAPTER III.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The *Speculum Gy de Warewyke* has been preserved in the following manuscripts, of which to this date there have been no prints:

##### Auchinleck.

1. A<sub>1</sub>. MS. Auchinleck, Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. A parchment folio of the early fourteenth century; c. 1327—1340. Concerning the contents of this valuable romance<sup>2</sup> MS. Kölbing

Scott's search for Thomas the Rhymer was under way earlier. In June 1795, Scott, through zeal in literary affairs, had been appointed one of the curators of the Advocates' Library, colleague of David Hume, Lockhart, I., p. 271.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Shortreed through Lockhart, I. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Romance in application to contents. The Auchinleck MS., it will be recalled, is a repository for a vast treasure of M.E. romance. It contains the first English version of the Guy of Warwick legend (*Sir Gij of Warwicke*, Auch., Nos. 22, 23, ed. Zupitsa), as well as transcripts of *Sir Beues* (ed. Kölbing), *Sir Tristrem* (ed. Scott and Kölbing), *Florice and Blancheflour* (ed. Hausknecht), *Floris and Blauncheflur*; cf. also *Flóres Saga ok Blankijlár*, Icelandie version edited by Kölbing), *King Horn* (ed. Wissmann), *Arthour and Merlin* (ed. Kölbing), *Amis and Amiloun* (ed. Kölbing), *The Legend of Gregory*, named one of the "pearls of M.E. literature" (cf. Schulz, *Die englische Gregorlegende nach dem Auchinleck MS.*; Holtermann, *Ueber Sprache . . . der . . . Gregoriuslegende*; and Neussell, *Ueber . . . mittengl. Bearbeitung der Saga von Gregorius*), and thirty-six other selections, chiefly romance poems, whose popularity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is undisputed. They are the "romances of prys" named in Chaucer's often quoted lines, *Sir Thopas* (ed. Skeat), 2087—2098, etc., and a portion of them denounced by Ascham a century later in the

has treated in detail in *Englische Studien*, vol. vii., pp. 178 ff., with reference to the tenth selection, p. 183. The handwriting, distinct and beautiful, is larger than that of other scribes represented in the Auchinleck transcripts and is not to be found elsewhere in the folio; cf. also Scott, *Sir Tristrem*,<sup>1</sup> p. cxiii. The present text is written in carefully outlined double columns, so cramped in space that sometimes the last word, syllable, or letter of the poetical verse is placed above or below the metrical line: lines 66, 113, 267, 277, etc. In its original condition the poem occupied fol. 39a—fol. 48b. There is no title. Folio headings and fol. 48b with concluding lines, ll. 1032—1034, are lost through mutilation<sup>2</sup> of the MS. for illuminations. On fol. 48a parts of twenty-five lines, ll. 1007—1031, have been cut unevenly from the parchment. Subdivision into chapter or section is not indicated. Capitals are used, but they occur without uniformity. Lines 1, 137, 161, and 277 are marked off by large brilliantly coloured introductory letters. Latin quotations are in red ink. The letter beginning each line is ornamented with red. On the margin to the left, recurring frequently at unequal intervals and without reference to subject-matter, is the character ‘¶’ in red: lines 9, 17, 23, 27, etc. Each leaf contains at the top the lower portion of a Roman numeral, ‘xv,’ in blue ink.

Lines 179, 180; 421, 422; 551, 552; 645, 646; 925, 926, are omitted. The last word of line 232 was not written; *pylt* is supplied in this edition from MS. A<sub>2</sub>. There are a few erasures: lines 33, 178, 197, 202, 249, etc. Line 268 occurs a second time, apparently in order to give to *her* a final *-e*, *here*, but the second reading is not

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*Scholdmaster*, pp. 79, 80 (reprint of Arber), and again by Nash in Greene's *Menaphon*. The “pleasure” of the “booke” “in two speciall poyntes, in open mans slaughter, & bold bawdrye,” killing men “without any quarel,” such baseness as “the single head of an Englishman is not hable to invent,” becomes through Nash the work of “babble booke-mungers,” who “endevor but to repaire the ruinous wals of Venus court,” “to imitate a fresh the fantasticall dreames of those exiled Abbie lubbers from whose idle pens proceeded those worne out impressions of the feigned no where acts of Arthur of the rounde table, Arthur of little Brittaine, Sir Tristram,” etc. He does not “forbeare laughing” in “reding Bevis of Hampton” at “the scambling shyft he makes to end his verses a like”; cf. also Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, pp. 307, 308.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the preceding section for the corresponding pagination of this citation in the various editions of *Sir Tristrem*, and in Laing's *A Penni worth of Witte*, etc. “It (the tenth selection) is written in a different and larger hand than the preceding and following articles,” says Scott.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Legende Catholice*, “A Lytle Boke of Seyntlie Gestes, Imprinted at Edinburgh in the Year of the Incarnation, MDCCXL.”, p. vi., where the editor wishes that the “Vandal” of these “Hagiologies” had been “qualified to chant shrill treble within the choir of the Sistine chapel.”

retained, the line being crossed out. A word, syllable, or letter is occasionally written above the line within the verse: lines 47, 71, 101, 164, 178, etc.

MS. A<sub>1</sub> has some peculiarities in orthography and dialect. To be noted is a redundant final *-h*: *þeih* 25, 80, 104, 170, 184, etc.; *north* 348.—*d* in the function of *þ*: *wid* 84, 93, 181, 334, 370, 372, etc.; *þerwid* 147; *widinne* 118, etc.; and *wilonte(n)* 252, 258, 277, 278, 302, etc.—*z* represents voiceless *s* in plural forms, and at the end and in the middle of a word: *uertuz* (plu.) 71, 79, 325, etc.; in the middle of a word: *levezoun* 58, 138; *murszere* 284; at the end of the word: *trespaz: solaz* 686; *voiz*<sup>1</sup> 446. An abbreviated form occurs: *jint* 785, *tit* 807; cf. also *Streinþe* 305 through vocalization of O.E. *g*. The *-ie* of *mieknesse* 85, although illustrated also in N.E. *thief*, is still not the usual orthography of this word in M.E.; cf. Stratmann, *M.E. Dict.* A<sub>1</sub> has a predilection for the grammatical form *wole*, often where MS. D has *sal(l)*: *wole* or *wolt* 3, 5, 11, 16, 19, 27, 28, etc. Grammatical mannerisms peculiar to A<sub>1</sub> are: *ou* 2, 816, 824, 848, etc.; *beyþere* 952; *þeih* and *hij* are employed side by side: *þeih* 192, 271, 272, 295, 297, 298, etc.; *hij* 186, 267, 277, 279, 280, 281, etc.; *mait* occurs in rime with *cailt* 882. A dialectical peculiarity is the use of *seide*, *saide* in *R*, replacing *seide* of the original: lines 140, 168, 494, etc.; cf. *Ipotis, seyle: (dede)* 285, 461. Various instances occur, where the copyist marked his dialect through the method of representing O.E. *y*, *ȝ*, umlaut of *u*, *ā*: *puite* : *luite* 924; *duire* : *fire* 252; *ipult* : *gilt* 888; *muche* : *-liche* 386, 672, etc. In some details the vocabulary of A<sub>1</sub> is interesting. *ac* is almost uniformly translated in other MSS. of the *Speculum*; cf. 4, 13, 102, etc.; *heinen* is found 627. *emeristene* 9, 334, etc., *þisternesse* 114, 306, 731, etc., and *þolemod* 574, 666, etc., are specially the individual property of A<sub>1</sub>, although existing in isolated examples in the other texts.

A portion of a Roman numeral fifteen at the top of each folio indicates the position of the *Speculum* in the early arrangement of the Auchinleck transcripts. If *The Legend of Pope Gregory*, bearing the original number VI., the first transcript of the present MS., be numbered 1, the *Speculum* is in natural sequence the tenth collection. This classification presupposes the loss of five poems before the first of the original collection. The numbering 11 employed by Scott and Laing in designating this poem, is due to the unexplained omission

<sup>1</sup> See ten Brink, *Verskunst*, § 109, Anm.

of No. 6 in the enumeration of the Auchinleck texts, forming “Appendix IV.” of the “Introduction” to *Sir Tristrem*. No. 5 immediately precedes No. 7, and No. 6 is not accounted for in Scott’s list. The original numbers follow each other in natural order without interruption.

Although not free from error, yet MS. A<sub>1</sub>, the oldest MS. and approximately complete, has transmitted relatively the most correct text. For these reasons it will become the basis of the following edition. Concerning its arrangement as determining the nature of this volume, see chapter v, § 3.

### Bibl. Reg. 17 B XVII.

2. **R.** MS. Bibl. Reg. 17 B XVII., Library of the British Museum, London. On vellum, a small quarto; c. 1370—1400. The *Speculum* is found fol. 19<sup>a</sup>—fol. 36<sup>a</sup>. It is without heading. A concluding note runs: *Explicit hic speculum etile istius mundi*. The leaf is written in single columns, and there is irregularity in the introduction of capitals. Coloured initial letters designate important passages of the poem. The Latin passages are, *primā manu* Mr. Herbert affirms, in black ink on the margin to the right of the body of the text. They are sometimes inclosed with red lines. The poem is complete without breaks of any kind. Lines 45 and 46 are omitted; lines 571 and 572 are transposed; lines 272 and 548 introduce new readings.

Among palaeographical characteristics it will be noted, that, in addition to its customary function, *o* becomes often a purely graphical representative of *e* of other MSS. That *o* in this development, corresponding to a normal M.E. *e*, may preserve an essential integral principle of language, is suggested by the forms *hom* and *hore*, O.E. *heom*, *heora*: *hom* 25, 100, 106, 150, etc.; *hore* (poss. plu.) 103, 169, 188, 265, 298, 308, 434, etc.; *hom selue* 443, 485, etc. An interesting dialectical feature of MS. R is the use in unaccentuated position in the inflection of substantives and verbs of *-is*, *-es*, *-id*, *-us*, *-ud*.—*disciplis* 570, but *lowlus* (plu.) 163; *beris* (3. sing.) 663; *furiis* 673; *metis* 549; *lastis* 746; *wasshis* 820; *sittes* 255; *saies* 567; *lyes* 713; *wratthus* 806 are found. To be added also are in the pp. or pret.: *ȝarkid* 300; *martrid* 610; *honourid* 632; *foulid* 832; *shewid* 361; *tholyd* (*-id*) 590, 594, 605, etc.; *deul* (3 sing. pret.) 528, 531. The inflectional syllable is not expressed: (*þou*) *dos* 103; (*hit*) *dos* 112; *bes* (*he*) 128; *Gos* (imp.) 448; *shon* : *won* 106, etc.; *vertuz* is

preserved by *R* (cf. § 1) 79, 325. A Northern *til* replaces (*in*)to 271; *hethen, henne* 297. Note also the couplet *reide : suiede* 494. MS. R adds to the vocabulary of the poem a translation of *pisternesse* in the word *merkenes* 114, 306, 731, etc.

The *Speculum* stands third in a collection of works, many of which are attributed to the authorship of Richard Rolle, the Hermit of Hampole. The last of these is based upon selections from *The Prick of Conscience*. Mr. Herbert of the Museum called attention to the numbering of the *Speculum* in the *Old Catalogue* published in 1734. There the first three poems, numbered 1, practically 1, 2, and 3, are regarded as a single work. Thus the *Speculum* is not recognized as an individual poem. Number 2 of the *Catalogue* is virtually number 4, fol. 36b—fol. 49a, and begins: *Alle mighty god*, etc.

### Harleian 1731.

3. H<sub>1</sub>. MS. Harleian 1731, Library of the British Museum. A paper MS., quarto; c. 1440—1460. This text is contained on fol. 134a—fol. 148b. It opens without title, and ends l. 910, fol. 148b, it is to be conjectured, through the loss of two leaves, that contained the remaining verses of the poem. It is written in single columns. The majuscule beginning each line is in black ink, ornamented with red. Large initials showily coloured in red begin lines 1 and 137. The Latin texts are in red. A significant hand in black, partly outlined in red, points out from the margin l. 109: “pride wraþ and enuye.” Other references to pride, ll. 635—638, fol. 144b, 1—4, are emphasized by means of red interlineations.

Lines 7, 8 and 641, 642 are omitted. Entirely original readings are conveyed by lines 133, 136, 205, 206, 403, 404, 442, 447, 448, 479, 507, 508, 514, 591, 592, and 606; 409 is slightly changed. *H*<sub>1</sub> shows much diversity in text, and often alters the verse apparently on its own responsibility.

The *Speculum* comprises with the “Pryke of eoneyence, composed by R., the Hermit of Hampole,” an “old English book;” cf. *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS.* A half-effaced note on the fly-leaf has been with difficulty deciphered to read as follows:

*Memorandum quod quinto die julij Anno Domini M<sup>lo</sup>.cccc<sup>mo</sup>.lxxij*  
*Ricardus Reder de petyrsfeld liberavit commissario generali diocesis*  
*Wintoniensis iij libros.*

A brief description of these three books follows in the customary method of the mediæval period, *viz.* by quoting in each instance the

words beginning the second line of the second folio of the volume. The record for the third book is as follows: *Tercij libri 2<sup>o</sup> folio*, “And Also hov merciful.” Turning to the second folio of Harleian MS. 1731, the second line stands: “And al so how mercyful god ys at al assay,” confirming the characterization of *H<sub>1</sub>* as the third of the three books delivered to the Commissary-General of the Diocese of Winchester. Richard Ryder was suspected of Lollardism; cf. *Catalogue of MSS.* in the Harleian Collection.

### Arundel 140.

4. **A<sub>2</sub>.** MS. Arundel 140, Library of the British Museum. On paper, folio; c. 1420—1430. The handwriting is small and is throughout profusely enriched with flourishes. In general characteristics it suggests a text written soon after the middle of the fourteenth century, but water-marks of the paper determine otherwise and on the authority of careful palaeographers place its transcript in the fifteenth<sup>1</sup> century. The *Speculum*, written in double columns, extends from fol. 147<sup>a</sup> to fol. 151<sup>d</sup>. The MS. does not record title and concludes abruptly l. 892, fol. 151<sup>d</sup>, probably on account of a missing leaf that contained the end of the poem. Capitals occur without conformity to rule. *A<sub>2</sub>* begins with a large red letter, and Latin texts are in red.

In addition to the missing conclusion, ll. 893—1034, lines as follows are omitted: 55, 56, 140, 181, 182, 261, 262, 648—653, 678, 679, 840—845. Ll. 141 and 142 are interpolated between ll. 82 and 83, but appear again in normal sequence preceded a second time by l. 82, in place of the omitted line 140 (*vide supra*). Lines 465, 466 omitted after 464 are interpolated between lines 470 and 471. Lines 75 and 76 are transposed. Lines 251 and 834 introduce new readings.

Although MS. *A<sub>2</sub>* does not record title, the poem<sup>2</sup> is described as *Gy Earl of Warwyke and Dekne Alquyne* in *Index to Arundel and Burney MSS.* and *Catalogue of the Arundel MSS.* in the British Museum, vol. i., 1834. It is preceded by *The Pricke of Conscience*. *A<sub>2</sub>* is much worn. The leaves are ragged and uneven. The ink is often faded. In some instances individual words are almost illegible. Sometimes a correction in very black ink distinguishes letter or mono-

<sup>1</sup> Difference of opinion exists regarding the period of *A<sub>2</sub>*. Some authorities place the text 1450—1480.

<sup>2</sup> *A<sub>2</sub>* is further classified as “a religious tale in verse.”

syllable. At the top of folio 148*d* a representation of the word *Iesu* is to be found. At the bottom of the same folio the line beginning fol. 149*a* is transcribed. In orthography preference for *-i* (*-y*) in place of *-e* in inflectional endings is to be recorded.

### Dd 11. 89.

5. **D.** MS. Dd 11. 89, University Library, Cambridge. Parchment, quarto, written in single columns; c. 1440—1450. This is the first notice in print of Dd 11. The present text, the fourth in the collection, begins fol. 162*b* and ends fol. 179*b*. It is without title. There is a comprehensive gap, ll. 407—475. A capital is occasionally found at the beginning of a line. Capitals introducing lines 1 and 137 are illuminated. Latin texts are in red. Opposite each, on the margin near the edge of the leaf, suggesting irregularity on the part of the copyist, is the key-word or introductory letter in red.

In addition to the loss of verses through the break at the middle of the text, the following lines are omitted: 342, 534, 535, 679, 738. Lines 376, 790, and 925, 926 differ from the versions of other MSS. Lines 167, 168, 201, 202, 303, 304 are transposed, and the Latin text following line 338 is interpolated between 345 and 346.

Dd 11 is immediately preceded by “þe prykke of conciense.” On fol. 162*a*, near the bottom of the page, is to be read: “Here endeþe þe sermon þat a clerk made þat was cleput Alquyn To Gwy of Warwyk.” This shows impress of the preceding statement: “Here endeþe þe tretyþ þat ys cald þe prykke off conciense.” MS. D betrays carelessness in transcription. At times the scribe might have been without intelligent appreciation of his prototype.

Noteworthy graphically is the service of the same character, apparently þ not only for þ and *y*, but for ȝ of other MSS. Varnhagen, *Anglia*, vol. iv., p. 182, footnote, mentions a similar usage in the Cambridge University MS. Gg. I. 1. Dialectical peculiarities of *D* are interesting. In orthography, the tendency to drop or to add an initial *h* is characteristic of *D*. A redundant *h* is prefixed: *Habraham* (also in H<sub>2</sub>) 347; *habyde* 676; *heye* (O.E. *eāge*) 827; *herþe* (*eorþe* in A<sub>1</sub>) 296, 375; *halmisdele* 934.—*h* is omitted<sup>1</sup>: *is* (for *his*) 227.—*wh* is employed for *h*: *where* for *were* 59.—*w* for *wh*: *wyche* 80, 140, 287.—*D* uses *j* for *v* (*u* in A<sub>1</sub>): *lufe* 697; *lefþ* 733.—*y* represents *ch* of A<sub>1</sub>: *cage* 903; *knowlage* 509; *knowlaging* 725.—An inorganic ȝ is added in the curious form *maytȝ* 1020, 1021, possibly

<sup>1</sup> See also Skeat's illustrations from *Havelok*, p. xxxvii.

through analogy with *mayȝt* 863, 864. Compare also *mayt* (*mait*) 344, 881, 882.—*wole* of *A<sub>1</sub>* is replaced by *sall* (*sal*) 27, 28, 77, 79, 101, 119, 167, 283, 285, 324, 328 (*sul* 265), etc. *D* introduces forms like *gul* (O.E. *gôd*) 29, 40, 57, etc.; *gede* (O.E. *god*, but cf. *ged dede*, *Anec. Lit.*, 96) 494; *dude* 895; *pute : lute* 924; *god hyd* 379; *boys* (i. e. *bush*) 359, 363, 368. Conspicuous grammatical properties are illustrated in MS. *D*: *kyd* 178; *es* 3, 4, 146, 193, etc.; *chastyn* (inf.) 181; *wemmyd* (pp.) 366; *be tokenes* (3. sing.) 363; *bedes* (1. plur.) 504; *Mit* for *Milte* 291. *D* retains *suffrand* 587, 597. The vocabulary of *D* often paraphrases reading of other texts, (1) with words of the same general significance: *cheyse* (*shed* *A<sub>1</sub>*) 217; *creatures* (*shafthes* *A<sub>1</sub>*) 781; *þole þi mode* (*þolemod* *A<sub>1</sub>*) 574. (2) Through words of different significance: *vneþe* (*anuied* *A<sub>1</sub>*) 124; *bodyly* (*mannes* *A<sub>1</sub>*) 388; *mekenesse* (*soþnes* *A<sub>1</sub>*) 664. Study of the dialectical peculiarities of this transcript results in the conclusion that MS. *D* was written by a northern scribe, possibly by a Scotchman.

### Harleian 525.

6. **H<sub>2</sub>.** MS. Harleian 525, Library of the British Museum. See Kölbing, *Germania*, vol. xxi., pp. 366, 367. Parchment; quarto of the latter years<sup>1</sup> of the first half of the fifteenth century, c. 1440—1450. *H<sub>2</sub>* is written in single columns. The handwriting, uniformly clear and exact, recalls the Auchinleck transcript. Near the conclusion it varies in size, but there is no indication of a second copyist. Beginning fol. 44*a* and ending fol. 53*a* is the poem of the present issue. Fol. 44*a* is without title. Written in two lines on fol. 53*a* is the colophon: *Explicit Speculum Gy* (not the expected *Gylonis*) *de Warewyke* (the final *-e* very faint and almost illegible) *heremite secundum* (expanded by Ritson to read *per*; by Kölbing,<sup>2</sup> *et*) *Alquinum*, see *A. E. M. Romanceës*, i. xiij., and *Germania*, xxi. 367. *heremite* is written immediately below *Warewyke*. The two words are united by a bracket ([]). Every verse begins with a capital letter. Instead of the customary introductory illuminated majuscule, large four-cornered blank spaces were left at lines 1, 161, and 283, apparently for illuminations. In the space line 1 a small capital has been inserted, and a small minuscule in each of the other spaces, probably for the instruction of the illuminator. Latin texts are in black.

<sup>1</sup> 1480—1500 is the limit ascribed to *H<sub>2</sub>* by some authorities. The period is with difficulty exactly defined.

<sup>2</sup> It should be recalled, that Kölbing's note dates an early period in his work, 1876; Ritson's, 1802.

The twelve lines concluding the poem, ll. 829—840, contain an apostrophe to the Virgin. An extensive gap, ll. 459—814, and the omission of lines 841—1034 characterize MS. H<sub>2</sub>. Numerous illustrations of the omission of characteristic readings are as follows: lines 11, 12, 197, 198, 251, 252, 295—300, 305, 306, 309, 310, 357, 358, 435—444, 451, 452, 823—826. Lines 108, 133, 283, 323, 328, 342, 378 (328 in H<sub>2</sub> and 790 in A<sub>1</sub>), and 447, 448 have adopted original readings. Lines 111, 112 are transposed. Lines 819, 820, omitted in the normal sequence of the poem, are interpolated between 828, 829. Two lines are interpolated after 160 and 454 respectively, one after 138, one after 322, and three after 4. It may be noted that MSS. D and H<sub>2</sub> often coincide in readings so far as l. 400. Although copyist's errors are few, yet in the transmission of the text, H<sub>2</sub> is in some degree a revision of the original. H<sub>2</sub> deviates through paraphrase of the true text, through use of synonyms of terms offered by other MSS., and it alters the poem by means of omission, amplification, and circumlocution. Illustration occurs as follows: *Warged gostys* 447 are to suffer, not *hote* (A<sub>1</sub>), but *helle fyre* 282, in the *pytte* (*stronge* A<sub>1</sub>, *stynkyng* H<sub>1</sub> *fyre*) of *helle* 449, condemned with *angry eye* 446, at the *daye of* (*heie* A<sub>1</sub>) *dome* 415. In plea for charity Guy is appealed to as generous friend: *ffrende so free* 323. Compare also *formeste* (*forme* A<sub>1</sub>) 223; *lethere* (*foule* A<sub>1</sub>) 72; *to thys goodnessse* (*hem* A<sub>1</sub>) 100; *Vncerteynnesse* (*þister-*  
*nesse* A<sub>1</sub>) 114; *maye he be* (*worþ he* A<sub>1</sub>) 128. See variants 133, 138, 160, 343, etc.

The inflectional system is governed by uniform laws illustrated in terminations transmitting -y for the normal -e in unaccented syllables as follows: *godlys* (gen.) 38, 81, 139, etc.; *slewthys* 121; *fadlyrys* 254, 255; *Londys* (plu.), *rentys* 152, 163; *metys* 155; *synnys* 91; *theuys* 97; *thewys*: *shrewis* 102; *Saryd* 128; *wykkyd* 116, 122; *fallyn* (inf.) 170; *betyn* 175; *suffyr* 176, 184; *ekyn* 188; *Herkenythe* (imp. plu.) 1, 137; *Wasshythe* 816; *bryngyþe* (3. sing.) 114; *makyþe* 124. Redundant h begins a word: *Habraham* (cf. D) 347.—Initial h is omitted: *ys* (for *his*) 227.—f occurs for u (v) of A<sub>1</sub>: *lefþe* 424.—Metathesis exists in *tharlle* 238. H<sub>2</sub> belonged earlier to the Cotton collection. It was in possession of Robert Cotton and bears his autograph.

Besides the MSS. already enumerated, some have been traced that, in description at least, belong in this chapter. MSS. W and B may be introduced with some certainty as giving information regarding the poem.

**Worsoley 67.**

**7. W.** Worsoley 67. See Edward Bernard in *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Anglie et Hibernie in unum collecti*, 1697. Under *Librorum Manuscriptorum viri nobilis quo maxime merito speramus, Henrici Worsoley de Hospitio Lincolensi apud Londinum Catalogus*, p. 213, is to be found what seems to be a reference to the *Speculum*. Number 67, also 6915, classifies an old “book.” Its contents are: *Alquin's Advice to Grey Earl of Warryk*; and a “treatise<sup>1</sup> in English verse,” the *Prykke of consyence*, standing first in the book. The second selection is incomplete.

This heading, *Alquin's Advice to Grey*, in English (M.E.), the form *Alquin* in this specific connection, and particularly the attendance of that Achates of the poem<sup>2</sup> of this volume, the faithful “Prykke of consyence,” serve tangibly to link W with MSS. of the *Speculum*, but the associated text has not been hitherto discovered.

The search<sup>3</sup> for the MSS. of the Worsoley collection, as well as the actual investigation of a large number of the fifty MSS.<sup>4</sup> of *The Pricke of Conscience*,<sup>5</sup> has been without practical result in the discovery of the Worsoley MSS. collectively, or of the “book” numbered 67. The libraries of Lincoln's Inn, of Lincoln Cathedral,<sup>6</sup> of Lambeth Palace, the Bodleian Library, the collections of the

<sup>1</sup> Clue to the history of MS. W and MS. B has not been contributed by the *Catalogue of the Library at Abbotsford*, Edinburgh, 1838, *A Catalogue of the Library of the Faculty of Advocates*, Edinburgh, 1838, Laing's *Catalogue of Manuscripts of the Society of the Writers to H. M. Signet in Scotland*, Hickie's *Thesaurus or Antiquae Literaturae Septentrionalis Libri duo*, nor from the *List of Manuscript Books in the Collection of David Laing*, nor in any of Laing's numerous editions of M.E. poetry; see, for example, *Select Remains of the Ancient popular Poetry of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1822, *Early Popular Scottish Poetry* re-edited by W. Carew Hazlitt, London, 1895, nor in Stenhouse's *Lyric Poetry*, 1853, Halliwell's various editions, cf. *Reliquiae Antiquae*, 1841, nor in the editions of Ellis, Robson, Ritson, or Weber.

<sup>2</sup> See §§ 3—5 of this chapter.

<sup>3</sup> Search, direct and indirect, for possible MSS. of the *Speculum* in libraries of England, Scotland, Germany and France, has been exhaustive and painstaking. Vast labour, and untiring industry and patience, have not been rewarded in the discovery of MSS. beyond the record of the accompanying pages. The undoubted popularity of the poem in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries suggested the possibility of many transcripts of the original.

<sup>4</sup> See *On Twenty-five MSS. of Richard Rolle's “Pricke of Conscience,”* “Eighteen of them in the British Museum, four in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, the Corser MS., and two in Lichfield Cathedral Library,” by Karl D. Bülbüring, M.A., Ph.D., published for the Philological Society, London, 1889–90, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Bülbüring's list does not include the transcript MS. Dd 11, 89, of the University Library, Cambridge, nor the Lambeth MSS. *Stimulus Conscientiae* or the *prykke of Conscience*, Nos. 260 (4) and 491 (6); see p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Both are suggested by the element *de Hospitio Lincolensi* of Bernard's description of Worsoley's collection, p. 213.

British Museum, seem none of them to have been the depository of Worseley's books. That in the disposal of the MSS. by auction, Worseley 67 could have passed into the Harleian collection of MSS., could have been numbered anew in that union, and could have become public in *Catalogue* and history as Harley 1731, might be conjectured through some coincidences in the description of the two MSS.; cf. § 3. If that be the case, MS. W has already been described and has been introduced into this work as MS. H<sub>1</sub>.

With less reasonableness another MS., Bodley 1731, may be discussed in this connection.

### Bodley 1731.

S. B. Bodley 1731. *Disputatio inter priorem aliquem & spiritum Guidonis.* See Ritson, *A. E. Metrical Romanceēs*, I., p. xciii., edition of 1802. A title of this character, introduced in connection with a description of MS. Harl. 525, suggested at once a transcript of the *Speculum*, but thus far MS. B has proved to be "an empty name," a title existing only on Ritson's page.

Granting the existence of a corresponding text, coincidence in numbering recalls a second time the Harley MS. 1731, and it is to be conceded that Ritson may simply have referred to the MS. H<sub>1</sub>. Some confusion in the heading might be assumed to have arisen on ground of erratic orthography,<sup>1</sup> for which Ritson was famed, or through his proverbial inaccuracy.<sup>2</sup> *aliquem* could be reconciled as a typographical error.

On the other hand, Ritson's description may be accounted for on the hypothesis of a manuscript of a different type, but fulfilling quite rationally the conditions of the title. Although the conclusive MS. has not come to light, yet the theory is strengthened through analogy with MS. Bodley 3903, named also by Ritson in the *A. E. Metrical Romanceēs*, I., p. xciii. Bodley 3903 bears now the signature Fairfax 23. Here is another Guido, the *dramatis persona* of

<sup>1</sup> "Ballantyne," says Scott, "groans in spirit over the peculiarities of his (Ritson's) orthography, which hath seldom been equalled since the days of Elphinstone, the ingenious author of the mode of spelling according to the pronunciation," etc., Lockhart, II., p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> To Ritson's notable inaccuracy Scott refers writing of "many curious facts and quotations, which the poor defunct (*i.e.* Ritson) had the power of assembling to an astonishing degree, without being able to combine anything like a narrative, or even to deduce one useful inference," Lockhart, II., p. 122. Schick adds a word, *Temple of Glas*, p. exlviii., asserting that Ritson copied "without understanding from headings of MSS. and entries in Catalogues,"—and mingled them in new combinations, could probably be added.

a mediæval vision literature, in which the disembodied spirit of Guido of Alet holds communion with a certain friar. Its hero has nothing in common with Guy of Warwick but the name Guy. The *Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, vol. xiii. (1887), p. 81 ff., in an article by Brandes entitled *Guido von Alet* and referring to Arnt Buschmans *Mirakel, von W. Seelman herausgeg.*, *Jahrbuch*, vol. vi., 32 ff., treats of literature of this character. Wright discussed the question forty-four years earlier in *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, "an Essay on the Legends of Purgatory, Hell, and Paradise, current during the Middle Ages;" cf. pp. 45–47. The purpose of this dialogue is to enforce the doctrine of transubstantiation. Another branch of the legend<sup>1</sup> is illustrated in Dr. Anne Leonard's Zürich dissertation, *Zwei mittelenglische Geschichten aus der Hölle*, Zürich, 1891, and the cycle of purgatorial literature is enriched by *The Revelation to the Monk of Eresham* (Arber reprint) with its list of *Gesta Purgatoris*, p. 14. Albrecht Wagner<sup>2</sup> in *Tundale*, "das mittelenglische Gedicht über die Vision des Tundalus," "auf Grund von vier Handschriften," pp. iii. ff., cites arguments basing the source of this comprehensive mediæval type in the *Divine Comedy*. He supports his theory on works of Labitte, *La divine comédie avant Dante* in *Études littéraires*, I., pp. 193—263, and Ozanam, *Dante et la philosophie catholique au treizième siècle*.

MSS. of the Guido controversy are abundant. Many copies of the fundamental Latin text exist, and an English metrical version<sup>3</sup> is extant in MS. Tiberius E vii., to be dated 1350–60. A prose version exists in the Vernon MS. The opening lines of Fairfax 23 are :

"Incipit disputatio inter quendam priorem et spiritum guidonis. Augustinus in libro de fide ad petrum dicit: 'miraculum est, quicquam arduum uel insolitum super facultatem hominis.'"

Compare with this passage the opening sentence of the Berlin MS., Königliche Bibliothek, MS. germ. Quart. 404, Bl. 85a—111b of the fifteenth century :

<sup>1</sup> See Furnivall, *Pol., Relig. and Love Poems*, E. E. Text Society, 1866, pp. 93 ff.; Horstmann, *Altengl. Legenden, Neue Folge*, pp. 367 ff.; Halliwell, *Thornton Romances*, p. xxv.; and Halliwell, *Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> Wagner claims for Tundale, *eine wahre Sturmflut von lateinischen Handschriften und alten Drucken über Österreich, Italien, die Schweiz, Frankreich, Belgien, England, und Irland*; cf. *Visio Tungdali* lateinisch u. altdtdeutsch, Erlangen, 1882, pp. x. ff. He finds also Spanish, Provençal, Swedish, and Icelandic versions, discussed by Mussafia in *Sulla Visione di Tundalo*, Wiener Sitzungsberichte, philos.-hist. Cl., Bd. 67, pp. 157 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *De Spiritu Guidonis*, Vesp. E 1., Vesp. A VI., and Add. MSS. 22,283.

“Also also sunt Augustinus seghet in deme boke van deme geloren to sunte Peter: Eyn wunder is dat geheiten, dat wunderlichen schüt boven de naturlichen krefften und boven menslike wunder,” etc.

The corresponding passage is furnished by the Vernon MS., fol. 363. It begins: “For as muche as seint Austin seiþ to Peter in þe Booc of be leeue,” etc. The metrical version, MS. Tiber. E. vii., ll. 2 ff., reads :

“and saint Austin, þe doctur dere,  
and oper maisters mare & myn,  
sais, þat men grete mede may wyn,” etc.

This Guido<sup>1</sup> leaves no doubt about himself, v. Bl. 99a : “bin ich Gowido verlost van der pine des vegevurs veir jur dun sich borde.” The tradition is followed with fidelity in English. MS. Vernon reads : “ich am þe spirit of Gy & his soule, þat nou late was ded”; MS. Tiber. E. vii. :

“þe voice answerd to him in hy  
and said: I am spirit of Gy,  
þe whilk ȝe wate was newly dede,” etc.

It is quite as probable that the Guy of MS. B belongs to this family, as that his prior be identified with Alquin of the *Speculum*. The inference that MSS. Bodley 1731 and 3903, i. e. Fairfax 23, are the same, is not ungrounded, but their identity has not been proved, and the use of the term Bodley in both connections cannot be indicated to be other than accidental.

Another theory originates in the prolific literature of the tradition.<sup>2</sup> It is possible to explain Bodley 1731 as a composite title representing several MSS., but not belonging necessarily<sup>3</sup> to any of them, a title without an individual text, one of that “jumble”<sup>4</sup> described by Schick, *Temple of Glas*, p. cxlviii. ff., and Lockhart, II., p. 122. It might result not merely from “splitting up one work into several” (Schick, p. clii.), but from the uniting of the titles of the “split portions” of several works into a single heading without definite MS. For Ritson, the “dogmatical little word-catcher,” nothing would be easier than to invent such a visionary title.

<sup>1</sup> Guido is a “child of the time,” see Arnt Buschman, p. 41: *Ich bin cyn geist, ein cristenmensehen, etc.*

<sup>2</sup> See *Sprachforschung*. Seelman enumerates seventeen texts of the *Mirakel*.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. 2379 is a *Liber de Spiritu Guidonis: Narratio Legendaria de confubulatione habita inter Animam prædicti Guidonis civis de Alestey (que distat ab Arenion 21 miliarijs)*, and states Guido obiit 1323. Cotton Vesp. E 1. ends: *explicit . . . disputacio mirabilis inter priorem . . . et inter spiritum . . . Guydonis.*

<sup>4</sup> Scott writes of Ritson’s *Essay on Romance and Minstrelsy*, cf. Lockhart, II., p. 122, that it reminds one of “a heap of rubbish, which had either turned out unfit for the architect’s purpose or beyond his skill to make use of.”

The material is richly provided through a multitude of the paradise-purgatory texts.<sup>1</sup> MS. Cotton Vespasian E. I., fol. 219 ff., is a “*disputatio mirabilis inter priorem . . . et inter spiritum . . .*, whose hero is *Guydo*.” Number 16, Bibliothek des Gymnasiums Carolinum, Osnabrück; Papiers. . . D, 76, is a veritable “*Disputatio inter priorem et spiritum Guidonis*.” A Kiel MS., “Universitäts-Bibliothek, Miscellan. hs. 38, Bl. 175 ff., is “*spiritus Guidonis . . . et . . . priorem quenam*” (Ritson’s *aliquem*?). The Darmstadt MS. 106 is: *eyne disputatie tuschen eyme prior . . . ind eyme geiste . . . Guido heisch.*

Whether Ritson’s Bodley 1731 be actual or imaginary, whether it be but Harl. 1731, or Worseley 67 classified as Harl. 1731 or not, is not clear. That the three be but descriptions of the same MS., and that recognized as MS. Harl. 1731, there is at present no absolute proof. MS. B cannot be traced.

## CHAPTER IV.

### GENEALOGICAL HISTORY OF THE TEXTS.

#### I. GROUP Y.

##### § 1. MSS. *H*<sub>2</sub> and *D* in distinction from MSS. *A*<sub>1</sub>*A*<sub>2</sub>*H*<sub>1</sub>*R*.

###### 1. Resemblances between MSS. *D* and *H*<sub>2</sub>.

Of approximately the same age, but differing often in peculiarities of dialect, *D* and *H*<sub>2</sub> are undeniably connected in MS. development. Noteworthy is the conspicuous *lacuna* occurring simultaneously in both MSS. Lines 459—475 are wanting, the break marking practically the conclusion of MS. *H*<sub>2</sub>. Of the fifty-one lines, 407—458, omitted in MS. *D*, twelve are also deficient in MS. *H*<sub>2</sub>. Otherwise coincidences marking the relationship of *D* and *H*<sub>2</sub> are chiefly mutilations characterizing the individual word. In this investigation it must be recalled, that the comparison represents but 400 lines, the last reading to be ascribed to the texts in common being line 399.

Among the more conspicuous resemblances<sup>2</sup> is that to be found

<sup>1</sup> For the Swedish version see J. A. Ahlstrand in the *Samlingar utg. af Svenska Fornskrift Sällskapet I. Ll. f. Guidonis stiela openbarelse*.

<sup>2</sup> It will be assumed as understood, that in this discussion only the more conspicuous instances of the mutilation of the archetype are to be regarded as affording conclusive evidence, determinative of the main results of the argument. Naturally nothing else could be possible.

in line 180, where inversion of the adverbial phrase occurs in both *D* and *H<sub>2</sub>*: *þe better for he* (*þey H<sub>2</sub>*) *sull (shulde H<sub>2</sub>) hym knowe*, in distinction from *For þei schold hym þe better knawe* of MSS. A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R. Line 381 reads *cler and clene*, contrary to *clene and cler* of the fundamental text. Line 393 describes the *sonn* as feminine, preserving *here*, in harmony with the older Germanic (O.E., O.H.G.) usage instead of *his* of MSS. A<sub>1</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R. Line 186 replaces *haue* with *suffri* (*suffyr H<sub>2</sub>*), 195 *blisse* with *wele*, and 266 *turment* with *tournament*. The texts are identical twice in modification resulting from the dialect of the scribes, through the reproduction of *his* by *is (ys)*, line 227, and *wouh* by *wowe*, line 302, in opposition to all the other MSS. Alterations in individual words occur as follows :

v. 1 to] vnto D.H<sub>2</sub>. 32 þe] þis. 141 it] I. 172 And] He. 182 þat] þe. 186 haue] suffri. 195 blisse] wele. 227 his] is. 257 on] at. 266 turment] tournement. 283 nouþe] now. 302 wouh] wowe. 318 ouer] in. It is unimportant as decisive evidence, that lines 167 and 280 translate *Ac* of MS. A<sub>1</sub> *and*, and interpret *here* 308 as *þaire*.

MSS. D and H<sub>2</sub> agree through various omissions from the fundamental text. Conspicuous is the loss of *Nay*, line 398, and of so important a word as *sinful* in line 149. Other MSS. contribute the following readings lost to MSS. D and H<sub>2</sub>:

v. 8 þu] om. D.H<sub>2</sub> (l. om. H<sub>1</sub>). 23 For] om. 31 Hou] om. 40 he was] om. 41 he] om. 149 sinful] om. 183 And] om. 308 al] om. 327 wite] om. 398 Nay] om.

On the other hand, *D* and *H<sub>2</sub>* preserve at the same time mutilations not familiar in other texts. Compare coincidences in *D* and *H<sub>2</sub>* as follows :

v. 196 abouten] all abouten D H<sub>2</sub>. 207 shalt] shalt man. 224 singyn] first synne. 321 þe] For the (so). 373 and 391 telle] tell it. 399 preued] proued wele. 138 introduces a redundant þe.

With these combinations must be considered all readings in which *D* and *H<sub>2</sub>* harmonize with other MSS., particularly in alterations that unite also peculiarities of MS. A<sub>2</sub>; cf. § 2. Minor instances of agreement justify the conclusions of the preceding paragraphs, pointing to a common source for MSS. D and H<sub>2</sub>.

## 2. Differences between MSS. D and H<sub>2</sub>.

MSS. D and H<sub>2</sub> preserving common errors that might be derived from a single source, deviate in important particulars, suggesting

that neither text is dependent on the other. MS. H<sub>2</sub> is often corrupt to a degree not shared by MS. D.

a. That MS. D does not have its origin in MS. H<sub>2</sub>, is evident from lines interpolated in H<sub>2</sub>, that are not to be found in D, e. g. between 4 and 5; 138, 139; 160, 161; 322, 323; from transpositions of H<sub>2</sub> alone, 111, 112; in the omissions not shared by D, lines 11, 12; 197, 198; 295—300; 309, 310; and in revised readings, lines 108, 133, 283, 323, 328, 378. In H<sub>2</sub> lines 829—1034 of the original text are wanting, and a false conclusion not extant in D appears in place of lines 1022—1034. D is complete in this part of the poem, preserving the true conclusion shared by A<sub>1</sub> and R of the opposing group. These two MSS. differ also in the following instances, where MS. D has often preserved the correct reading :

*D not derived from H<sub>2</sub>:* v. 8 god ouer] wele god abovyn H<sub>2</sub>. 18 In] In to H<sub>2</sub>. 19 wole] shall. 21 Ne for] For noo. 22 þe] his. 25 þeih don god] Iesu criste. 26 boulhte] abouȝte. 27 while] stounde. 30 Gy] Sire Gy. 31 On] Vppe on. 35 And] He. 37 in] be. 45 was wel] sone was full. 46 þerfore] And alle. 49 On] Vpon. 52 wel] om. 54 us] ouyr vs. 57 Make me] Doo me make. 59 my delit] grete delyte. 61 foule] false. 62 lad] be lyed. while] A while. 63 wole] wolde. 64 þe world] hym. 66 And] And swythe. 72 foule] lether. 73 don] mynn. 75 now] nowe hem. 84 þe] me. 87 ful] and fulle. 90 vse] doo welle. 96 lyf] lyffe also. 98 Whar þurw] Where with. reche] Areeche. 99 so] thus. 101 wicke] othere. 125 Offte] Weloft. 127 turne] flee. 137 sarmoun] lessounne. 138 tell] rede. in my lesezoun] be resonune. 142 reche] Areeche. 152 As] om. 157 Hele] Helthe. 158 And] om. of] also of. 160 worþ] wylle be. 162 muche] ryȝt moehill. 166 halt] haue. 173 And] For. 174 For] om. synn] A synne. 178 kudde] shewythe. 181 He wole] om. 187 seknesse] stronge syknysse. 188 And] om. 189 leuest] be leue. 192 wo] sorowe. 195 þe] þys. 204 is] ther ys. 209 had] ne hadde. 212 ȝif] gaffe. 213 made] shope. Owen] om. 217 of] om. 225 wite] wytte ryȝte. 229 And] om. 258 wid oute nay] for soþe too saye. 259 þat] þat afore. 261 þer] Hedyr. adoun] downe. 262 a] ony. 263 nele] þan wyll. 264 man] men. 265 He shal] They shulle þan. fonge] take. 267 onne] þan on. 273 bileuen] be leuyn. 275 Austin] austyn he. 281 duire] þere endure. 292 tellen] telle ȝow halffe ne. 314 Owen] om. 329 Hit is loue] Loue welle. 332 þing] om. most] myste nedys. 335 god] om. 337 If] For yffe. ful] om. 338 wolt]

mvste nedys. *uides*] *tu vides*. 375 Bodiliche] Godlyche. 379 a þing] ys. 390 grete] moche. 392 lef þu] be leue. 396 bodilich] boldelyche. eize] om. him] om. 397 on] in. 401 þis] yt. 402 ise] here se.

The list might be increased from numberless individual faults for which *H<sub>2</sub>* alone bears the responsibility.

*β.* On the other hand, MS. *H<sub>2</sub>* did not have its origin in MS. *D*. This is indicated by an altered verse in MS. *D*, line 376, and in the transposition of lines 167 and 168; 201, 202; 303, 304. *D* has the following readings, not shared with *H<sub>2</sub>*:

*H<sub>2</sub> not derived from D:* v. 2 And] om. D. 10 do] do so. 24 and] þen. 27 and 28 wole] sal(l). 35 his] eke hys. 40 gode] riȝt gude. 48 kepen] wyten. qued] dede. 53 And] anon. 58 lesczoun] a lessoun. 63 þer of] þer for. 70 Alþere] Erle. wole] schal. 71 for to] to þe. 80 Whiche] þe wyche. 82 be my] I þe. 89 ore] lore. 91 sinne] synne haue. 94 wyll be þi] with dede. 95 charyte] chaste. 101 wole] sall. 113 þis] om. 119 wole] sall. 124 man] men. anuied] vnneþe. 130 þurw] om. 140 þat] om. 144 rod] þe rode. 149 Thys ys] It es. 154 faire and bold] and faire bold. 156 litel] leþe. 160 after] om. 168 hem] whutm. 176 Or] Oþer. 178 hym] man. 182 hem] hym. 183 Many an] A man. hem] hym. 188 all it is] all. here] þaire ioy and. 192 liuede] lybbeþe. 193 þou] es. 194 maitou] þou myȝt ful. 200 wyll] sal. 206 þre] And þre. 212 gaffe] ȝif þe. 214 of his] and heȝe. 215 ȝaf] ȝif. 217 yuel] of euel. for] cheyse. 218 þe] þat. 222 wole] wollen to. 226 yt] he. 230 him] om. 232 pylt] put. 236 aftyr] siþþen. 238 in] to. 241 don] idon. 242 his] hym. 244 he] hem. 250 Tyll it] Forto. 254 into] to. ffadryrs ryche] awne fader. 278 point] apoynt. 284 i wole ȝou] om. 289 hadde] haue. 312 þov] it. 320 bi] om. 321 the] so. 335 Man] þan. 346 wel] om. 355 hym] now. 356 of] al of. 359 on] of. 362 And] In. 377 witen] I wyte. 383 breme] beme. 384 here] þaire. 387 sitte] schyne. 388 euere] euereche. mannes] bodily. 401 þanne] How.

Numerous variations notably distinct in character are sufficient to show that MSS. *D* and *H<sub>2</sub>* are not to be ascribed either to the other for ultimate source, but that rather they both descend from a common original represented by *D H<sub>2</sub>*.

### § 2. MSS. *A<sub>2</sub>* (*D H<sub>2</sub>*).

Some instances occur in which *A<sub>2</sub>* unites with *D* and *H<sub>2</sub>* in reproducing the same antecedent text. Readings pointing to a

common original for MSS. A<sub>2</sub>.D.H<sub>2</sub>, apart from the testimony of important coincidences between D and H<sub>2</sub>, shown in the preceding section to go back to a common source, are as follows for lines 1—406, 814—828, the portion of the poem covered by the parallel texts.

v. 45 : Off him] þare of A<sub>2</sub>.D.H<sub>2</sub>. 105 is hit] it is. 167 Ae] And. 168 erere] are (eere H<sub>2</sub>). 820 doþ] þe. Compare also line 190, where individuality in grouping is marked by divergence common to each of the MSS. of the group, suggesting defect of prototype and an attempted restoration by the individual scribes of Y. Z, on the other hand, preserves one form, *e.g. miht*.

Group Y is distinguished by readings in which mutilation is represented in a slight modification of the basis of the classification through the individuality of the rendering of a single MS. Recalling the tendency of the copyist of the *Speculum* to leave personal impress on his MS. in emendations originating with himself, it will be recognized that the unity of the grouping Y is not necessarily interrupted by divergence on the part of a single member. Such instances are as follows, where two of the MSS. seem to be derived from the source (A<sub>2</sub>.D.H<sub>2</sub>), common to the three, while A<sub>1</sub>.H<sub>1</sub>.R (group Z), the opposing element, exists intact :

v. 51 Alquin] sire alquyn A<sub>2</sub>.D. frere Alquyne H<sub>2</sub>. 217 shed] for A<sub>2</sub>.H<sub>2</sub>. eheyse D. 321 þe] þe more A<sub>2</sub>.H<sub>2</sub>. so D. 393 sunne his] sonn here D.H<sub>2</sub>. sonnes A<sub>2</sub>. *Perhaps in verse 100 : wolt hem to, where A<sub>2</sub> reads wylt heuen to, D wylt þese to, and H<sub>2</sub> wylte to thys.* Both A<sub>2</sub> and H<sub>2</sub> attest to irregularity in the transmission of text Z.

To these readings can be added all those instances, in which group Y, on one side, is united in internal relationship in opposition to group Z intact on the other, A<sub>2</sub>.D.H<sub>2</sub> against A<sub>1</sub>.H<sub>1</sub>.R ; cf. § 5. This grouping is confirmed by coincidences between single combining pairs of MSS. comprising Y, and suggestive of an archetype (A<sub>2</sub>.D.H<sub>2</sub>) common to the three texts. The noteworthy agreement marking D and H<sub>2</sub> has been studied, § 1. Coincidence less striking is to be recognized in MSS. A<sub>2</sub> and H<sub>2</sub>.

### § 3. *Study of MSS. A<sub>2</sub> and H<sub>2</sub>.*

#### 1. *Resemblances between the MSS.*

Resemblance between A<sub>2</sub> and H<sub>2</sub> occurs in line 154, where H<sub>2</sub> and A<sub>2</sub> offer *faire and bold* instead of the correct version, *and jaire*

*bold.*  $A_2 H_2$  substitute *hell* for *hote*, line 282, and add *eke* 311, not found in  $A_1 A_2 D H_1 R$ .  $A_2$  and  $H_2$ , line 815, read *euene* for *ene* of  $A_1 H_1$ . Other points of resemblance are as follows :

v. 40 And] *om.*  $A_2 H_2$ . 46 þerfore] And. 68 His] þi. 73 don] *om.* 114 man] a man. 149 þis] þis is. 174 a] *om.* 176 pine] paynes. 257 þider] Hedere. 274 men] man. 331 euere] *om.* 372imeind] I menged. 393 þat] *om.* 456 him] *om.*

## 2. Differences between the MSS.

Abundant proof contradicts any supposition of the origin of  $A_2$  in  $H_2$ , or of  $H_2$  in  $A_2$ .  $A_2$  could not have been transcribed from  $H_2$ , the younger MS. omitting passages extant in  $A_2$ .  $H_2$  preserves verses of which  $A_2$  presents no knowledge.  $A_2$  then cannot be conceived as having passed directly to the hands of the scribe of  $H_2$ .  $H_2$  shows no impress of the confusion in verses 82 and 140 with the interpolation after 82 characterizing  $A_2$ .  $H_2$  preserves lines 55, 56; 181, 182; 261, 262; omitted in  $A_2$ . Compare the following minor instances, where  $H_2$  has often the correct version :

MS.  $H_2$  not derived from MS.  $A_2$ : v. 18 þurw his] at a  $A_2$ . 23 þer] þei. 24 foule] fals  $A_2$ . 35 his] all his. 38 al] wele. 53 And] I. 74 on] o þynge. 77 at] *om.* 85 hope] *om.* 94 wyll be þi] to. 97 þewes] virtues. 108 telle] schewe. 128 he] þei. 131 þurw] for. 133 behouythe] I rede. 138 wyll rede] shall say. 143 þat] And þat. 150 it were] *om.* 167 and rede] *om.* 264 þat] *om.* 272 þeih] *om.* 275 austyn he] poul. 308 For al] For. 312 But] For. 353 grette] sawe. 381 clere] *om.* 387 And] *om.* he] it. so] neuer so. 388 Hit] ȝit it. 389 hire] *om.* 393 ȝaf] *om.* here] *om.* 394 tyme] *om.* 395 þane] so. 419 here] *om.* 432 ȝe] þei. 434 for] to. 441 And] *om.* 446 angry] *om.* 449 evene] *om.* pytte] Payne. The list might be increased by additional illustration marking the character of MSS.  $A_2$  and  $H_2$ .

## § 4. Relationship between $A_2$ and $D$ .

### 1. Coincidences in $A_2$ and $D$ .

MSS.  $A_2 D$  form a connecting link in the relationship developing the group Y. Line 51 reads for both *sire alquyn* instead of *Alquin* of group Z. *chirche* replacing *clerk*, l. 667, is a marked characteristic of resemblance linking the two texts.  $A_2$  and  $D$  combine in the

version *mynde* for *mid* (689) of A<sub>1</sub>.H<sub>1</sub>. In addition to the omission of line 679 common to both, other modifications occur as follows :

v. 6 to god] of god A<sub>2</sub>.D. 13 Ac] And. 45 war] I war. 53 And] I. 66 he] om. 101 þe] om. 127 man] a man. 160 ibouht] abought (aboute *D*). 168 erere] are. 226 bouht] a bouȝt. 241 Ac] And. 299 þe] om. 306 þisternesse] dirkenese. 315 Ac] And. 321 inwardlichere] inwordelich. 336 Wher] Wheþere. 350 and as] and. 353 on] om. (407—475 mark the comprehensive break in *D*.) 480 out] om. 507 hit wolen] willen it. 538 Or] Ouper. 624 And] om. 625 wole] nyll. 628 in none] in no. 635 And] For. 675 a] om. 684 hit] þat. 689 mid] mynde. 725 gon] agone. 729 riht] ariht. 731 þisternesse] derkenes. 790 me] to me. 804 wole] nyl. 811 is] is þe. 812 man] men. 834 he shal] schall he. 870 and] or. 880 many] man.

Intimate resemblance is marked in line 791 in distinction from the version of group Z : *sinne wrought] foule synne Iucrouȝt*.

## 2. Differences between A<sub>2</sub> and D.

a. *A<sub>2</sub> not derived from D* : That A<sub>2</sub> preserving the oldest MS. of group Y cannot, for this reason, have originated in MS. D nor in MSS. D.H<sub>2</sub> singly or combined, is obvious. Nor is it necessary to give detailed proof, that neither of the younger MS. versions can be the source of the other. The independent character of MS. H<sub>2</sub> is clear from § 1 of this chapter. The same section shows also the indebtedness of *D.H<sub>2</sub>* to some common source. That that original is not A<sub>2</sub> is evident from the omission in that MS. of lines 55, 56 ; 181, 182 ; 261, 262 ; preserved in MSS. D.H<sub>2</sub>, and of lines 648—653 ; 678 ; 840—845 of the original, for which MS. D is authority, where H<sub>2</sub> is practically at an end. The transposition of lines 75, 76 in A<sub>2</sub> is not recorded in *D.H<sub>2</sub>*, and the altered readings 140, 141, 142, relatively to 82 with interpolations caused *D.H<sub>2</sub>* no difficulty. Instances occur, where A<sub>2</sub> preserves individual errors and D and H<sub>2</sub> retain the correct versions. Some of these passages are indicated in the sections to follow :

β. *D not derived from A<sub>2</sub>* : v. 18 þurw his] at a A<sub>2</sub>. 24 foule] fals. 59 my ioye] ioy. 74 on] o þynge. 85 hope] om. Many similar examples of irregularity in relationship make it evident that none of the MSS. of this group was antecedent for any other. It is fair to attribute them to a common source (A<sub>2</sub> D H<sub>2</sub>).

*A<sub>2</sub>* and *H<sub>2</sub>* sharing with *D* a common source, bear trace of the

original from which the group *Y* was generated. That *A*<sub>2</sub> was not the source of *a*, the transcript common to *D.H*<sub>2</sub>, and that *a* did not serve as original for *A*<sub>2</sub> is obvious from comparison of the two groups of coincidences, *D* and *H*<sub>2</sub> on one hand § 1, and *A*<sub>2</sub> and *H*<sub>2</sub>, § 3 on the other. Characteristic readings are in each group so uniformly distinct, that the only hypothesis possible must be the supposition of a common source for *A*<sub>2</sub> and *a* = *DH*<sub>2</sub>, *Y* = *A*<sub>2</sub>.*D.H*<sub>2</sub>. This grouping is represented by some pair of its MSS. throughout the poem. The existence of a group of MSS. *Y* involves the explanation of a corresponding group *Z*, to become the subject of the investigation in the section to follow.

## II. GROUP Z.

### § 5. *Two Groups of Manuscripts.*

These six existing texts enumerated in the foregoing chapter may be considered to be subdivided into two groups, a group *Z* embracing MSS. *A*<sub>1</sub>.*H*<sub>1</sub>.*R*, and a group *Y* embracing MSS. *A*<sub>2</sub>.*D.H*<sub>2</sub>. Determinative in this classification are the following coincidences, *A*<sub>1</sub>.*H*<sub>1</sub>.*R* on one side, and *A*<sub>2</sub>.*D.H*<sub>2</sub> on the other :

v. 40 A *om.*] A (*A*<sub>2</sub>.*D.H*<sub>2</sub>) *Y*. 45 Off him] þare of *Y*. 182 þat] þe *Y*. 200 And *om.*] And *Y*. 222 man] he *Y*. 240 for euere] euer *Y*. 299 þe] *om.* *Y*. 303 kointise] qweytise *Y*. 381 clene] cler *Y*. From line 407 the continued omission of one MS. of group *Y* must be recalled, *Z* being intact. Otherwise the classification remains uninterrupted. 454 whij] *om.* *Y*. 480 out] *om.* *Y*. 624 And] *om.* *Y*. 667 clerk] chirche *Y*. 675 a] *om.* *Y*. 684 hit] þat *Y*. 725 gon] agone *Y*. 729 riht] arith *Y*. 791 sinne] foule synne *Y*. 804 wole] nyl *Y*. 812 man] men *Y*. 820 doþ] þe *Y*. 870 and] or *Y*. 880 many] *om.* *Y*.

In support of this grouping the transposition of lines 673 and 674 occurs in each of the three members of group *Z*, the normal sequence being preserved in the grouping *Y*. Line 679 is omitted entirely in group *Y*.

These readings, offsetting each other, and in each instance characteristic of a distinct grouping, seem proof that neither group is derived directly from the other. This hypothesis is confirmed by numerous characteristic modifications, interpolations, or omissions distinguishing individual pairs of manuscripts. It may be assumed that both groups are to be referred to a common source *A*<sub>1</sub>.*H*<sub>1</sub>.*R* *A*<sub>2</sub>.*D.H*<sub>2</sub> = *U*, which was perhaps the original text.

§ 6. *MSS. A<sub>1</sub> (H<sub>1</sub>R).*

Group Z is characterized by readings in which group Y is in opposition through a slight alteration in the principle on which the classification is based, cf. § 2. Z is an integral group in the following instances, agreeing by means of the readings introduced below:

v. 51 *Alquin.* 217 *shed.* 321 *þe (unmodified).* 393 *sunue his.* 100 *wolt hem to.* Group Z deviates slightly, l. 105, in the omission of *hit* in R, where otherwise the two groups are intact. In 167, group Y are unanimous in the use of *Anl*, while H<sub>1</sub>.R translate *Ac* of A<sub>1</sub>, by the redaction *But*, a characteristic reading of H<sub>1</sub>.R not in opposition to the group Z; cf. § 6. Similarly 188 omits *it*, the value of group Z being uninfluenced. 250 has difficulty with an added *to* in Y. The line reads in D *For to com* instead of the *Tyll it came to* of A<sub>2</sub>.H<sub>2</sub>, in opposition to group Z, *Til hit com.*

The integral character of group Z is preserved in additional readings:

v. 79 i wole] I wyll (*with added word*) A<sub>2</sub>.H<sub>2</sub>. I sal D. 94 shal be þi] altered A<sub>2</sub>.D.H<sub>2</sub>. 297 parten] altered A<sub>2</sub>.D.H<sub>2</sub>. 321 *þe*] altered A<sub>2</sub>.D.H<sub>2</sub>. 353 as on] altered A<sub>2</sub>.D.H<sub>2</sub>. 381 cler] altered A<sub>2</sub>.D.H<sub>2</sub>. 399 preued] altered A<sub>2</sub>.D.H<sub>2</sub>. 449 fyr] altered A<sub>2</sub>.H<sub>2</sub>. D om. 550 to þe] altered Y. 559 in þouht] altered Y. 602 vilte] wyte A<sub>2</sub>. vilanie? D. 858 þe] is þe A<sub>2</sub>. þi D. 872 or] and A<sub>2</sub>. oþer D.

To these may be added other passages, which, though varying in some detail, yet do not in general detract from the force of the argument: lines 168, 188, etc. With these coincidences are to be considered those presenting intimate connection within the limits of its immediate group.

§ 7. *MSS. H<sub>1</sub> and R in opposition to MSS. A<sub>1</sub> A<sub>2</sub> D H<sub>2</sub>.*1. *Coincidences in MSS. H<sub>1</sub> and R.*

It is obvious that intimate relationship must characterize R and H<sub>1</sub> in common. Although separated by an interval of seventy-five years on general estimate, and at variance in important details, by which each MS. is characterized by mistakes introduced on its own responsibility, yet it must be admitted, that the transcripts R and H<sub>1</sub> in noteworthy instances unite in combinations not accounted for in remaining texts. The omission of lines 737—740 is shared in common

by the MSS. Absolutely in opposition to MSS. A<sub>1</sub>.A<sub>2</sub>.D.H<sub>2</sub>, are coincidences in the version of entire lines often broadly different from the same lines in other texts.<sup>1</sup> R and H<sub>1</sub>, for instance, omit the line 792, *In word, in dede, and in þouht*, and substitute in its place line 838 of the original text, *Lofly (Lodely R) and jele (foule R) many oon.* The line 342, omitted in MS. D, is enriched by *with eghen* in H<sub>1</sub>.R, of which MSS. A<sub>1</sub>.A<sub>2</sub>.H<sub>2</sub> retain no trace; cf. as follows:

- 342 : þat þou may alday with eghen se. (R)  
whom þou maiste see eche day wiþ yeȝe. (H<sub>1</sub>)

The relationship between R and H<sub>1</sub> is attested to by line 488, where the original text has been omitted, and in its place a different version supplied :

- 488 : Whil that thou may go & se. (R)  
Whilst þou maiste goo & see. (H<sub>1</sub>)  
Loke, þat þu þe bise. (A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub>D, om. in H<sub>1</sub>R)

A similar variation exists in line 790, where A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub>, the two most reliable texts, are answerable for a good reading: *Sitteþ stille, and herkneþ me.* R and H<sub>1</sub> have preserved: *Herken and I wil telle þe.* A modification occurs, line 808, through the insertion of *fire brenne* (*fyre burne* H<sub>1</sub>). 831 alters *wasshe* (A<sub>1</sub>.A<sub>2</sub>.D) to *to wasshe hem*. 716 contributes the version: *I wil ȝow (þe R) telle whi & wharfore.* Inversion occurs in both: 671 *bere he] he bere.* Often of minor importance as conclusive proof, yet offering convincing evidence of coincidence in individual words, are illustrations as follows :

R and H<sub>1</sub> agree in introducing a word differing from texts A<sub>1</sub>.A<sub>2</sub>.D.H<sub>1</sub>: v. 4 and 736 *swiþe]* ful H<sub>1</sub>.R. 791 (I)wrouȝt] don H<sub>1</sub>.R. 242 ȝaf] had. 366 ene] bene. 466 rede] spede. 168 erere] bifore. Of the same general significance are: 178 kudde] kyþeþ. 190 miht] maist. 198 lihtliche] lyȝtly. 293 also] as. 309 mid] with. 330 in] &. 414 þe] Al. 496 þat] þis. 497 þe] þis. 530 Off] On. 725 knowelaching] knowynge. 909 leten and flen] leeue and fle R, leue and flye H<sub>1</sub>. But translates *Ac* of MS. A<sub>1</sub> in the following instances, where MSS. A<sub>2</sub>.D.H<sub>2</sub> read invariably *and* or *or* or omit the word. But (H<sub>1</sub>.R) 13, 167, 280, 463, 467, 471, 615, 623, 660, 893. H<sub>1</sub> and R share the translation with A<sub>2</sub>, where that MS. seems to have stumbled upon the same interpretation: 583, 619,

<sup>1</sup> In general the arrangement of the examples under § 7 is in the order of their importance.

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830, 835, 849. *But* also belongs to  $H_1.R$  shared with  $H_2$ : 241, 293, 315, 347, 434.

(β) A word is added that is wanting entirely in the opposing MSS.: v. 394 *om.*]  $\text{si}\beta\text{e}$   $H_1.R$ . 452 *om.*]  $\text{haue}$ . 702 *om.*]  $\text{childe}$ . 553, 689 *om.*]  $\text{\betaere}$ . 678 *om.*]  $\text{al}$ . 907 *om.*]  $\text{\betaen}$ . Less important in the argument are the following instances: 106 *om.*]  $\text{For}$ . 378 *om.*]  $\text{and}$ . 801 *om.*]  $\text{for}$ . 830 *om.*]  $\text{haue}$ .

(γ) MSS.  $A_1.A_2.D.H_2$  contain a word not recorded in  $H_1$  and  $R$ : v. 190  $\text{\betau sek}$ ]  $\text{Seek}$   $H_1.R$ . 242  $\text{his}$ ] *om.* 339  $\text{For men}$ ]  $\text{Men}$  ( $\text{Man}$   $H_1$ ). 394  $\text{swich}$ ] *om.* 410  $\text{ne}$ ] *om.* 524  $\text{Nu}$ ] *om.* 582  $\text{ne}$ ] *om.* 617  $\text{\betai}$  *om.* 812  $\text{\betaat}$ ] *om.* 840  $\text{ne}$ ] *om.*

To these coincidences may be added all those variations of a trifling character, which though differing slightly, yet may represent a common source: *he* is replaced by *\betaei* 833, 834; *milt* by *maiste* 859, 864; *Nas \betaat* by *\betaat was* 214; *nokt* by *wil no\beta*  $H_1$ , *wil not*  $R$  312. The list is to be increased by the common readings distinguishing the three MSS.  $A_1.H_1.R$ ; see §§ 5, 6.

## 2. Differences between MSS. $H_1$ and $R$ .

Incontrovertible points of coincidence between MSS.  $R$  and  $H_1$  are counterbalanced by instances of deviation, suggesting that  $R$  and  $H_1$  may be ascribed to a common source rather than to a relationship one from the other.

a. *MS.  $H_1$  not the source of MS.  $R$* :  $R$ , the older of the two MSS., cannot be derived from MS.  $H_1$ . MS.  $R$  preserves individual defects not shared by MS.  $H_1$ . Compare lines 6, 9, 15, 34, 84, 107, 129, etc. It contains lines omitted in MS.  $H_1$ , omits interpolated passages, and makes frequent alterations of the original as follows: lines 204—206; 403, 404; 447, 448; 507, 508; 591, 592; etc. Omissions in MS.  $H_1$ , where MS.  $R$  retains the correct reading, are: 7, 8; 133; 136; 272; 479, 572; etc.; cf. chap. iii. 3.

β. *MS.  $R$  not the source of MS.  $H_1$* : Equally impossible is it that MS.  $H_1$  find source in MS.  $R$ . Lines 45 and 46, transcribed by  $H_1$ , are omitted in MS.  $R$ . Line 272 of  $R$  alters the original reading. A multitude of minor examples confirm the testimony of these verses. That  $H_1$  is not derived from  $R$ , is shown by the accompanying instances, where  $H_1$  has in general preserved the correct reading, although at times both MSS. deviate from the original.

v. 12 *to om.*] *to R*. 20  $\text{Ne shaltru}$ ]  $\text{\betaou shalt not}$ . 22  $\text{weye}$ ] *lawe*. 26  $\text{ful om.}$ ] *ful*. 31  $\text{on}$ ] *in*. 38  $\text{liuede al in}$ ] *leued wel alle*.

51 þe] þat. 58 don hit write] write hit. 74 on] bothe one. 84 þey] þese thre. 102 beþ noht gode] are swithe. 114 men] mony. to] vnto. derkenes] merkenes. 116 and 121 sleuþe(s)] slownes. 117 wel] ful. 124 anuied] fro mynde. 136 ȝe wil] þai wil. 160 shal be] mot be. 161 falle] bifalle. 177 ȝe here] þou here now. (loue)rede] (I) rede. 182 hem] hom to. 185 and om.] and. 193 if] if þou. 194 wel] þo better. 196 abouten] hit thorou. 199 Now I wil here of] Here I wil a while. 201 man] more. 220 ȝifte] might. 226 haþ] was ful. 232 he was] was he. 235 for] for þat. 237 bimonie hym] fro hym tane. 241 þurw] for. 244 man] monkynde. 248 And þus] om. deide] with harde deth. 263 nele] wil. 265 He] þai. 271 go] wende. into] til. 278 point] ende. 285 sumwhat] now forthe. 288 eke see] al so sene. 291 ȝit myȝt it] hit might. 297 þat om.] þat. 306 ony derknes] merkenes. 315 lat hit noht come] trow þou wel. 316 any] non. 317 he þat] who so. 327 be] may be. 338 his] þat is hisse. 340 myne] my lyne. 387 sitte] is sett. 389 hire] hit. 399 þat] and þat. 410 isiled] fyled right. 412 þe] and þo. 415 heie] grete. 423 Comeþ] Comes now. 434 al] þat. 435 turne] hym turne. 440 his fet] fete did hom to seke. 452 ȝe] for ȝe han. 456 Off] On. doþ] wolde. 459 Sein] For seynt. 470 He] ȝit. shal] shalt þou. 471 soþfast] stedfast. haue] haue þou. 493 in drede] I þe reide. 500 lesczoun] gods lessone. 502 goddede] blissed dede. 530 wolde] wolde hym. 535 misdop] haue misdone to. 536 hit] so hit. 553 Nym] Take mon. 590 suffred] for mon he tholyd. 591 was þerto] þere was. 597 eurei] ilk a. 599 a] ony. 612 may ben] is. 616 þe] om. 617 manhede] mon. 618 wreche of wrongful dede] vengaunce a non. 623 art so stout] so proude art. 624 and herte] stoute of hert. 643 And so] So. and some] men. 644 inome] taken. 645 þen be] Now be. 648 Or] Or ellis. 649 founde] tane. 665 muehe] neuer so mikel. 668 þat] his. 677 humilite] verray humylite. 678 Awey] Alle. 682 wel] ful. 683 of him] om. 688 comforti] confort in hye. 689 mid] with. 693 man] a mon.

This comprehensive enumeration of mutilations defacing MS. R seems to indicate beyond all doubt, that *H*<sub>1</sub> is not derived from *R*. *H*<sub>1</sub> could hardly represent a scribe so critical, that he would perfect his text to a degree of exactness indicated in the version of *H*<sub>1</sub> as outlined in the preceding paragraphs. On the contrary, the transcript *H*<sub>1</sub> has already established a reputation for erratic readings.

The list of coincidences of MSS. H<sub>1</sub>R must be augmented by the

distinct readings of *A*<sub>1</sub>.*H*<sub>1</sub>.*R.*, proving beyond doubt the nearness of the connection. To the differences between the texts could be added those of a trifling character, showing that it is impossible for *H*<sub>1</sub> to have been derived from *R.* *H*<sub>1</sub> and *R* must then form a class by themselves, to be accounted for as representing a theoretical MS. *H*<sub>1</sub>*R* not hitherto discovered.

### § 8. *Agreement of A*<sub>1</sub>*R within the Group Z.*

Common readings pointing to a relationship *A*<sub>1</sub>.*R* are as follows :

v. 8 þu *om.*] þu *A*<sub>1</sub>.*R.* 26 hem] *om.* 70 Alþere] Aller. 411 saiþe] seide. 507 willen it] hit wolen. 518 þe] *om.* 563 wele] it. 625 nyll] wole. 635 For (But)] And. 695 sinne] his sinne. 700 nyl] wole. 715 for lore] ilore. 759 I wrouȝht] wrouȝt. 768 I schryue] shrie. 773 ifounde] founde. 815 euene (bidene)] ene. 876 þu] þat þu. Here may be included the large number of coincidences, in which the only representative of group Y is the MS. D : 915, 916, 919—921, 924, 931—933, 937, 938, 939, 945—948, 951, 952, 954—956, 964, 969, 970, 973, 974, 977, 980, 983, 993, 995, 999, 1000, 1001, 1004, 1005, 1011, 1024, 1031.

*A*<sub>1</sub> is naturally not copied from *R*, the younger MS. Neither is *R* a copy of *A*<sub>1</sub>. This truth is shown as follows :

*R not from A*<sub>1</sub>: v. 22 weye] lawe *R.* 102 beþ noht gode] are swithe. 116 sleuþe] slownes. 124 anuied] fro mynde. 237 binomen him] fro hym tane. See additional instances to the end of the poem.

Considerable difference between *A*<sub>1</sub> and *R* proves that *R* cannot have been derived from the older MS. *A*<sub>1</sub>. It is equally impossible that transcript (*b*) retaining correct readings transmitted to *H*<sub>1</sub> and *R* alike, but not reproduced in *A*<sub>1</sub>, be derived from *A*<sub>1</sub>; cf. ll. 179, 180; 551, 552 : 644—646. The list of individual mistakes in *A*<sub>1</sub>, where *H*<sub>1</sub> and *R* preserve the correct reading, is sufficiently imposing to corroborate the conclusion that neither *R* nor its source was derived from *A*<sub>1</sub>. Hence it must be concluded, that *A*<sub>1</sub> and *R*, forming with *H*<sub>1</sub> a MSS. group, go back to a source now lost, but represented by *A*<sub>1</sub> (*H*<sub>1</sub>*R*).

§ 9. Agreement of  $A_1$   $H_1$  within the Group Z.

MSS.  $A_1$  and  $H_1$  agree<sup>1</sup> in unimportant coincidences. 711 and 712 alter the pronouns  $\text{þou}$  and  $\text{þe}$  to  $\text{ze}$  and  $\text{zou}$ ; 791 substitutes  $\text{þouh}$  for  $\text{zef}$ . Other minor details are as follows:

v. 17 caught] ikanht  $A_1.H_1$ . 149  $\text{þis}$  is]  $\text{þis}$ . (407—475 *om.* in  $D$ ). 413  $\text{þat}$ ]  $\text{þis}$ . 450 And *om.*] And (459—814 *om.* in  $H_2$ ). 549 Sweche (*D.R.*)] Alswich. 664 (Latin) “*qui*” *om.* ( $A_2.R$ )] *qui*. 689 mynde ( $A_2.D$ )] mid. 713  $\text{þe}$ ]  $\text{þat}$ . 731 derkenes]  $\text{þisternesse}$ . 763 may] miht. 812 men] man. 826 no *om.*] no. 829 Many ( $A_2.R$ )] Many on. 862 nouþere do] don nouþer.  $A_1.H_1$  agree in opposition to *D.R.* after the conclusion of  $A_2$ : v. 892; 893 ne *om.* 900  $\text{þe}$ . 904 biþenke.

None of these three MSS. comprising Group Z is directly or indirectly the antecedent of another.  $A_1$  because the oldest text cannot have been derived from  $R$  or  $H_1$ , nor can  $R$  have been derived from the younger text  $H_1$ . Were this not the case, numerous instances of mutilation in  $A_1$  or in  $H_1$  occur, where the thirl MS. contributes the original reading. Equally impossible is it that  $R$  or  $H_1$  has origin in  $A_1$ ; cf. § 5. Instances exist, where  $H_1$  or  $R$  conveys the correct reading lost in the other MSS. respectively. The results of the argument of § 7 indicate that  $H_1$  and  $R$  propagate characteristics of a distinct source *b*. Since none of the three MS. texts is derived from any other of the same group, then it must be assumed that they return to a common original  $A_1 H_1 R$ .

Two groups of MSS. have thus been discovered, each connected in internal characteristics through its representative texts. Additional coincidences indicate other development, suggesting that some scribe had access to more than one MS., and that he modeled his transcript according to the readings of the two texts, with reference at times to one MS., at times to the other. Relationship seems to be indicated between  $H_2$  and  $R$ .

§ 10. Coincidences in  $H_2 R$ .

In addition to conditions thus indicated, MSS.  $H_2 R$  give evidence of common relationship. Both  $H_2$  and  $R$  add to the text of the other MSS. *grete*, verses 246 and 380, *ryȝt* 171, *yt* 208,  $\text{þe}$  229,  $\text{þane}$

<sup>1</sup> The agreement  $A_1 H_1$  is introduced on authority of Professor Schick. This relationship must involve with it other conclusions important in the arrangement of genealogical tables.

261. Both read þou noht forȝete, instead of nis noht forȝete, line 193. Both read in 265, *They shulle tuke here*, replacing *He shal jonge his.* *H<sub>2</sub>* and *R* supply *Chastyse hem*, line 181, for *chasten* of *A<sub>1</sub>*. Minor resemblances corroborate these conclusions:

v. 74 Bote] But ȝyfle *H<sub>2</sub>, R.* 80 on] on a. 134 bi] with. 159 þis] ytte. 161 falle] be fall. 162 þat] om. 171 halt þer mide] holte þere with ryȝt. 175 mot] myste. 194 iwite] wete. 208 do] yt doo. 263 nele] wyll. 293 Ae] Butt. 304 And] om. 318 Haþ] He hathe. 355 him sauh] sawe hym. 360 ibrent] brente. 385 wel] wel om. 389 Inwardliche] Inwardly. 432 þat] ȝe. 817 Kindeliche] Kendely.

The greater age of *R* removes it from the question of source for *H<sub>2</sub>*. The numberless independent readings vouched for by *H<sub>2</sub>* (cf. § 1) make it evident that *H<sub>2</sub>* is not copied immediately from MS. *R*. It seems possible that the scribe of the transcript used by *H<sub>2</sub>* may have had knowledge of that employed by the scribe of *R*, particularly since MS. *D* ascribed with *H<sub>2</sub>* to a common source marks also an indirect connection with MS. *R*.

### § 11. *The MS. D.*

The MS. *D* united with the MS. *H<sub>2</sub>* preserves traces of influence binding it to the MS. *R*, as the accompanying illustrations will indicate. Both *D* and *R* supply *beme* for the original text *breme*, line 383. Both introduce the reading, line 893, *es for no loue no for no* instead of *nis for loue ne for (acvrl)*. *D* and *R* read *syttēs* for *is*, line 908. Other corrupt forms justify the same theory:

v. 33 he] þer he *D.R.* 58 in] in a. 65 þo] þen. 68 i wole] he wold. 84 bi leue] leue. 165 low] ful lowe. ful] om. 174 do] ido. 508 fonge] fonde.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 107, 133, 145, 149, 274, 289, 344, 549, 757, 771, 785, 857, 866, 885, 900 confirm these conclusions. That, however, MS. *D* has no very intimate connection with MS. *R*, is indicated by the number and quality of the readings preserved with *A<sub>1</sub>* in opposition to differences numerous in comparison with the instances of agreement with *R*; cf. preceding section, and also lines 944, 963, 967, 978, 987, 990, 996, 1000, 1004, 1020, 1021.

<sup>1</sup> The reading of 508 justified by rime and context seems to confirm the hypothesis, that *D* and *R* correct mutilations of MSS. *A<sub>1</sub>, A<sub>2</sub>, H<sub>1</sub>, R.* by the form intended by the poet.

§ 12. *The Relationship H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>.*

A relationship H<sub>1</sub>.H<sub>2</sub> is to be traced in these two texts, justifying the supposition that the scribe of D.H<sub>2</sub> had also access to a MS. employed by H<sub>1</sub>.R in the grouping Z. H<sub>1</sub> and H<sub>2</sub> in common preserve the line 175, *he motte (m̄ste) be betyn* in place of *he mot hit beten*. Other verses preserve corrupt passages confirming this relationship. A single word is added in H<sub>1</sub>.H<sub>2</sub> in a number of instances, where it is omitted elsewhere :

v. 120 wel H<sub>1</sub>.H<sub>2</sub>. 204 þer is. 268 and 402 here. 280 þe. 290 maner. 423 fere] in fere.

A word is altered in opposition to the readings of A<sub>1</sub>.A<sub>2</sub>.D.R : v. 23 it] þer H<sub>1</sub>.H<sub>2</sub>. 55 par] for. 112 ful] myche. 160 eft] after. 178 hem] him. 214 heihe] his. 236 siþpen] after. 243 eke] also. 372 þe] his. 407 nu] wel. 817 oftentyme.

The investigation suggests a connection H<sub>1</sub>.H<sub>2</sub> between the two pairs of closely related MSS. H<sub>1</sub>.R and D.H<sub>2</sub>, not to be explained on the ground that either member of the two groupings is the source direct or indirect of the other. Nor has a single MS. of the four offered source for any other. See §§ 1, 7.

The imposing breaks in MSS. group H<sub>2</sub>.D remove from this group a possibility of origin for the two opposing elements H<sub>1</sub>.R. The omission of lines 45 and 46 in R and the individual errors of the single MS. gives proof as follows :

*H<sub>2</sub> not derived from MS. R:* v. 13 þis] om. R. 19 Al] om. 20 Ne shaltru] þou shalt not. 22 weye] lawe. 26 hem] ful. 27 Her of] om. 31 on] in. 36 in his seruise] serued hym after. 38 liuede al in] leued wel alle. 41 and] om. 58 don] om. 84 þise] þese thre. 102 noht gode] swithe. ac] om. 105 hit] om. 114 Vncerteynnesse] merkenes. 137 lessounne] sarmoun.

A common grouping is not to be ascribed directly to the four MSS., whereby all return to a common original, as will be recognized by the few and unimportant relationships shared by these MSS. in common, as well as by the character of the divergence.

§ 13. *MSS. D H<sub>1</sub> H<sub>2</sub> R.*

v. 18 and] om. D.H<sub>1</sub>.H<sub>2</sub>.R. 69 nu] om. 146 Nis] Es. 214 Nas] was. 327 hu] what. 399 ishewed] schewed.

Here the common relationship D.H<sub>1</sub>.H<sub>2</sub>.R ends. It does not seem to be sufficiently marked to justify inference of common ancestry, through direct descent for the four MSS. that it comprises.

It is, however, to be supposed, that the mutilations of some common original propagated in the two groups of texts may have distributed themselves in course of development among the later MSS. In some instances agreement among three of the MSS. in question would seem to be derived from a theoretical  $H_1RDH_2$ , particularly in the combination of  $H_1H_2R$ . The disagreement of  $D$  in these instances could be explained, as it must be in other relationships, by the hypothesis, that the scribe of  $D$  used more than one MS. and supplied necessary corrections. On the other hand, it must be remembered, that the corrupt text  $H_2$  gives proof of diligent conjectural emendation from the hand of some individual scribe, irrespective of other MSS.

Group D. $H_1R$  appears line 198 (*l. om. in  $H_2$* ). l. 198 substitutes *Ful* for *Wel*, 293 *wol ȝyf* for *ȝif*, and in the Latin text 554 includes the complete quotation. Other coincidences occur, chiefly omissions from D. $H_1R$ . See as follows minor coincidences :

v. 202 *it]* and D. $H_1R$ . 221 *a* ( $A_2H_2$ ) *] om.* 295 *ifere* ( $A_1A_2$ ) *]* in *fere*. 395 *fanne]* *om.* Other instances are in opposition to  $A_1A_2$  only. 557 *do]* *do to.* 604 *on]* *in a.* 633 *þeih]* *he.* 716 and *om.]* and. 723 *ful iwis]* altered. 803 *iwrouth]* *wroȝt.* 843 *Hij]* *þay.* 875 *ne om.] ne.*

On the other hand the following coincidences do not suggest additional hypotheses regarding the genesis of the MSS. The grouping is confined to three of the MSS. investigated. The fragmentary condition of MSS.  $D$  and  $H_2$  is to be recalled in the examination of the following illustrations :

Group D. $H_2R$ . v. 4 *Ac]* *Bot* D. $H_2R$ . 65 *þo]* *om.* 80 *alle]* *om.* 134 *his mihte]* *all his myȝt.* 179 *here holde]* *holde here.*

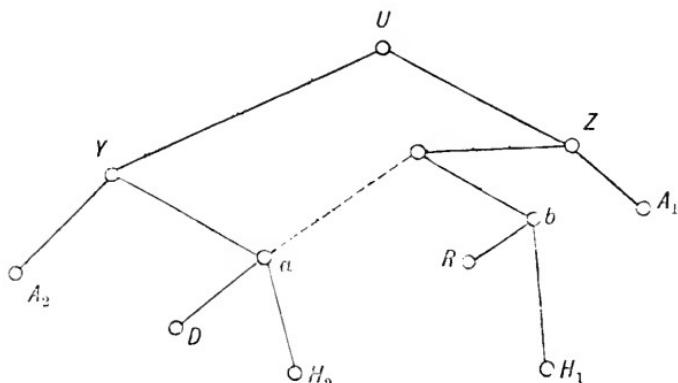
Group D. $H_1H_2$ . v. 46 *he om.] he* D. $H_1H_2$ . 125 *swiche]* *om.* 175 *hit]* *om.* 185 *As]* *om.* 320 *þu]* *om.*

Group H<sub>1</sub>.H<sub>2</sub>.R. v. 132 *ne]* *om.* H<sub>1</sub>.H<sub>2</sub>.R. 160 *ibouht]* *boȝte.* 173 *mot]* *moste.* 230 *gan (was)]* *dide hym.* 241 *And]* *But.* 249 *Ibiried]* *Biryed.* 260 *a]* *om.* 273 *euere]* *for euer.* 276 *reuliche]* *ful reuliche.* 293, 315, 347, 434 *Ac]* *But.* 336 *Wher]* *If.* 348 and *om.] and.* 362 *þat ilke]* *þat.* 411 *self]* *him self.* 423 *fered]* *in fere.* 424 *þat]* *þat to.* 455 *nele]* *wil.*

Conclusions derived from this investigation may be briefly summarized. The two principal groups  $Y$  and  $Z$  are already classified.  $A_1$  and  $A_2$ , MSS. representing each of the groups, are the purest texts, and are most nearly alike.  $H_1$  and  $R$  show some close relationship

setting them apart in a distinct group. *D* and *H*<sub>2</sub> belong in a class by themselves. A general agreement is to be marked between these two secondary groups, but they are not derived one from the other, and they do not represent directly a common source. The group *H*<sub>1</sub> *R* offers no difficulty. Of the group *D H*<sub>2</sub>, *D* is a more exact text than *H*<sub>2</sub>. *H*<sub>2</sub> is often miserably corrupt, and is the farthest removed from the original. The differences between *D* and *H*<sub>2</sub> are to be accounted for in various ways. Some MS. or MSS. must exist between the transcript *D* and the transcript *H*<sub>2</sub>. The original of *H*<sub>2</sub> was undoubtedly defective, and *H*<sub>2</sub> or its antecedent text attempted to correct the errors of its prototype and to preserve a complete poem. The original not being at hand, the copyist tacked on the spurious conclusion characteristic of *H*<sub>2</sub>. The fact of the break in *D* and *H*<sub>2</sub> at approximately the same portion of the poem suggests that *D* had also access to a defective copy. Both MSS. *D* and *H*<sub>2</sub> could be referred to a theoretical MS. (*a*) fulfilling these conditions. MS. (*a*), a member of group *Y*, introduced mutilations transmitted in MSS. *H*<sub>1</sub> *R*, suggesting that its copyist used also a theoretical MS. representative of (*b*). MS. *D* corrected its copy, hence *D* is at times more or less identical with the original English text. This conjecture seems to explain best the general condition of these MSS.

Collecting the results obtained through each of these separate arguments, the pedigree of the texts of the six MSS. of the *Speculum*, as developed in the course of this investigation, formulates itself into the following genealogical table. It will not be attempted to prove that one or two texts stood between any two of the combining MSS. It is to be believed that MS. *H*<sub>2</sub> had in its development the combined results of the association of MSS. representing two distinct groups of texts.



## CHAPTER V.

## PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE EDITION.

§ 1. *The Classification of the MSS.*

THE younger and less complete representatives of the MSS. groups classified in the preceding chapter, MSS.  $H_1$  and  $H_2$  with texts often diverging from the original and at times independent in reading, are too imperfect to become the basis of an edition, provided others better adapted to the relationship are to be found.  $H_2$ , a late MS. offering a complete poem, not merely introduces new readings and an independent conclusion, but is conspicuous through two unexplained *lacunae*, comprehending more than half the fundamental text. MS.  $H_1$  has lost its concluding pages. MS. D related to  $H_2$  in the same branch of the family, an older member of the group, is deficient through a break of sixty-eight lines in the middle of the poem and is thus unfitted to become standard for reference. Yet it is not impossible, that these three younger texts may have obtained respectively a reading lost in an older and in some ways a more exact transcript.

MS. R supplying defective portions of the later transcripts preserves also impure readings and dialectical forms not to be reconciled with the original poem. Moreover it seems to be of inferior value, in that it represents a development of a more corrupt branch of the original; cf. MS.  $H_1$  most nearly related.  $A_2$  though imperfect in places, shows little trace of emendation and merits high esteem, but  $A_2$  is also unfortunately incomplete. It has lost not only its conclusion but the one hundred and twenty lines preceding, apparently through no fault of its copyist; cf. chap. iii., 4. MS.  $A_1$  on the other hand deserves in general preference over MSS.  $A_2$ . $D$ . $H_1$ . $H_2$ . $R$ . MS.  $A_1$  is the oldest transcript. Without important breaks and without interpolations, it offers a version approximately correct. That it is an excellent text, and stands nearest the original in distinction from the other MSS., is assured in its freedom<sup>1</sup> from copyist's errors on the testimony of the parchment, and in the regularity with which it preserves uniform dialectical forms. The fundamental text then, basis of this edition, must be MS.  $A_1$ .

<sup>1</sup> Yet it must be borne in mind that a scribe who is too intent on his spelling (cf. MS.  $H_2$ ) and the neatness of his text may give too little attention to his context and the import of what he is writing.

## § 2. Criticism of Texts.

Of the two groups of MSS. extant as classified in the preceding chapter, Group Z, represented by MSS. A<sub>1</sub> and R, illustrative of the earlier texts, and by a younger MS. H<sub>1</sub>, deserves as a whole precedence over Y. This is clear from the preceding chapter, where, from the readings introduced, it is shown that Z has preserved often the purer text. Group Z contains the two oldest MSS.; Z provides the conclusion, although the same occurs on the authority of one MS. of group Y. A MS. from group Z becomes basis of the edition. That is to say, group Z contains the better readings, and on the whole the fewer erratic forms.

Interpolations of MSS. A<sub>1</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R in combined proof are not generally later and corrupt readings, but rather omissions from MS. A<sub>1</sub>. Although that MS. preserves the oldest text prepared with considerable exactness, without marked errors detrimental to the main poem, it has simplified its material in passages where even H<sub>1</sub> and H<sub>2</sub>, later<sup>1</sup> and often corrupt MSS., combine with better texts in preserving readings lost in MS. A<sub>1</sub>. Other texts of the Auchinleck collection are thus shortened and partly altered; cf. Kölbing, *Sir Beues*, p. xli, with reference to *Arthour and Merlin*, p. cliii, and to Bülbring, *Engl. Studien*, vol. xvi, pp. 251 ff. On the other hand the general value and significance of MS. A<sub>1</sub> seems not to be affected by these omissions. That these are first readings and omissions from A<sub>1</sub> is clear. They are introduced in harmonious connection with the subject-matter, and they develop the thought in a way that makes them important to the principal action of the poem. Each of the following couplets adds force to the passage illustrated, and there is nothing in the poet's style to contradict the appropriateness of the reading. Lines inserted after 178 begin a well-defined climax that culminates in line 187. Lines 551, 552 are logically significant in connective and introductory (*i. e.* to paragraph) sense. They, like lines 645, 646, contain vigorous personal application of the truth expounded and add to the dramatic effect of the passage. Lines 645, 646:

“Nowe be þou were, þou proude gome,  
þat þou ne be in prydé enome.”

Peculiarly representative of the poet, and forcible in the genesis of the poem is the interpolation of one member of group Z, lines 639—640:

<sup>1</sup> For a later MS. may be a good copy of a MS. older than any now extant.

“Out of heuen, þat was so bryȝte,  
Into helle for pride he toke his flyȝte.”<sup>1</sup>

Rounding the sentence, in harmony with the context, and characteristic of the style of the poet<sup>2</sup> is the contribution of group Z following line 420 :

“Which shal not be to hem vncowþe,  
For god shal sey it with his mowþe:  
‘Venite, benedicti patris mei.’”

Lines following 160 in MS. H<sub>2</sub> seem in keeping with the dramatic earnestness of the poet :

“Where be thoo þat thynkyþe þere vpon?  
I cane nott telle, be seynte John!”

But the textual merit of group Y on basis of its MS. diverging most broadly from the original does not support the introduction of readings of H<sub>2</sub>, however well justified they may seem through sentiment. Similarly H<sub>2</sub> in line 323 seems to preserve the meaning of the poet in *Herken now my ffrenle so free*. A preferred reading is also that of H<sub>1</sub>R in l. 790, *Herken & I wil telle þe*, supported by MS. D, a member of the opposing group beginning *Harkeneþ*; but the wisdom of conservatism has limited the development of these theories to the form of suggestions only.

Particularly at variance with the text are those interpolations that have the tendency to perfect the metre by the substitution of lines of see-saw regularity. The serenity of the verse is consequently marred by a harsh and senseless jingle in contrast with the *naïve* natural grace of the main poem ; cf. lines 4—5, 323—324, 454—455, 507—508, and numerous alterations of the entire line, especially in MS. H<sub>2</sub>, but also in MS. H<sub>1</sub>. In contrast to the freedom and beauty of the original verse these additions are of no value in the textual criticism and are to be rejected as undesirable redaction. Such lines, quoted without reference to the specific MS., are illustrated as follows : 132, 251, 272, 283, 440, 442, 514, 606, 688, 696, etc.

Undoubtedly in minor features<sup>3</sup> an individual MS. may be correct in reading ; thus MSS. D and R have preserved *fonde* (*jonge* A<sub>1</sub>),

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the position of this interpolation as a unit in the integral poem, the editor recognizes grounds for difference of opinion, and in the introduction of the passage is, like Lydgate, open to correction.

<sup>2</sup> The tendency of the poet to clinch his statement with a final expression in summary of his thought is to be marked in this poem.

<sup>3</sup> The discussion of other passages on basis of the two groups of texts might seem desirable in this chapter. The alteration of pronouns by the different MSS. respectively is occasion for investigation, but here the poet himself was

1. 508 satisfactory, as rime and meaning indicate. Line 1029, *he* as preserved by *R* is necessary to the full line, and line 350, *as* and *hem* make two syllables too many for regular scansion; so *nu* in l. 69 is a syllable too much for the metre. *þo*, line 342, and *nost* line 347, are necessary to the meaning.

The testimony of five MSS. for *wyll*, line 2, also *how*, line 267, would perhaps be in opposition to the Auchinleck readings *may* and *what*. To the editor the poetical charm of the Auchinleck rendering was reason for the retention of what may be granted to be on authority of the MSS., a desirable textual alteration.

The question of the legitimacy of the reading of *god*, MSS. A<sub>2</sub>D, *god* H<sub>1</sub>, *om.* H<sub>2</sub>, lines 6 and 21, is respectfully submitted to the student of textual criticism.

The *Speculum* of this issue would not credit itself as submitting rigorously a critical text. Placing material for thought before its public, it would become groundwork for the investigation of the student of philology.

### § 3. The Arrangement of the Edition.

The *Speculum*, as here set forth on basis of MS. A<sub>1</sub>, seeks to correct palpable errors<sup>1</sup> extant in the fundamental text. Any attempt at restoration<sup>2</sup> of A<sub>1</sub> is governed by the readings<sup>3</sup> of MSS. A<sub>2</sub>, D, H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>2</sub>, R, collated separately or with reference to a group-combination. Although members of the family Z preserve nearly complete versions of the original, yet in instance of variance in the MSS., preference is often given to a representative of the group Y. In general a substituted reading presents forms of A<sub>2</sub>, the MS.

not always exact. Other points have claims to attention, but minor interpolations will generally be recognized as such. The reader is referred to the notes on the poem and the chapter over metre for other questions connected with the criticism of the texts.

<sup>1</sup> Errors in MS. A<sub>1</sub> are chiefly accidental, illustrative of omission rather than of interpolation.

<sup>2</sup> Deficiency is to be recognized through verses that interfere with the scansion, or in instances in which the MSS. are self-contradictory or support one another in obvious error or in mutilation of the archetype.

<sup>3</sup> Avoidable errors in the younger MSS. are notably comprehensive, particularly in MS. D. Among them all haplography and dittography are not common. MS. A<sub>2</sub> is probably answerable for an instance of skipping in verses 81 ff. and 140 ff. (chap. III. 4), due probably to *homeoteleuton*. Interpolation and attempt at explanation of unintelligible forms must be attributed to H<sub>2</sub>. Intentional error accredited to *mala fides* is to be noted. The scribe often adapts a sentence to a blunder originating with himself or tries to make sense of what he does not understand. Particularly have instances of anacoluthon taxed the grammarian; cf. verses 623—627.

second in excellency, or *D*, a MS. affording at times a good text, and often reproducing the original. Hence MS. *D* supplies lines 1007—1034, imperfect in MS. *A<sub>1</sub>*, through injury to the MS. and wanting in MS. *A<sub>2</sub>* through loss of leaves. [*pylt*], line 232, has been contributed by *A<sub>2</sub>*, where *put* of *D* is manifestly a mutilation of the first text. On the other hand, MS. *R* alone preserves [*he*] added line 1029, and necessary to perfect metre on basis of the normal type *A*. Undoubted blunders of the copyist having been rectified and absolute deficiencies supplied, MS. *A<sub>1</sub>* has been scrupulously followed. The sources of the present text as thus constructed have been differentiated through the following symbols, by which every deviation from the immediate MS. may be recognized :

(1) Customary italic type, that represents the expansion of a form contracted in the MS. : *hem* 25, *Iesu* 34, *euere* 44, *uertuz* 71, etc., all illustrative of usual methods of MS. abbreviation. (2) Brackets, embracing individual letters, syllables, words, or lines, which have been supplied from other MSS. as conjectural emendations of scribal errors ; thus *þiself[e]*, verse 10, indicates that -[e] has been added as the reading of at least three of the MSS., and that the inflectional and metrical value of the verse is improved by the conjecture. On the other hand, while the verse might metrically represent the type *C* (described chap. xi.), the suffix places it in the normal type *A*, in agreement with laws presupposed to belong to the *Speculum*. [*nost*], line 347, indicates that an entire word, deficient in MS. *A<sub>1</sub>*, has been inserted within the verse. On this principle the three verses lost in *A<sub>1</sub>*, 1032—1034, are embraced in brackets, showing that this portion of the text is borrowed from MS. *D*. (3) Parentheses, inclosing a word that should be omitted in text *A<sub>1</sub>*, as inconsistent with meaning, grammatical or metrical form, or historical development. (4) Notes at the bottom of the page, strictly limited to palaeographical modifications, important generally to execution alone. So a few instances of dittography are marked in foot-notes, pp. 34, 38, and 40, etc. A foot-note indicates that *þer*, l. 33, is written over erasure in *A<sub>1</sub>*, and that *to*, verse 71, is above the line.

Two necessarily single words united in the MS. (*i. e.* *A<sub>1</sub>*) have been separated. A hyphen identifies the elements of a single word written apart in the MS. Punctuation, paragraphing by the setting in of the line, the introduction of capital letters beginning proper names (*Alquin* 51, *Iudas* 129, *Gregory* 667) or opening the verse,

have been regulated in conformity with harmonious literary usage. Large initial letters correspond to the illuminated capitals of the parchment. The sign ¶ in the MS. is reproduced on the printed page by the same character in the position, relatively to the text, that it occupies on the leaf of the folio. Owing to the abundant failure in the coincidence of the logical and technical paragraphing as presented in the parchment (see lines 9, 48, 57, etc.), the MS. paragraph is not marked by the mechanical setting-in of the line, as is regarded expedient in *Sir Beues*. See also Kölbing, p. xlii., and *Guy of Warwick*, 15th century edition, p. vii. The *Speculum* makes no attempt to introduce the inflectional final -e, even when warranted by associated forms, except as an occasional aid to symmetry in metre. Where double thesis can be avoided by the apocope or syncope of the unaccented -e, that -e, though expressed, is usually to be regarded as silent.

Below the text on each page are given in full the readings of MSS. A<sub>2</sub>, D, H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>2</sub>, R, arranged as variants and following the leading Anchinleck text in alphabetical order. The orthography is always that of the MS. that first deviates from MS. A<sub>1</sub>, be it MS. A<sub>2</sub>, D, H<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>2</sub>, or R. It is hoped that no form conveying difference of meaning has been omitted. Variations purely orthographical or phonetical have in general not been represented. Yet in a few instances graphical or phonetic modifications that seem of peculiar interest are cited among genuine variants, as, for instance: *where*, for *were*, l. 59 in *D*; *boys*, *bush*, l. 363 in *D*; *herth*, *corþe* in *A<sub>1</sub>*, l. 375 in *D*; *hyere*, O.E. *hér*, l. 452 in *A<sub>2</sub>*, *H<sub>1</sub>*. Numberless spirals, curves, twists, and flourishes, and the line crossing *h* or *l* have in general been treated as ornaments, unless the metrical quality of the verse or the inflection demands a final -e or -n. It is intended, that the variants reproduce exactly the forms of the MSS. without emendations or conjectural readings. An exception is the variant to 524 in *H<sub>1</sub>*, *su[m]what*. A conjecture is also permitted, where minuscules were apparently confused with others having a superficial resemblance to them; cf. variant 602 in *D*, where -te seems confused with -ie, *rilante* for *rilanie*, and 563, -is for -rs, *doist* for *dorst*!. The variants bear no alteration in orthography. Punctuation must be looked on as irrespective of the MSS.

The side-notes of the page contain the abstract of the subject-matter; the headlines, a briefer abstract. Alcuin's *Liber* contributes chapter headings in Latin. These are written in italic type on the margin opposite to that containing the brief paraphrase.

Important in the preparation of the edition are the notes, in purpose critical as well as explanatory. Here various textual readings have been discussed and difficult passages, idioms, and usages of the period have been studied through parallel selections from Romance poems and the various homilies of the century. A list of the archaic words of the text, with meanings and verse numbers, is collected in the glossary. If the single word occur more than three times in the same meaning, the sign *etc.* after the third number indicates the fact.

Diacritical marks are introduced into the chapters of the Introduction as follows: a circumflex accent (^) indicates a long syllable in a word of O.E. derivation; a macron (-), a long syllable in a M.E. word or a loan-word of foreign origin; a breve (˘) marks the short syllable in an O.E. or a M.E. word; two dots above a vowel (··) show that it is to be sounded, below (..), that it is silent; primary stress is denoted by the acute accent ('); secondary stress, by the grave accent (˘); the metrical pause, by a period (.); a colon (:) is written between the members of a rhyming couplet; marks of parenthesis () inclose a form not of value in the immediate discussion; < is equivalent to "derived from"; an asterisk (\*), a theoretical form.

Apart from reference to the well-known dictionaries<sup>1</sup> of Murray, Bosworth-Toller, Stratmann-Bradley, Kluge, Skeat, Paul's *Grundriss*, Sievers's *Ang. Grammatik*, and the *M.E. Grammatik* of Morsbach, the *Speculum* is frequently indebted to the following works:<sup>2</sup>

- E. A. Abbott, *A Shakespearian Grammar*.
- B. ten Brink, *Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst*. Leipzig, 1884.
- K. Brugmann, *Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages*, Wright, Conway, Rouse, London, 1888—93.
- B. Carstens, *Zur Dialectbestimmung des mittelenglischen Sir Firumbras*. Eine Lautuntersuchung. Kiel, 1884.
- E. Kölbing, *The Romance of Sir Beues of Hampton*. London, 1885—94. (Early English Text Soc., Extra Series, Nos. XLVI., XLVIII., LXV.).
- G. Menze, *Der ostmitteländische Dialekt*. I. Vokalismus. Cöthen, 1889.
- F. Pabst, *Die Sprache der me. Reimchronik des R. von Gloucester*. Berlin, 1889.

<sup>1</sup> These authorities necessary to the specialist in the most primary English study, are too familiar to demand specific description.

<sup>2</sup> Reference in the following edition to any work of the subjoined list will hereafter often cite merely the author's surname, with number of the page quoted for illustration, but without naming specific title.

A. Pogatscher, *Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen Lehnwörter im Altenenglischen*, 1888.

J. Schick, *Lydgate's Temple of Glas*. London, 1891 (Early English Text Soc., Extra Series, No. LX.).

W. Skeat, *Priuiples of English Etymology*. Oxford, 1887–91.

O. Wilda, *Über die örtliche Verbreitung der 12-zeil. Schreibfreime in England*.

J. Zupitza,<sup>1</sup> *Alt- und mittelenglisches Übungsbuch*. Wien, 1889.

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## Part II.

### CHAPTER VI.

#### ON THE RELATION OF THE *SPECULUM* TO THE GUY OF WARWICK ROMANCES.

“Bove all the knightis that euer weare or shal  
Sir Guy of Warwick beares the coronal.”<sup>2</sup>

THE *Speculum* represents the modernized form<sup>3</sup> of the Guy saga, the third working<sup>4</sup> of the material as illustrated in the Copland<sup>5</sup> Guy

<sup>1</sup> Naturally frequent reference will be made to Zupitza's editions of the various Guy of Warwick MSS. (Early English Text Society, Extra Series, Nos. XXV., XXVI., XLII., XLIX., and *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Cl. der kais. Academie der Wiss.*, LXXIV., p. 549), and to Wülker's, Körting's, and ten Brink's histories of English literature.

<sup>2</sup> Selected from the MS. of Lane's Lydgate's *Guy of Warwick, The renowned historie of Sir Gwy, Earl of Warwick*, “surnamed Heremite, begun by Don Lydgatt, monek of St. Edmundes Berve,” reworked by John Lane in 1622, but never printed; cf. the Harleian MS. 5243. Lane's Lydgatt's Gwy. It was described and commended by Phillips, the nephew of John Milton. Concerning the “corrected Historie of Sir Gwy,” see also Zupitza, *Sitzungsb.*, p. 645, and Turnbull in his edition of the Auchinleck Guy: *The Romances of Sir Guy of Warwick*, Edinburgh, 1840.

<sup>3</sup> Compare date and relative character of material. Minute discussion will be reserved for another occasion.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Zupitza, *Zur Literaturgeschichte des Guy von Warwick*, Wien, 1873, pp. 632, 635. Lydgate's Guy is probably in one sense an independent text, and the editor would not specify the *Speculum* as necessarily a *third* working of the fundamental legend.

<sup>5</sup> Intermediate in period between the Copland and Lydgate Guys must be recalled the Wynkyn de Worde edition, dated in the Museum collection, 1500; the French text printed à Paris, 1525; a later edition (in French) of 1550; and possibly the fragment printed by Sir T. Phillipps, Middle Hill, 1838; cf. Museum text. The brief fragment, three leaves (*Fragmenta vetusta*) of the W. de Worde edition preserved in the British Museum, Add. MS. 14,408, and the fourth leaf to be found in the Douce Collection 20 of the Bodley MSS., belongs probably to the series associated with *Robert the drayll* of 1510, prose stories printed by Wynkyn de Worde; cf. Jusserand, *The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, p. 64.

or in Lydgate's Guy. Yet it is to be remembered that the poem of this issue is earlier than the Lydgate text<sup>1</sup> of 1423, or Copland's print<sup>2</sup> of 1560 by the Museum estimate. The *Speculum* supplements the main Guy legend. A chapter lost from some intact version, it is closely interwoven with the thread of the fundamental romance. The "sarmoun" blends with the tale as recorded by Lydgate, the *Lyff of Guy of Warwick*,<sup>3</sup> at the point at which Lydgate's Guy :—

. . . . . "kam to an hermytage,  
where he fond on dwellyng in wyldernessee." str. 63<sup>8</sup>  
64 To hym he drouh besechynge hym of grace."<sup>4</sup>

This "on dwellyng in wyldernessee" might be recognized as "Alquin," and the "besechynge hym of grace" the plea for "sarmoun" over morality. The event occurred, as in the *Speculum*, when þe world . . he . . forsook (v. 33), after Guy had already :—

. . . . . "spedle hym forth for love of Crist Jesu. str. 24  
25 Forsook the world onknowe to eury wight,  
Of hil perfeccyoun to leven in penaunce,  
"lefte wyff and kyn and bekam goddis knyght,  
whom for to serve was set all his penaunce,  
content with lytel (Crist was his suffysaunce)."

Central point<sup>5</sup> of contact determining absolutely immediate time and date of the interview resulting in the discourse to Guy is not definitely chronicled. Conditions of the *Speculum* in source and working display youth<sup>6</sup> rapt to some celestial ecstacy of renunciation. Intuitively a period of irresolution calling for the defining of purpose and determination comes to mind, marking the hour of farewell to Felice, the period of victory over earthly passion. Here belong Alquin's words of courage to the weak soul. The *Speculum* suggests

<sup>1</sup> Schick, *Temple of Glas*, pp. civ. and exii. See Zupitza's date, 1420, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 648.

<sup>2</sup> The Museum text employed in the arrangement of this edition having lost its first leaves is without date; but compare Copland's prints, *Syr Beuys of Hampton*, *Syr Degore*, *Syr Isumbra*, *The Knight of the Swanne*, etc. of 1550. Copland concludes his task with: Finis. *Laus Deo omnipotenti*. Jusserand dates Copland's print "about 1560," p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> For Lydgate's version see Zupitza, *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-hist. Cl. der kais. Akademie der Wiss.* (Berlin, 1874, Ixxiv, p. 649), *Acta Guidonis Warwickensis*, "A plesante songe of the valiant actes of Guy of War wieke."

<sup>4</sup> *Sitzungsberichte (vide supra)*, p. 661, and *Uebungsbuch*, p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> Though infinitely suggestive of the greater subject, this poem purports to attain only to the dignity of the episode. The ten thousand verses (practically 8043, Herbing, p. 12) of more perfect texts have no claim to recognition in the compact exposition of the *Speculum*. Hence comparisons here introduced are in each instance outward from the *Speculum* to associated texts, rather than inward, tracing only the main theme in the brief composition.

<sup>6</sup> Eighteenth century authority is as follows: "You are young and meanly born."—*Chap Book*, 1796.

the young energy of a knight in the glow of vigorous manhood. The appropriate passage of Lydgate's version, characterizing a life nearing its "dim goal," is inconsistent with the hypothesis embodied in the *Speculum*, yet in this detail the anachronism<sup>1</sup> could be ascribed to the poetical application of the same incident under diverse treatment of remote ages and different authorship. "So the profound secret purpose of a noble life draws into itself the memories of past joy and past sorrow, and yields them again with chronology lost."<sup>2</sup>

Alquin fills the rôle of hermit<sup>3</sup> in another of his functions, in that he becomes Guy's spiritual physician: *i shal nu ben þi leche*, verse 69; *hele of soule i may ou teche*, verse 2. So in Copland's *Guy*, a hermit serves in office of medical adviser:<sup>4</sup>

1259 "There was a monke behelde him well,  
That could of leche craft some dell."—Copl. p. 15.

1269 "That Hermite in a little stound  
Looked to Guy and healed his wound."—Copl. p. 15.

The service of hermit as guide, adviser, and healer, is testified to in different versions of the legend. Ample occasion is offered in the early texts for the skill of the physician<sup>5</sup> as counsellor in virtue, but the *Speculum* advances a step beyond other poems in providing tangible personality for a traditional type<sup>6</sup> of mediæval development. The hermit is distinctly named "Alquin."

The sermon also fits well into the narrative, as printed by Copland,<sup>7</sup> in *The Booke of the moste victoryous Prynce, Guy of Warwick* (Imprynted at London in Lothburye, ouer agaynst Saynt Margarit's Church by Wylliam Copland):

<sup>1</sup> For Lydgate's well-known tendency to anachronism, see *Schick*, pp. cxxxv, cxxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Henry Van Dyke, *The Story of the other Wise Man*, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Accounts of Guy's acquaintance with hermits, details of his life history, his "last Will and Testament," his epitaph are abundant; nothing is lacking in the tale, but the name of a hermit never occurs. Alquin is not mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *Three Early English Metrical Romances*, vol. 1, p. xxii: "For there were none heremites in tho dayes, but that they had been men of worshyp and of prowesse, and the heremites helde grete housholde, and refreshyd peple that were in distresse."

<sup>5</sup> Thus Sir Launcelot came to a "heremyt" and besought aid: *he prayd hym for Goddes sake of socour* (*vide ante*, p. xxx.).

<sup>6</sup> The historian Josephus (b. 37 A.D.) records in the *Life* "by his own Hand" "Tryal" of the doctrines of a famous Master Banus (the *Talmud* names Bani, of "Christ's Disciples"), that led the "Life of a Hermite in Caves and Solitudes."

<sup>7</sup> It is to be noted that the Copland print is without pagination and line-numbers. Parallel passages in Zupitza's *Guy of Warwick*, published in 1875 (E. E. T. S., XXV, XXVI), are often marked at the left of quotations from Copland.

"And as he rode, by the way  
Bysyde he saw a fayre abbay,  
Thyther guy rode well, I wote,  
And there he founde a noble Abbote,"—Copl. p. 14.

Copland notes often a visit to a hermit, opportunity for "beseching of sarmoun," cf. as follows:

"and the priestes and Clarkes met him with precessyon Singing : *te Deum Laudamus.*"—Copl. p. 212.

"To Arderne yede he fast,  
and an Ermitage he founde at last,  
that stooode in wood wyble."—Copl. p. 214.

"To an Hermite then rode he  
And sayde: 'Hermite, come and go with me.' . . .

"The Hermyte sayd : 'gladly persay.'  
To that Forrest he went with guy." —Copl. p. 14.

1247 "To an Hermite then rode Guy,  
That he knew before truely.  
That Hermite in a little stoun  
Looked to Guy . . . .

1269 When he was whole of the Hermite thare,  
His leaue he tooke and forth gan fare."—Copl. p. 15.

Other MSS. versions of the legend enroll pleadings with hermits. MS. Ff. 2, 38, reads as follows (cf. above):

"He went to an abbey,  
That was a lytill besyde þe wey.  
The abbot sone he fonde there  
And spake to hym on hys manere."—Ff. 2. 38, v. 1219 ff.

"Besydes Warwykk go he can  
To an ermyte, þat he knewe or þan."—Auch. v. 10,525.

The language of the entreaty<sup>1</sup> in various accounts of the interview, attests to the symmetry of the development in the various texts, if not to the uniformity of the coincidence in method of address:

G. '75, 1223. "Guy sayd : 'Syr, for charitee.'" —Copl. p. 14.

"'Sur,' he sayd, 'sane þe,  
I the bydd, pur charite.'"—Ff. 2, 38, v. 1225.

"*bat lu wole, par charite.*"—Auch. 10, v. 55.

*"Sire cher, par charite."*—Ang. 28, fol. v. a.

<sup>1</sup> The selection proves the uniform conformity of MSS. of different origin to an accepted usage, rather than a striking idiosyncrasy of the Guy texts; *par charite*, common in address to hermits, presents also forms of entreaty under strong emotion: *Sir Beues*, MS. S, verse 1420, and MS. E, 4004, read:

v. 1420: Tel me now pur charyte.

v. 3164: For charite! she seide,

v. 4004: And ervede hym meray pur charyte.

In the different MSS. the motive ascribed to Guy was the same<sup>1</sup>:

“and euer Guy had gode in his thought.”—Copl. p. 206, v. 16.

“Therfor y am purposed in thought  
In goddis seruyse now to geo,  
To acquite some-what, that y haue mysdoo.”—Caius, v. 7426.

. . . “in his mynde bethought him anone,  
That all his lif he wolde chaunge tho,  
and in goddis seruyse he wolde him do.”—Caius, v. 7406.

“All earthly Pleasure he for Heaven forsook.”<sup>2</sup>—Epitaph of Guy.

“He thoghte þere wyth all hys myȝt,  
To serue hym bothe day and nyght.”—Ff. 2, v. 7143.

“All thyss worlde y wyll forsake,  
And penaunce for my synnes take.  
Wende y wyll yn goddys seruyse.”—Ff. 2, 7179 ff.

“He þouȝt wiþ dreri mode :

. . . . .  
For Iesu loue, our sauour,  
Neuer no dede he gode.”—Auch. 22, v. 16 ff.

“To bote min sinnes ichill wende,  
Barfot to mi liues ende.”—Auch. 22, v. 10 f.

Corresponding passages in the *Speculum* read :

. . . . . “on a time he stod in þouȝt :  
þe worldes blisse him þouȝte noht.”—Auch. 10, v. 31, 32.

“(And) louede god and his lore,  
And in his seruise was euere more.”—Auch. 10, v. 35, 36.

Amplification<sup>3</sup> explanatory of the suggestive lines 31—36 of the *Speculum* is supplied by Copland, who describes Guy’s self-

<sup>1</sup> A later text explains Guy’s motive: At the very height of Guy’s glory, being exalted to his father’s dignities, Conscience biddeth him repent of all his former sins, so Guy resolved to travel to the Holy Land like a Pilgrim. “Ah, Phillis,” said he, “I have spent much time in honouring thee and to win thy favour, but never spared one minute for my soul’s health in honouring the Lord.” After exchange of rings and melting kisses, he departed like a stranger from his own habitation, taking neither money nor scrip with him, and but a small quantity of herbs and roots.—Chap Book, *History of Guy*, of which there seem to be at least twelve editions, one bearing the date 1783; the twelfth appeared in 1790; another was printed for “the company of walking stationers,” 1796.

Another account enumerates details as follows: Ruminating on past actions of his Life, and the showers of Blood he had spilt in seeking after Honour, it made him extreamly pensive. He spoke with Felice: “For thy sake, dear Lady, have I waded through Seas of Blood, and with this Hand laid many Thousands sleeping in their silent graves, and spent all the Days of my blooming Youth in seeking that empty Title called Honour.” Then after a sad farewell Guy travelled many weary Steps on the Land, pursued his pilgrimage through hardship and danger in the Holy Land with great Devotion. Selected from *The History of the famous Exploits of Guy Earl of Warwick*. Printed for Charles Bates at the Sun and Bible in Pye Corner, near St. Sepulchre’s Church.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bettesworth’s *Guy*, “Epitaph of Guy and Felice.”

<sup>3</sup> Weight of the argument based on this parallel is enhanced, if the relative length of the *Speculum* and of the other texts of these selections is to be regarded comparatively.

abnegation with its ulterior motive.<sup>1</sup> Guy reveals to Felice the reproach of his stricken conscience. Copland states that Guy had :—

- “bethought him tho,  
how he had done many a man wo,  
7135 and slayne many a man with his honde,  
Brent and destroyed many a Lande.
- 7143 Forth his lyfe therefore guy thought,  
to serue Jesu Crist that him bought.
- 7147 ‘With penaunce amende shall I  
that I haue sinned with my body.’”

The prose version adds : “I am determined to travel for the welfare of my soul, not as before upon my Horse in Armour, but in a Gown of Grey, a Palmer’s weed.” Then Guy journeys toward the Holy Land, where once Jerusalem’s fair city stood.

The *Speculum* in its function of episode makes no further claim to the absolute facts of the greater romance, yet into the suggestiveness of its brief verses it compresses the striking incidents of the fundamental tale. Its service is greater. The spirit of the associated romance is transmitted to the *Speculum*, and is transfused by subtle magic into the very essence of the poem.

The *Speculum*, shaped to the conception of English<sup>2</sup> tradition, is

<sup>1</sup> Guy expresses his purpose, in words paraphrasing the record of the *Gesta Romanorum*: “To purchase Heaven I will go pass through Hell.”

<sup>2</sup> Whether the origin of the tradition bearing the name Guy be British or Welsh, as in the associated Arthour romance, Saracen, according to Ritson, German, or French, brought from the far East (Herbing, p. 889), as the Furnivall-Hales-Percy text intimates, the immediate Guy typified in this version is English, and the ultimate *motif* is English in the presentation of a national hero. The ballad assumes :

“An *English-man* I was by Birth ;  
In Faith of Christ a Christian.”

“It was an *English-man* all this did do.”

Moreover, the distinguishing characteristics of the tale are to be traced to English ground. So the battle with Colbrand was on English soil, according to the poet :

“and when Guy was on *English syde*,  
Unto worke he gan ryde.”

“En Engleterre *feu ieo ne*.  
*En une ville de Wallingford,*  
*Qu'est pres de Oxenford.*”

Guy’s national reputation was English; cf. Rowlands’s Guy. *The famous History of Guy, Earle of Warwick*, “Great Gvy of Warwick our famous Country man,” by Samuel Rowlands, London, (“printed for Edward Brewster at the sign of the Crane in St. Paul’s Churchyard,” 1682, and published in Glasgow for the Hunterian Club; Edinburgh print of 1836) asserts that :

“Great Hercules, if he haſt breathed on ground,  
When *English Guy* of Warwick liv’d renowned,  
There would have been a combat twixt them two.”

The French version of 1525 describes Guy as of English origin: “*Cy com-*

likewise moulded skilfully to a historical groundwork of facts diametrically opposed in nature and origin. Count Guido,<sup>1</sup> *Guido Comes*, knight of renown, active in war, holding at Tours positions of honour and trust,<sup>2</sup> appeals to Alcuin, Dean<sup>3</sup> of the order of St. Martin<sup>4</sup> 796—804, cultured priest of the school of the palace, preceptor of one greater than Count Guido, superior to youthful neophytes, beloved teacher of the king and emperor<sup>5</sup> Charlemagne, a humble<sup>6</sup> servant consecrated to righteousness. Inspired with religious exaltation through purpose of chivalric glorification of God, Count Guido pleaded for a homily<sup>7</sup> to deepen spiritual consecration under the austerity of war, *Spec.* 49—64 and *Liber*. The devoted friar responded with an exposition of virtue, the *Liber* popular during many ages. There is some ground for believing that the vigilant Count became successor to Alcuin,<sup>8</sup> and to the period of his death was Abbot of the monastery of St. Martin of Tours. The tradition continues to embody with consistent fidelity historical facts of Count Guido's life, for, on authority of Lydgate:—

*mence Guy de Warwick chevalier D'AGLETERRE, qui en son temps fit plusieurs prouesses et conquêtes en ALLEMAIGNE,*" etc.

That England claimed the warrior chief seems evidenced in the "address" of the same edition of Rowlands. The first address is "To the Noble English Nation;" the second, "To the Honorable Ladies of England."

<sup>1</sup> In similar guise the exploits of Charlemagne and his retinue of brave warriors are glorified in *Fyrumbras*, or the *Song of Roland* in its various versions, and the victories of King Arthour in his "table round" of noble verse.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Liber*, *Epistola Nunenpatoria*, and *Speculum*, verses 27—36. See Adamson under Alcuin in *Dictionary of National Biography* for facts regarding Albinius Flaeceus.

<sup>3</sup> As presiding officer of the monastic school Alcuin delighted to be called *Dean*, simple deacon, Migne, vol. i. p. 31, § xxiv.: *beatus Alcuinus in epistolis suis nunquam se monachum, sed vel levitem, vel, quod illo tempore idem significabat diaconum inscribat*, cf. *Speculum*, v. 41.

<sup>4</sup> *Speculum*, verses 37—44.

<sup>5</sup> Alcuin, *Carissime in Christo preeceptor* (Ep. 124), was inseparable from Charlemagne in pedagogy, theology, struggles, battles, beloved teacher, theologian, and author. See Schönfelder, *Alcuin*, 1873.

<sup>6</sup> *humillissimus* is the epithet selected by Alcuinus in epitomizing his own character; see MS. Arundel 218, fol. 2, where Alcuin is described as *humillissimus levitas in Deo felicitas*, and Monnier, *Alcuin et Charlemagne*, p. 344, *Sa religion et son humilité étaient mal à l'aise au milieu de tout de richesse*. See also Monnier, *Alcuin et son influence littéraire religieuse et politique sur les Franks*, Paris, 1853.

<sup>7</sup> A sermon book was not inconsistent with the times of the great teacher. This form of homily was continued in Germany in ecclesiastical legislation until the close of the fifteenth century; see *Charles I. or Life of Charlemagne*, pp. 85, 86; Werner, *Alcuin und sein Jahrhundert*, 1876, p. 252, and, for the English homily, ten Brink, I. 49, 290, 291; Morley, vol. iii. pp. 350—352.

<sup>8</sup> Alcuin held the highest monastic benefice. As Abbot he enforced the rigorous dispensation of the Benedictine Order; cf. *Ep.* 43.

“the same hermyte with inne a lytel space  
by deth is passed the flyn of his labour,  
after whos day Guy was his successour.”

str. 64<sup>5</sup>

Lydgate adds a conclusion suggestive of the reward of piety, interpreting the influence of the discourse, be it *Speculum* or *Liber*, and applicable equally to Count Guido<sup>1</sup> and to Guy. For the “historie” affirms, that Guy of Warwick lived *more and more encresyng in vertu*, 64<sup>1</sup>.

The poet thus originates magnificent phantasmagoria. In reckless disregard for local tradition he endows with life a hero of fiction. He bestows on him actual name, rank in actual history, and more than “local habitation.” He places him in France. He honours him with conspicuous position in a prominent monastery.<sup>2</sup> He associates him as friend and contemporary of an honoured prelate. He oversteps the limits of time, and places Guy’s existence in a definite period a hundred years earlier than the age in which his splendid achievements are uniformly supposed to have enriched his name with glory.<sup>3</sup> In localizing a popular legend, Guy of Warwick is accounted for as an actual hero, Guido of Tours. He lived in the eighth century. The theory of a specific personality for Guy of Warwick is also that of Cornubiensis (Cambrens), Walter of Exeter,<sup>4</sup> Dugdale the historian of Warwickshire, and of Peter Langtoft. If testimony of the *Speculum* be regarded as unauthentic, the delusion, involving the same sense of the reality of the doughty warrior, is

<sup>1</sup> The life of the knight was modelled after that of his preceptor. Over the serenity and the spirituality of Alcuin, see West, *Alcuin and the Rise of Christian Schools*, 1893, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The school of the Abbey was, second to the *schola palatina*, the most celebrated in France. Large numbers of distinguished pupils assembled there, among them many foreign students; see Schönfelder, p. 29. It became also a xenodochium for the reception of pilgrims. Not only did Charles I. pass much time in Tours, the queen Luitgarda dying there, but he was constantly patron of the Abbey; Jaffe, *Ep.* 53; Monnier, *Alcuin et Charlemagne*, p. 344; West, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Guy’s achievement with the famed dragon is described as follows:

“Valiant Guy bestirs his bands,  
The Dragon back did shrink.  
The giant . . . quaking stands  
And knew not what to think.  
Guy gets the victory at last,  
Which made great Rumbo glad.  
He was full glad the fight was fit,  
For he before was sad:  
The greatful Lion Guy did greet;  
When he to him did goe,  
And thankfully did lick his feet.”

*The heroick History of Guy, Earle of Warwick*, by Hymphrey Croch, printed for Bell at the East end of the Christ Church, 1655.

<sup>4</sup> Herbing, “*Ueber die Hss. des Guy von W.*,” p. 4.

heightened by the revelations of Warwick Castle through the display,<sup>1</sup> in hall and oratory, of trophies testifying to the prowess of some scion of the house of Warwick,<sup>2</sup> nominally the “mighty earle,” and through the statue<sup>3</sup> itself at Guy’s cliff.

Early literature of the hero ascribes a most realistic actuality to Guy, for example, the ancient ballad,<sup>4</sup> *Bayford Ballads*, vol. ii. p. 19. It describes Guy as one, “Who (for the love of fair Phillis) became a hermit, and died in a Cave of a craggy Rock, a Mile distant from Warwick.”

“And then I lived a hermit’s life  
A mile or more out of the town.”

The ballad claims :

“ My body in Warwick yet doth lye,  
though now it is consumed to Mould.  
My statue<sup>5</sup> was engraven in stone.”

The work is commended in the preface as a theme of wonder for ages long anterior to our own, as portraying the very “locality of the spot” where Guy lived and died. Epitaphs<sup>6</sup> of Guy and Felice record the burial of a knight :

“ Whose great achievements oft perform’d  
Has through Earth’s Globe immortalized his Name,  
And given him a never-dying fame.”

<sup>1</sup> It will be recalled that the exhibition comprises shield, breast-plate, helmet, walking-staff, tilting-pole, and porridge-pot belonging to Guy, the slipper of *pat swete þing*, Felice, and various trophies of contest in tusks of slaughtered boar, ribs of the Dun cow, diagram of the green dragon, *et cetera*, monuments “of lasting Fame of the noble Heroic Champion.”

<sup>2</sup> Confusion will not arise between the house of Guy and that of the present representative of the name and title Warwick, whose descent is traced to the biographer of Sidney (*Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney*, London, 1652), Elizabeth’s favourite, Fulke Greville.

<sup>3</sup> The figure of Guy in the Magdalen chapel is at least in stature worthy the “defender of distressed innocence,” comments *The Tourist’s Guide to Warwick*, p. 46. In this statue, *diabolice statura*, Guy is, *non homo! immo potius spiritus diaboli*, says one.

<sup>4</sup> “A pleasant song of the Valiant Deeds of Chivalry achieved by that Noble Knight, Sir Guy of Warwick,” “printed at the Angel in Duck-lane, London: where any chapman may be furnished with them, or any other books at reasonable rates.” Compare *Roxburghe Ballads*, press mark III. 50, 708.

<sup>5</sup> This statue, according to Dugdale, was erected in honour of Guy of Beauchamp.

<sup>6</sup> Effete philistinism alone would doubt the authenticity of the following noble epitaph, honouring the hero of the Dun cow and the green dragon:

“ Under this marble lies a pair,  
Scarce such another in the world there are,  
Like him so valiant, or like her so fair.  
His actions thro’ the world have spread his fame,  
And to the highest honours raised his name;  
For conjugal affection and chaste love  
She’s only equalled by the blest above.  
Below they all perfections did possess,  
And now enjoy consummate happiness.”

Finis.

The assumed identity of Guy of Warwick and of Count Guido is adopted, whether inadvertently or with deliberate intent, in later Latin MSS. of the original *Liber* of Aleuin, absolutely irrespective of the *Speculum*; see MS. e Musaeo<sup>1</sup> 214, formerly No. 68, *Epistola Alcuini leuite Guidoni comiti Warrewici ad eius requisitionem*, fol. 51b—fol. 68b, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, date *circa* 1450. That, however, the union of Guy and Guido into a single homogeneous unit be justified as historical, independent study of the *dramatis personæ* of the legend and of the *Liber* will aid to disclose. The part played by Count Guido of Tours, under the name of Guy of Warwick, will be considered in the two chapters to follow, in an attempt to interpret the history of the two warriors.

## CHAPTER VII.

### CONCERNING GUY, EARL OF WARWICK.

“Come! See the noble Deeds of Warwick’s Knight,  
Whose worth within this history is placed  
Like Diamonds, when they’re in Gold inchas’d<sup>2</sup>!”

KÖLBING, in *Germania*, vol. xxi. pp. 366, 367, discredits the legitimacy of the impersonation of Count Guido of Tours in the rôle of Guy of Warwick, on ground of the anachronism of the one hundred years marking the brilliant piece of bravado characteristic of each of the two men. The English hero is, it must be conceded, of uncertain lineage. Kölbing presents the popular verdict with reference to the period of the proud exploits of Guy the knight.<sup>3</sup> In this aspect the objective point of the narrative is contributed in

<sup>1</sup> This Latin MS. is a small quarto described in the *Catalogus Bernardi: Catalogi bibl. MSS. Angliae et Hiberniae* (cf. chap. III. 8); see the same Catalogue, Alb. Alcuinus Flaccus, *De Virtutibus & Vitiis Epistola Ejusdem ad Guidonem Comitem Warwicensum*.

<sup>2</sup> Selected from the Bettesworth Guy, “at the sign of the Red Lion on London-bridge,” of 1706, a work dedicated to Mr. Zachariah Heywood, and containing notes from a mysterious unknown.

<sup>3</sup> The various editions of Guy’s history, popular during the 18th century, comprise large numbers of “Chap Books,” in series combining numerous fascinating tales, *Patient Grissel*, *History of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome*, *The Friar and the Boy*, etc. The edition of 1706 contains a “Full and True Account” of Guy’s “many Famous and Valiant Actions Remarkable and Brave Exploits, and Noble and Renowned Victories,” the history of “his Courtship to fair Phædia—and the many difficulties and Hazards he went through to obtain her Love,” “extracted from Authentick Records, and the whole Illustrated with Cuts suitable to the History.” Printed by W. O. for E. B., and sold by A. Bettesworth. A fifth edition was published in 1711, a seventh in 1733, and a twelfth, London, 81 Shoe Lane, is without date. The volume is

the combat by which the pilgrim, Guy, killed<sup>1</sup> the notable “Gyant of Denmark<sup>2</sup>:

“that is more dread himselfe alone,  
than a thousande armed Knights.”—Copl. p. 202, v. 29.  
“Colbronde his name is tolde.”—Copl. p. 203, v. 3.

About this nucleus has accumulated a cycle of chivalric gests,<sup>3</sup> attributed to Guy, but none of these rival that by which:

“Guy’s courage made the haughty Colebron yield,  
And all the Danish army fly the field!”

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illustrated with thirteen graphic works of art, the last representing the funeral hearse of the departed heir to glory.

The Bates Guy passed through many editions and was sold for three pence by Charles Bates and Sarah Bates at the Sun and Bible in Guilt-spurr-street, later by Charles Bates at the same stand, where any person may be furnished with all. The Bates Guy seems to have seen numerous editions, one of which has been traced to the date 1680. See print for *Bal. Soc.*, 1871, p. xvii.

Another version printed in Aldermanry Churchyard, London, passed through various editions between the years 1780 and 1850. It was sold for two pence. It includes the famous old song, and concludes with an epitaph. It is found in *Garlands and Histories* of 1783. A revised text of the Bettsworth Guy, with a frontispiece, a “*Fæ-simile*” of the Statue of Guy in the chapel at Guy’s Cliff, was printed by C. Whittingham for John Merridew (Warwick), 1821; and a second revised text is ascribed to J. Beck. It was sold by all booksellers in Leamington and Warwick.

<sup>1</sup> *Sir Beues [ed. Kölbing]*, MS. M of the 15th century, claims for Myles, son of *Sir Beues*, the later ownership of Colbrand’s sword; cf. verses 4169—4170, opening question of analogy with Arthurian *Excalibur*, or finding prototype in the “old mighty sword” of Beowulf:

“And Myles had Colbrandy’s brond,  
That som tyme had Rouland.”

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ritson’s version, *A. Eng. M. R.*, vol. iii. p. 348.

<sup>3</sup> The palpable success of great Guy, “exemplarie sparck of christian love,” is measured by his biographers in various euphemistic encomiums. Such was his valour in “Quarrels found out for his Recreation,” “great Achievements oft performed in fight,” that:

“Pagans trembled at the name of Guy!  
His greatest Foes he always made retire,  
And those that saw him, eond not but admire.  
Nor was there any monstrous Gyant who  
He did not both Engage and Conquer too:  
For Gyants, Dragons, Boar and Dunsmore Cow  
To Guy’s all-conquering Arm were forc’d to bow.  
No man could better Love nor better Fight.”

The figure of Guy was so imposing that England felt justified in believing “that his glory reached the further corners of the earth.” “Jews, Turks, and Infidels, became acquainted with his name” (Aldermanry Guy).

“Erl of Warwyk, named oon the beste knyght  
That was tho dayes . . . . .”—*Lydgate*, l. 335.

Even royalty of the English realm did honour to the champion, but modest Guy refused honours, saying: “I am a mortal man, and have set the vain world at defiance.”

“At his very birth he looked like a hero,” and his “brave Teutonic victories in instances of wicked machinations of evil mind”:

“[Have] through Earth’s Globe immortalized his Name.”

This brilliant struggle, the legendary theme, about which the romance<sup>1</sup> has centered, is that described by Mannynge in the *History of England*,<sup>2</sup> derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum*, of the 12th century, and from de Langtoft's French version of this work, see p. 31 :

“Anlaf<sup>3</sup> sent messengers unto Athelstan  
And bad him yeld the lond, or find another man  
To fight with Colibrant . . . . .  
That was Guy of Warwik, as the boke sais,  
Ther he slough Colibrant with hache Daneis.”

Such are the records in the various editions of *The History of the famous Exploits of Guy Earl of Warwick*: “His Encountering and Overcoming Monstrous Gyants, and Champions, and his killing the Dun Cow of Dunsmore-Heath, with many other Gallant achievements performed by him in his life, and the manner of his Death.” This marvellous version is parodied in the metrical satire. “Guy's Porridge Pot with the Dun Cow roasted whole: An epic Poem, in twenty-five Books. Carefully corrected, and enlarged with many new Passages and additional notes in second edition,” Oxford, 1809, ascribed by a pencilling in the Museum copy to the authorship of Landor. The note reads: “By my townsman (Warwick) Walter Savage Landor *versus Carr*,” and is signed Dr. Parker.

<sup>1</sup> One of the early accounts describes the event: “Finding his head crowned with silver hairs, after many years travel, he (*i. e.* Guy) resolved to lay his aged body in his native country, and therefore returning from the Holy Land, he came to England, where he found the nation in great distress, the Danes having invaded the land, burning cities and towns, plundering the country, killing men, women, and children, insomuch that King Athelstone was forced to take refuge in his invincible city of Winchester. The Danes drew all their forces hither, and desired that an Englishman might combat with a Dane, and that side to lose the whole, whose champion was defeated. On this, mighty Colbron singled himself from the Danes, and entering upon Morn Hill near Winchester breathing venomous words, calling the English cowardly dogs, that he would make their carcases food for the ravens. Guy hearing proud Colbron could no longer forbear, but on his knees begged the king for a combat. The king liking the courage of the pilgrim bid him go and prosper. Guy walked out the North Gate to Morn Hill, where the giant was, and fought most manfully. He was so nimble, and laid about him like a great dragon, so that he brought the giant to ground.”—*The History of Guy Earl of Warwick* (Chap-Book, 1796), p. 21.

Another account explains that: “after the king had been worsted in the combats of the Danes, Colbron, a mighty Gyant of the Danes, advanced to the Walls, bidding Defiance to the English king.” When Guy approached, the king said: “Alas, poor Pilgrim, thy aged Limbs are not able to contend with him.” “Doubt not, Sire,” was Guy's reply, “but the justness of your Cause will add Strength to those Arms which have been used to Conquer.” All the English warriors thronged to the walls to behold the event. When Guy had conquered “they on the Wall set up such a shout that echoed to the Clouds.” Cf. Betteworth's Guy.

We learn that “Guy conquered and was entertained with Trumpets, Drums, and other Martial Music.”

“*Te Drun ont en haut chante*  
*Grand ioye font en la cite.*”—Aug. 77. v. a.

<sup>2</sup> This repository of British fabulous history, *Cronicon sive Historia Britonum*, compiled by the Welsh Monk (Bishop of St. Asaph, d. 1154), was printed in 1508 and translated into English 1718.

<sup>3</sup> O.N. Ólafr. Cf. *But. of B.*, l. 50.

Account of the tumultuous departure of the terrified Danes is enrolled by the MS.<sup>1</sup> Cod. Aug. 87. 4. fol. 80 :

“ Hastingement hors se vont,  
Passent la mer en lor drondond :  
En Danemarche<sup>2</sup> sont arivez  
Mournes et matz et adoelez.”

This inspiring contest places the romance on a historical basis. Colbrand's fight symbolizes the Battle of Brunanburh, commemorated in the poem from the *Chronicle*, the *Battle of Brunanburh*,<sup>3</sup> the song of Æthelstan's Victory, see edition of Wilker, Grein's *Bibliothek der ays. Poesie*, i. p. 37. The *Chronicle* vouches for the date of the fight (cf. Zupitza's *Übungsbuch*, p. 27), An. DCCCCXXXVII., although Plummer, in an edition of *Two Saxon Chronicles*, p. 37, dates this battle 938. An old document of the king Æthelstan gives DCCCCXXXVIII, *in quo anno bellum factum est in loco qui bruninga feld dicitur*, cf. Birch, *Cantularium*, Sax, vol. II. p. viii. 937 is the date universally associated with the contest, see Green, *History of the English People*, vol. i. p. 80; Morley, *English Writers*, vol. iii. p. 276. The legend is dated by Lydgate as follows :

“ Fro Cristis birthe complet nyne hundred yeer  
twenty and sevene by computacioun.”

The legendary accounts of the fray place Guy's achievement on the same page of history, and unite Guy's master victory with the reign of the English king Æthelstan,<sup>4</sup> 925—941, definitely stated by the song :

“ King Athelstone<sup>5</sup> that tyme was king,  
and, when he heard of Guy's coming,  
He went and met Guy for fayne.  
they kist and wept for ioye certayne.”—Copl. p. 31.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Cod. Aug. 87. 4 is described as *uralt französisches Liederbuch*, Herbing, *Ueber die Handschrift des Guy von Wurwick auf der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*.

<sup>2</sup> *ofer deep water, difelin* (Dublin) *secan*.—Æthelstan, 109, 110.

<sup>3</sup> With this century is also associated the Apocryphal poem *Judith* on authority of Groth, *Composition und Alter der Altenglischen Exodus*, 1883; Kluge, *Beiträge*, vol. ix. pp. 448, 449; Luiek, *Beiträge*, vol. xi. pp. 490, 491; Lichtenstein, *Zeitschrift für d. Alterthum*, vol. xvi. p. 327; Vigfusson and Powell, etc., *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, iv., make *Judith* of the same century, perhaps contemporary with the conflict of Guy, or even descriptive of the same *Battle of Brunanburh*, Cook, *Judith*, pp. 2, 8, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Alfred's “golden-haired grandson” grown to manhood. In childhood he was girded by his king with “sword set in golden scabbard, and a gem-studded belt.” Æthelstan's glorious reign attained to the ambitious standard marked for descendants of the race of Alfred, Green's *History of the English People*, vol. i. p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> There is no mistaking the romancer's period for the immortal Guy: “In the sixth Year of the Reign of King Edgar the Great, this our famous Guy was

So also the Drewry print of the early 18th century : “ In the blessed time when Athelstone<sup>1</sup> wore the crown of the English nation, Sir Guy, Warwick’s mirror . . . was the chief hero of the age.” An old song of the *Valiant Deeds of Chivalry by the Noble Knight, Sir Guy of Warrick*, to the tune, “ Was ever man ? ” permits Guy to speak for himself :

“ When Athelstone wore the Crown,  
I lived here upon the Earth.  
Sometime I was of Warwick earl.”

Collateral evidence, the Chronicle,<sup>2</sup> substantiates romance : *Her æfelstan<sup>3</sup> cyning . eorla dryhten . beorna beahgija . his broþor*

born in the City of Warwick.” The tradition is modified a little in the Bates Guy, and at variance with the 14th century versions : “ In the Reign of *Elgar*, surnamed *Athelstone*, King of the West-Saxons, was born Guyrolaus Cassibilianus, vulgarly called *Guy of Warwick*.”

<sup>1</sup> The period is in every detail of the story avowedly that of Æthelstan. Thus the tale narrates that in hour of sorrow, Phyllis “ sold jewels and costly robes with which she used to grace King Æthelstone’s court ” (Aldermay Guy). The same text ascribes to Æthelstan the honour of placing in Warwick Castle a representation of the fatal dragon whose head was cut off through Guy’s bravery. “ The king caused the picture of the dragon, 30 feet in length, to be worked in cloth of arras.” It is reported that : “ King Athelstone, his Queen, and the chief Nobles and Barons of the land,” were present at Guy’s wedding. The estate bequeathed to Guy by Earl Roland, when he “ resigns this Life for Immortality,” is “ confirmed by Royal Athelstone.”

<sup>2</sup> “ A pleasant song of the Valiant Deeds of Chivalry achieved by that Knight Sir Guy of Warwick ” reads :

“ Nine hundred twenty Years and odd  
After our Savior Christ his Birth,  
When king Athelstone wore the Crowne,  
I lived here upon the Earth.”

Thus the ballad supports Lydgate in placing the battle ten years earlier than the accepted date, cf. *The Old Song* enriching the Roxburghe *Ballads*, vol. ii. p. 19: “ Ancient Songs and Ballads written on various subjects, and printed between the years 1660 and 1700, chiefly collected by Robert Earl of Oxford, and purchased at the sale of the late Mr. West’s library, 1773, and bound in 1774, Museum copy press mark III. 50.708.” The public learns that :

“ These venerable ancient song-inditers  
Soar’d many a pitch above our modern writers ;  
  
Their words no shuffling double meaning knew :  
Their speech was homely, but their hearts were true.”

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Uebungsbuch*, p. 27, or *A.S. Chronicle*, Grein’s *Bibliothek der ays. poesie*, ed. Würker, I. p. 374. Compare Tennyson’s translation :

“ Athelstan King,  
Lord among Earls,  
Bracelet-bestower . . .  
  
. . . with his brother,  
Edmund Atheling,  
Gaining a lifelong  
Glory in battle,  
Slew with the sword-edge  
There by Brunanburh,” etc.

eāc. eālmund aþeling . . . . sueorda ēegum. ymbe brunanburh. bordweal clufan.<sup>1</sup> Graphic details of the vigorous pen picture,<sup>2</sup> native characteristics of the skill of the O.E. poet, are lost to the M.E. poem. The mysticism of chivalry replaces the vivid energy of the ancient warrior. The later interest centers in the romantic and sentimental story of Felice. In these immediate details O.E. history does not support M.E. narrative. Fact does not fail in providing the contest. It is described by a series of historians, Wigornensis, Dunelmensis, Malmesbury, Huntingdon, Brompton, Gaimar, but its valiant Warrior Guy is not once mentioned. Guy, the memorable hero, is deficient in every O.E. reference to the battle. On the other hand the M.E. historian did not hesitate to add to the account of the contest manifold embellishments of his own invention.

The working of the material into the Guy tradition seems not to have been coincident with the event. Lydgate alone on ground of traditional literature, an unreliable authority, on support of unreliable historian, ascribes specific source to the M.E. Guy saga. The earliest literary form is attributed by Lydgate to Cornubiensis in a :—

“translacion out of the latyn maad by the eronycleer callyd of old Gerard Cornuhycence. the XI. chapitle of his historyal book.”	str. 72 <sup>4</sup>
	str. 73 <sup>5</sup>

Lydgate's authority is Hearne, *Chronicon sive Annales prioratus de Dunstable*, Appendix XI. *Girardi sive Giraldi Cornubiensis historia Guidonis de Warwick, e cod. MS. in Bibliotheca Collegii Maydalensis descripta* (Oxford). Cornubiensis has been identified as Giraldus Cambrensis (1146—1216), author of a *History of England*, see Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*. Fabyan, *New Chronicles of England and France*, p. 185, quotes Lydgate's verse as follows: *called of olde Gyrardus Cumbrense*. Morley, to the contrary, *English Writers*, vol. iii. p. 276, ascribes the romance to Walter of Exeter, a Cornish Franciscan named by Bale, *Catalogus II.*, p. 44: *Gualterus de Excestria: apud S. Coroeum in Cornubia manens ritum scripsit Guidonis, invlyti olim Warwickensis comitis, libro uno.* A. Tanner, *Die Sage von Guy von Warwick*, pp. 33—34, tries to prove that

<sup>1</sup> Historical point of the saga is the battle by which the W. S. king Æthelstan with his brother Edmund, aided by the Mercians, defeated the Danes, combined in forces with the Scotch, at a place, probably Brunanburh, on the western coast of England, in the year 937 (?), Green, *Conquest of England*, p. 254; Wülker, *Grundriss*, 339—342.

<sup>2</sup> Guy's combat recalls to the editor the *Battle of Malden* with its Viking hero rather than the *Battle of Brunanburh*.

Gualterus Excestriensis and Giraldus Cambrensis, *alias* Girardus Cornubiensis (Gerald de Barri?), are the same historian. Herbing ascribes the legend of Guy to Walter of Exeter (*Ueber die Hss. von Guy*, etc.). Tanner believes that the historian lived in the 12th century. Thus a history is supposed to have been written in the 12th century in which Guy of Warwick is represented as an actual hero, alive in 927, during the reign of Æthelstan, and active in the Battle of Brunanburh. The hero is thus placed in the 12th century, where he has the support, if not of history,<sup>1</sup> again of romance.

Guy has generally been regarded as purely a hero of fiction. Grässle, *Die grossen Sagenkreise des Mittelalters*, traces in the legend a development of the Arthurian saga, in which Guy names Gawain. Guy is described in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as the product of Old English traditions, to which literary form was given by an Anglo-Norman poet; ten Brink, p. 180, agrees in ascribing the work in its first treatment to an Anglo-Norman poet; Zupitza, *Guy of W.*, p. 1, decides that the M.E. versions of the Romances of Guy of Warwick are from the French. This is virtually the opinion of Jusserand,<sup>2</sup> *The English Novel in the time of Shakespeare*, pp. 38, 39, 40. Here *Guy of Warwick* is included in the long list of "poems translated or imitated from French romances," the "awakening" in the palace which the Norman enchanter had doomed to temporary sleep. The author of an article on "Ancient Metrical Romances," *Percy's Reliques*, p. 291, also A. Tanner, p. 47, explain: "These stories were of English invention." "French originals were amplifications of the old English story." The editor, "Introduction" to *Guy and Colbronde*, Hales-Furnivall, *Bishop Percy's Folio MS.*, vol. ii. pp. 509 ff., find the oldest literary form of the Guy history to be purely romance, in literary composition the work of a monk. Guy's desertion of his wife, his asceticism, his remorse, that he has,

"Abbeys brente and citees tane" (MS. Ff. 2. 38),

his penance, are a theme for the sympathies of a monk. He finds the origin of the romance within cloister walls for the amusement and instruction of the brotherhood. Oesterley, *Gest. Rom.*, p. 261, is of the same opinion. A. Tanner (*Sage von Guy von Warwick*, pp. 37, 38) investigates the question, and concludes that Guy of Warwick, his historic warfare, and all his interesting circle are the

<sup>1</sup> George Ellis's attempt to identify Guy and Egil is not successful; cf. Turner, Warton, Herbing, and *Egilli Skallagrini*, ed. Schlegel.

<sup>2</sup> See also *A Lit. Hist. of the Engl. People*, p. 224.

product of a wandering minstrel,<sup>1</sup> sung in palace hall or cathedral priory, the material later disseminated as historieal fact. He cites in support of this theory an incident from Warton (*History of Engl. Poetry*), where Prior Alexander de Herriard entertained his guest, Adam de Arleton, with the song of Danish Colebrand sung by a minstrel.<sup>2</sup> Tanner's view is confirmed by the essay on the metrical romance (*Percy's Reliques*, p. 290): "The stories of Guy and Bevis were probably the invention of English minstrels." Ritson (*A.E. M.R.*, vol. I. p. xciii) also quotes Warton: "*cantiicum Colbrondi* was sung by a juggler in 1333." Grässé (*vide supra*) finds it one of a cycle of heroic song.

ten Brink, *Gesch. der Eng. Lit.*, p. 180, followed by Körting, *Grunderiss*, 89, bases the saga upon "popular traditions of the Middle Ages," and explains Guy's marvellous history as a composite of "local traditions, historical reminiscences, current, fabulous, and romantic themes, and pure invention," a combination of religious and worldly motives delightful to an Age of Chivalry. ten Brink further, p. 246, explains that "probably the poet made use of English local traditions, in which things separated in time and place had already blended." Jusserand, p. 40, virtually similar, claims that all "who had won glory" in England or for England, all "whose fame lingered in ballads and popular songs" served to adorn the metrical

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the songs of the monks of a religious house of Eastern England, see ten Brink, *Gesch. der Engl. Lit.*, vol. i. p. 148; and Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Sonnet*, XXX:

"Merie sungen muneches binnen Ely,  
Tha Cnut chyning reu ther by;  
Roweth, enithes, noer the land,  
And here we thes muneches sang."  
"A pleasant music floats along the mere,  
From monks in Ely chanting service high,  
. . . as Canute the king is rowing by;  
. . . draw near,  
That we the sweet songs of the mouks may hear.  
. . .  
Heart touched . . .  
The royal minstrel . . .  
Gives to the rapture an accordant Rhyme.  
. . . sternenst Clime  
And rudest Age are subject to the thrill  
Of heaven-descended piety and song."

<sup>2</sup> See *Roxburghe Ballads*, vol. vi. p. 733; *Hudibras*, Part I, canto 2, l. 300; Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), p. 57: "antique Eng. romance was sung to the harp at Christmas dinners and brideals"; Corbet, *Iter Boreale* (1582—1635):

"May all the ballads be called in and deye  
Which sung the warrs of Colebrand and Sir Guy."

tale, and were regarded as “personal ancestors” of English nobility. In this attempt to give England a national hero and romance a historical background, the chivalric element rules with the poet. A desire must be recognized to idealize the superior merit of resignation to the world and of unwavering piety.

In general, then, it will be seen that the weight of the material of the romance is to be regarded as purely legendary and romantic. Tanner supports his theory of romance origin on basis of the analogy with the romance literature with which the Guy of Warwick is associated : *Hornchild*, *Ipotis*, *Sir Tristrem*, and universally *Sir Bevis*,<sup>1</sup> a link by no means to be disregarded. To this day the marvellous exploits of Guy and Bevis are indissolubly united. They present no longer their normal development, but stand for figurative exemplification of prodigious strength ; cf. James Russell Lowell in his *Last Poems*, p. 15 :

“Methinks no dragon of the fens  
Flashed huger scales against the sky,  
Roused by Sir Bevis or Sir Guy. . . .”

*Sir Beues*, Kölbing, p. xxxvii, contributes illustrations attesting to the popularity of the combined elements Guy and Beues. Apart from the oft quoted *Sir Thopas*, v. 188, the partnership occurs *Richard Coer de Lion*, v. 6661 ; *Speculum Vitæ, Englische Studien*, vol. vii., p. 469, v. 37, 39 ; *Generides*, A, v. 13 ff. They are joined in various different commentaries, for instance, Taine, *Hist. of Engl. Lit.*, vol. i., p. 100 : Arthour, Horn, Beues, Guy of Warwick, “every prince and every people”; cf. Percy’s explanation, ten Brink’s, etc. In general, then, a purely romantic character<sup>2</sup> must be ascribed the fundamental Guy saga, but that under this popular exterior an actual hero may have been extolled is not impossible.

That this underlying magnate of the romantic world be Count Guido, the investigation from the Guy of Warwick side of the argument does not affirm. Equally ineffectual is an attempt to place the period of the *Speculum*, as represented by Guy, in the time of Guido. The best authority for the date of the literary form of

<sup>1</sup> *Sir Beues* goes so far as to cite an exploit of Guy of Warwick, in the contemporary Auchinleck MS., v. 2607 :

“ & Gij of Warwik, ich vnderstonde,  
Slouȝ a dragoun in Norþ-Homberlonde.”

<sup>2</sup> The metrical tale assumes but a slightly different exterior in the various romances. The main features are the same throughout : a valiant knight, a relentless lady to be won, a world of fight, seas of blood, the knight applauded and rewarded. Cf. *King Horn*, *Sir Beues*, etc.

the saga places it in the 12th century ; cf. *Gesta Romanorum*. To transfer Guy to the battlefield of Brunanburh, there is only the voice of the romancer in authority. The four hundred years between *Liber* and romance are not explained in Guy's history.

The MSS. do not aid in the annihilation of time and distance.<sup>1</sup> The oldest of these is Norman, the Wolfenbüttel Codex, 87. 4, *Augusteorum Guelferbyt*, of the late 13th century. To this century belong the French MSS. 24, 32 in the Bodleian Library. Remaining French MSS. and all the English transcripts are the work of later centuries, the Auchinleck version (No. 23, 24), contemporary with the *Speculum*, being followed by the Caius, Ff. 2. 38 (cf. Zupitza), the Lydgate and the Lane-Lydgate texts. Further, over date see *Chronology of the Speculum*, chap. xv.

That Guy is English and not French, united testimony from all sources evidences, and the poems and tales, the authority most largely quoted, confirm. Generally the scenes of the romance are located in Winchester. Different versions name the exact locality under various names. Winchester is the town of Lydgate and the ballads. Copland places Guy in Wallingford : “*To Wallinford Guy him drew;*” if he were to be located in the Brunanburh fight, then Guy was an Englishman of Lincoln.

A will o' the wisp ever to be pursued, never to be grasped, the investigation<sup>2</sup> of the Guy saga finds only probabilities, never a certainty of relationship. Not one of the lesser of these is the coincidence between the history of Guido and that of Guy. But the investigation has failed to provide historical certainty for the facts proffered by the *Speculum*.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### CONCERNING GUIDO, COUNT OF TOURS,

“ . . . . . whose fame  
Is couching now with pantherized intent.”<sup>3</sup>

COUNT GUIDO was a brilliant light in the local history of Tours, but his splendid deeds seem to have cast no glorifying rays beyond

<sup>1</sup> For lists of Guy of Warwick MSS. see Winneberger, *Ueber d. Hss.-Verhält. des Altfr. Guy de W.*, pp. 2, 3, A. Tanner, *Die Suge*, etc., pp. 49—54, and Zupitza, pp. 1, 2 of Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> In the study see Day and Decker's play, 1618—1619, Pepys I. 522, and the Spanish romance *Tirante el blanco*.

<sup>3</sup> *Lines to R. J. Tennant*, from the authorship of Hallam, immortalized in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*.

his own epoch and his own land. Unlike other great commanders, benefactors to home and country, no glowing records illumine his achievements to modern gaze. As an educational medium Count Guido has not contributed forcefully to a later civilization among progressive nations,

“His soul well-knit and all his battles won.”

Yet he was conqueror, hero, patriot, and, greatest of all, he possessed a spirit moulded to noble steadiness of purpose and well-balanced in moral force. Count Guido was in real life the benign type and example of the warrior of God in the eternal tragedy of battle.

Important features delineating the history of Count Guido during the lifetime of Aleuin are epitomized in the terse statement of Monnier, *Aleuin et Charlemagne*, p. 35, with reference to the *Liber ad Guidonem*: *Aleuin l'écrivit pour le comte Widon ou Gui, gouverneur de la marche de Bretagne et directeur des biens de saint Martin. Ce seigneur désirait avoir une règle de conduite, qu'il pût suivre au milieu de la carrière des armes.*<sup>1</sup> Hamelin, *Essai<sup>2</sup> sur la vie et les ouvrages d'Aleuin*, pp. 102—103, adds: *Il composa ce manuel à la demande du comte Gui, qui, vivant dans le métier des armes, désirait avoir des instructions sur l'art de mériter la gloire éternelle . . . Dans ce livre du guerrier, dans ce livre du grand seigneur, Aleuin prêche la charité, la modestie, la miséricorde, . . . la pratique constante de toutes les vertus.* Completing the picture is the description of Paris, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, publiée<sup>3</sup> sous la direction de M. Paulin Paris, 1866, Tome iv., p. 315: *Ce seigneur (i. e. Widon ou Gui) engagé dans le tumulte des armes et des autres affaires temporelles, l'avoir demandé à l'auteur, à qu'il paroît, etc.*

These succinct passages summarize comprehensive facts<sup>4</sup> in personal character and experience. They prepare for revelation of wonderful military prosperity. Count Guido's chosen pursuit was war. He was esteemed as warrior. Aleuin adapted his counsel to Guido's pursuit, *occupationi, quam te in bellis rebus habere*, *Liber*, line 2. A lesser Cæsar, he first conquered the land he was to govern: *Britanniam ingressus, totamque perlustrans, in deditio-* *nem accepit*, Mgn.<sup>5</sup> II., col. 444. This illustrious advance of Guido into

<sup>1</sup> Selected from the second edition of Monnier's work, Paris, 1864, published with some fragments of a hitherto unedited commentary on Matthew, and some other articles of Aleuin not printed earlier.

<sup>2</sup> *Thèse pour le Doctorat présentée à la Faculté des Lettres.*

<sup>3</sup> Published first M.DCC.XXXVIII.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Vita Alchini*, Jaffé, p. 28; Ceillier, *Hist.*, vol. xii., p. 187.

<sup>5</sup> *Monitum Prærium*, Tom. Sec., p. 5; *Epistola*, vol. ii., col. 643.

Britannia, the subdual of the entire province, with surrender of arms and governmental documents, the glory of adding a province and a people to the territory of Charlemagne, this is for the life of Count Guido the great distinguishing event. Here a battle of Brunanburh, a struggle with Colbrand, is provided, a foe supplied, an Æthelstan replaced by a Charlemagne, the conditions of the English saga duplicated on French soil. Not more generously has the valour of Guy of Warwick been sung in English verse, than has the conquest of Guide and the French Britannia been sounded in French history. The chroniclist delights to return to the event: *totamque perlustrans, Britanniæ provincia subiugata, arma ducum in traditionem accepit*, is the refrain of the record of every political event of the day. Cf. Andrea Dv Chesne, *Historie Francorum Scriptores*,<sup>1</sup> Tom. II. III. ; Martin Bouquet, *Receueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, MDCCCLXIV, Tom. V. VI. ; and numerous chronicles of the period: *Annales de Gestis Caroli Magni Chroniques sur les Gestes de Charlem.*, *De Rebus Gestis Ludovici pii*, and selections *Ex Chronicis Eluonensi*, *Ex Chronicis Britanicis* (Probat, *Hist. Britanniae*), *Ex Miraculis Sancti Benedicti*, *Ex Sigiberti Chronicis*, *Ex Herniani Chronicis*. Records are contributed by Pertz, *Monumenta Germ. Hist.* MDCCCXVI, fol. I., see 80, *Annales Francorum*, *Annales Bertiani*, *Capitularia Caroli*, *Chroniques de S. Denis*, &c. The military exploit is without parallel in the age. Various accounts describe conquests over a Saracen foe, *Annales Breves ab Christ.*, DCCVII—DCCXC, p. 40 and p. 59 of a report of the year *Carolus Magni* 798. Here are enrolled statistics of an expedition to the Balearic Islands, laid waste a year earlier by the Saracens.<sup>2</sup> In the defence proffered by the French, and successful, *cum Dei auxilio*, Count Guido has

<sup>1</sup> *Opera ac Studio Andreae DV Chesne.*

<sup>2</sup> That the Saracen proselytes of a pseudo-prophet, having conquered Persian host, Grecian phalanx, and Roman cohort, and planted ‘standard on the pillars of Hercules’ (cf. Washington Irving, *Mahomet and his Successors*, p. 150), dreamed to the day of Aleuin (approximately 800) of the subjection of Europe against the powerful Charlemagne, is to be inferred from the historian’s narrative testifying to the incursions of a Saracen foe. That, however, it was again a struggle after the rich treasure of the famed Abbey of Tours, is not probable. It will be recalled that the repulse of the Saracens, completed by Charles Martel in 732, against the accomplished Arab general Abdel Rham, was a final defeat (cf. Freeman, *General Sketch*, p. 119). The Battle of Tours repelled Moslem power with its fierce propagandism, prevented Saracen ascendancy in the extreme West, and ended the limitless incursions marked by the burning of the great library at Alexandria, and the military subjugation of the Visigoths succeeding Saracen entry into southern Gaul under El Haur in 710 (cf. also Fisher, *Outlines of General History*, p. 229).

part. *Wido* (*Guido*, p. 59)<sup>1</sup> *Comes ac Praefectus, qui in marca Britanniae præsidebat, & una cum sociis Comitibus Britanniam ingressus, totamque perlustrans, in deditio[n]em accepit; & Regi de Saxonia reuersa arma Ducum, qui se dediderunt, inscripsis Singulorum nominibus præsentauit. Nam his se & terram & populum omnis cuiusque illorum tradidit, & tota Britannorum provincia, quod nunquam antea à Francis fuerat, à Francis subiugata est.*

The exact year of this glorious conquest<sup>2</sup> is not to be stated. For a decade following its occurrence vigilant annals keep fresh its splendour. The description occurs in *Annales de Gestis Caroli imperatoris*, pp. 79, 250, etc.: *ad quem Wido Comes, . . . Nam sociis Comes ille suis compluribus ipsum hoc anno penitus terram lustrauerat omnem, corda domans belli terrore ferocia.* Compare also Bouquet, V., p. 214, *Annales Francorum*, p. 349, etc., the latter confirming the identity of the hero with the words: *Wido Comes, qui marean contra Brittones tenebat.* Both historians quoted note an undated definite period, *hoc anno, eodem anno.* The Chronicle seems to have been completed DCCXCI. French Britain must have been in the hands of Guido so early as the date of the writing of the *Liber*, probably earlier. Note also *Ex Hermanni Chronico*, p. 365: *Britannia Cismarina per Wittonem Ducem Caroli subjicitur; Ex Sigeberti Chronico*, p. 378: *Baleares insulæ auxilio Francorum à Saracenis defensantur per Willonem Karoli Ducem Brittones vincuntur, & in deditio[n]em recipiuntur; Chroniques sur les Gestes de Charlem., Livre I., p. 247: Après retourna en France, . . . la chapele s'en ala pour yverner: la celebra la sollempnité de la Nativité & de la Resurrection. Là vint . . . cuens Guis . . . qui gardes des marches de Bretaigne . . . avoit cherchies toutes les contrées des Bretons . . .*

A single defeat is chronicled. The foe congratulates itself on a double glory, in that added to the victory, a powerful adversary, *Guido Comes* has been put to flight: *Guido Cenomannensis Comes sperans cum fortitudine magna vincere in fugam versus est; Brit. Arm., p. 219. Guido Cenoman., Comes, a Lamberte in fugam vertitur; Ex Eutropii Presbyt., Tract. p. 298.*

Werner ascribes the death of the Count to 814, but another record

<sup>1</sup> In the identity of the circumstances detailed, it is curious, that here again fact corresponds to tradition in the Guy history. Both Guys, the legendary Guy and the real Guido, are accredited with conquests against Saracen enemies.

<sup>2</sup> See *Vita Karoli Magni*, pp. 50, 59, 79; *Eginhardi Annales*, p. 214; *Sur les Gestes de Charlemagne*, Liv. I., ch. xi., pp. 247, 248; *Annales Laurissenses*, p. 186.

seems to be connected with Guido. The history of the year 834 contains notice of the lamented death of a Count Guido, killed in a brave fight in defence of the Abbey.<sup>1</sup> In a battle incited by counts Odo and Lambert many illustrious men were slaughtered, among them perhaps Alcuin's Guido.<sup>2</sup> Dv Chesne, *Historiæ*, etc., Tom. III., p. 445, states that a priest escaping announced a cruel fight, and reported to the monks the death of their Abbot: *Teutonem denique Abbatem*<sup>3</sup> *S. Martini, Gridonem Comitem Cenoman . . . mortem oppetiisse*.—*Ex. Mirac. s. Benedicti*, p. 213. Great lamentation arose among the sorely afflicted brotherhood, to be read of to this day, a thousand years<sup>4</sup> after these monks on the sunny plains of the Loire sent cries to heaven in bereavement and loss: *Quo nuncio graviter affliti Fratres, ad Dominum exorandum pro tanta Christiani populi caele se intentissime conferunt.* The same record is repeated by Bouquet, *Historiens*, etc., Tom. VI., p. 241; *Ex Chronico Engolismensi apud Labbeum*, p. 323; *Ex Chronico Brit.* in Probat, *Hist. Brit.*, p. 351, and *Ex Mirac. S. Benedicti Abbatis*, p. 313. Details of the painful circumstance are to be found *De Rebus Gestis Ludorici Pii*, Liber V., p. 584: *Wido Comes Cenoman. a Ludovico Imperatore . . . mittitur ad inquirendum . . . de beneficiis Ecclesie.* The announcement of Guido's death follows: *Guido Comes occiditur pugnando.* Yet through the sacrifice of the valued life of the brave nobleman, the purpose of the mission was accomplished. The Chronicle completes the story: *Quædam Beneficia Ecclesiae Cennomanicæ restituuntur.* Facts relative to his life are otherwise as limited as they are definite.

That Guido of these historians<sup>5</sup> and Guido of the *Liber* are at times identical, is indicated in statistics contributed occasionally by

<sup>1</sup> It will be recalled that St. Martin names the founder of monasticism among the Gauls. Relics of St. Martin were enshrined in a church adjoining the monastery. See Ruskin's account of the saint in *Our Fathers have Told Us*, pp. 23—33.

<sup>2</sup> Alcuin wrote the life of the presiding saint of his monastery, St. Martin.

<sup>3</sup> Fridugis was the pupil named by Alcuin to become his successor, in active superintendence of the Abbey.

<sup>4</sup> Yet from modern literature the history of Count Guido seems to have died with the man. Shadow of inevitable destiny, his aspirations, his battles, the lament of friars, leave but a blank page.

<sup>5</sup> To the Guido of the *Liber* possibility must be conceded of a semi-romantic character introduced by Alcuinus. The type of work illustrated in the *Epistola Nuncupatoria* was popular in the 8th century, and it would be a natural tendency to idealize in the connection, the citizen first in rank as warrior, governor, and patron of the Abbey. Alcuin would thus at the same time pay a graceful compliment to an influential neighbour and follow a popular type of religious literature, where means of attractive form was limited, as in case of the young priests of the Abbey.

Migne and by Alcuin in the *Liber*. The source is chiefly the *Annales<sup>1</sup> Loiseliani ad annum DCCXCIX*, and details are repeated in some instances in Lorentz's *Alcuins Leben*. Name and associated title are made definite: *Guido (i. e. Wido) Comes*, Mgn. II., col. 444, lines 2, 3; col. 614, line 1; *Wido Landgraf*, Lorz., p. 199. Various positions of honour and responsibility devolved upon Count Guido: *Wido Comes ac Praefectus Brit. limitis*, Eginh. p. 214; *comes qui in Marca Britanniae presidebat*, Mgn. I., col. 396, note; *Marca Britanniae presidens*, Mgn. I., p. 162; *Markgraf der britannischen Mark*, Lorentz, p. 199; *Rebus St. Martini praefectus*, Mgn. I., col. 276.

Not merely in public relationship is Count Guido introduced. In private capacity he is presented as a loyal citizen. In personal character he was a man of perfect life<sup>2</sup>; he was an incorrupt judge, a trustworthy witness, a faithful ambassador: *Illorum vita a viro perfecto et judice incorrupto et missis fideli Widone audiri potest, qui eorum omnia scrutans agnoscit, quid egissent vel qualiter vixissent*, Mgn. I., col. 62; II., col. 444; *judicium ac julicorum aequitate et misericordiae seruitate*, Mgn. II., col. 614; *Wido adrogatus, Ex Eutropii Presbyteri Tract.*, p. 298. Count Guido was reverenced by his Abbot and Dean. Alcuin appointed him umpire in settlement of a dissension between *episcopum Aurelianensem et fratres Turonenses*, cited in *Epistola 195*, Mgn. I., col. 437. More than once he served as arbitrator in matters of altercation. *In testem vocatur innocentiae fratum sancti Martini*, Mgn. I., col. 163. In a vague way Guy of Warwick was also champion of the oppressed; cf. the delivery of the fifteen sons of the aged man in *Guy and Amarant* (Percy's *Reliques*), and numerous instances of the adaptation of semi-selfish motives to an imaginary good, in contrast to this of Guido, based on justice and consecrated zeal.

That Guido had earned the esteem of Alcuin, is evidenced in the history<sup>3</sup> of the *Liber*, a laborious task of affection, undertaken in the

<sup>1</sup> Access to these annals has been impossible.

<sup>2</sup> Froben writes of the man; *viri perfecti, ac Judicis incorrupti, atque Missi fidelis*, Fr. II., p. 5. See also *Diplomata Ludovici Pii Imp.*, p. 834.

<sup>3</sup> Rigid austerity is ascribed to the old age of Alcuin. He forbade his pupils to read the philosophy and poetry of ancient Greece and Rome. To replace the lost texts he multiplied trustworthy copies of religious works. The fame of the school was great for MSS. remarkable for neatness and elegance. Discouragement of secular learning was general at this period; cf. Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great*, pp. 100, 122, and Hallam, *Middle Ages*, chap. ix., part 2. Hraban (d. 856) permitted "a slight tincture of the classical literature," as subsidiary to the religious discipline of the *Scriptoria*.

feeble years<sup>1</sup> of the aged teacher. In enumeration of the works completed *ad extremum vite*, the aged preceptor mentions *Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis ad Widonem sive Wittonem*. The reverential confidence manifested by the Count toward Alcuin is evident in the request for a book to serve as guide for the development of the religious life in period of warfare. To the earnestness and to the practical aspiration of Guido, the words of his entreaty may attest: *postulabat, ut doctrinas ritæ Christianæ suæque conditioni, ac . . . convenientes . . . , ut inter secularia negotia . . . libellum . . . , ad quem assidue suis actus examinare seque ad aeterne beatitudinis studium excitare posset, Mon. Prær.*, p. 5. Conditions of the entreaty have been found reproduced in the experience of the life of Guy, but the quality of the fervour described in the two episodes is not identical. The *Speculum* portrays mystic purpose, the goal a visionary good. The zeal of Guido is genuine, the seriousness of scholastic growth, and it lacks nothing in definiteness and loyalty to faith.

The immediate home of Guido (Guy's castle?) may have been discovered. *Annales Bert.* (p. 91) accounts for a villa,<sup>2</sup> a country-seat occupied by Count Guido. It bears the name Vendopera: *Wido quidem comes per plures annos tenuerat*. This villa was probably in the neighbourhood of Tours. The Count was a resident of the Marea Britanniae, possibly of the town of Tours. Britannia is mentioned as *cismarina*, giving assurance of French environment and not of English, should possibility of doubt arise. In this province was situated the Abbey of St. Martin: *Marca Britanniæ cismarinae, in qua sita civitas et monasterium Turonense*, Mgn. II., col. 444. Alcuin himself (Mgn., p. 659) locates *episcopatus Turonensis, in Gallia*, Mgn. II., col. 659, 660. The name of the villa calls up a picture of summer days outside of the city, amid broad sunny meadows and invigorating breezes; but during the harvest season of active labour, it is not easy to separate Guido from the neighbourhood of the Abbey, with its inspiring master and its administrations “of the honey of the sacred writings.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Alcuin's retreat to the monastery was devised for purposes of rest from active pursuits; Alcuin's own plea to Charlemagne was: “Grant, I pray you, that a weary man may repose himself, that he may pray daily for you, and that he may prepare himself by confession and tears to appear before the eternal judge.”

<sup>2</sup> See *Hincmarii Remensis Annales*, p. 469: “*villa que Vendopera dicebatur, quam piæ memoriae Hludowicus imperator sancto Petro tradiderat, et Wido, quidem comes per plures annos tenuerat . . .*”

<sup>3</sup> Alcuin in letter to Charlemagne writes: “To some I administer the honey

Like Guy of Warwick, the fame of Guido was enshrined in metrical composition.<sup>1</sup> Apparently to Count Guido is the following selection from *Carmina Historica, MS. Bibliothecæ Petauij*:

*Super Guidonem.*

“Insequor ipse libros, dumque raco studiis.

Spiritus obtineat, quam meruit melius.

Cuius eram Turonensis, ego de nomine Guido,  
Gentis Patriæ, me modo Remis habet,” etc.

*Data* of Count Guido's career may be briefly summarized. The exact boundaries of his life are not to be discovered. In 800, approximately the date of the *Liber*, Guido (Wido, Witto, Guy) was possibly in middle life. His achievements, the number and variety of his pursuits, and the offices of honour that he filled, suggest for the period of Alcuin's deanship a man at the height of a prosperous career. The vigour, the activity, and the enthusiasm at this time universally ascribed to Guido, are the *insignia* of one not well advanced in years. In his own century Count Guido seems to have been an imposing figure. In the multitude of affairs in which he was active, his position was uniformly first. In claims of descent his rank socially was hereditary count. In governmental office he presided over the Marca Britanniae. In military service he was commander. In legal administration he was judge. In theological assembly he was representative. His connection with the venerable

of the sacred writings; others I try to inebriate with the wine of the ancient classics. I begin the nourishment of some with the apples of grammatical subtlety: I strive to illuminate many by the arrangement of the stars, as from the painted roof of a lofty palace.” This bit of poetical prose, worthy an Elizabethan in graceful selection of terms, is introduced by Craik into his *History of Eng. Lit. and Lang.*, vol. i., p. 46. See *Epistola 78*, Jaffé, p. 345: “...sanctorum mellia scripturarum ministrare satago; alios vetere antiquarum disciplinarum mero inebriare studio; alios grammaticæ subtilitatis enutrire pomis incipium; quosdam stellarum ordine . . . seu pictor, evulnus magnificare domus culmina . . . inluminare gestio.” See Longfellow, *Outre Mer* (1882), p. 77.

<sup>1</sup> See *Poeta Saxonici Annal.*, DCCXCIX., Lib. III.; *De Gestis Caroli Magni*, l. 537 ff.:

“Ad quem (Carolo) Wido Comes cui Brettonum regiones  
Comisso fuerant, gentis tam sepe rebellis  
Detulit armis Ducum, proprio que nomine quisque  
Inscripto dederat: . . . . .

*Francis scribere coacti.*

Nam sociis Comes ille suis compluribus ipsam  
Hoc anno penitus terram lustraverat omnem,  
Corda domans belli terrore ferocia granuli.  
Et jam perpetuo Brettones jure subacti  
Parerent . . . . .”

Abbey during the lifetime of Aleuin was that of patron. His death was grievously mourned with every manifestation of reverence and affection.

Corresponding details mark the life of Guy the Earl. Event corresponds with event in the history of both warriors, yet these two chivalric soldiers of an earlier generation are not the same individual. They present two types, that of the vigorous man of affairs, and that of the dreamer of an imaginary world. Guy of Warwick is not Guy of Tours. Guido, the statesman of profound religious conviction, valiant warrior, honoured citizen, has not been identified with Guy the visionary, Guy the ascetic, the misanthrope, the unpractical knight of tradition. Aleuin is not represented in that high priest of romance, the hermit. It is impossible to explain the intervening years that, according to best reports, exist between the deeds ascribed to the two warriors. The desired unit, a missing link, is not to be discovered in any descendant or friend<sup>1</sup> of Guido the Count, nor is there a trace of reason in carrying Guy back through the century and placing him in the age of Count Guido. Unless some magician with Divine gift grant to Count Guido the roseate glamour of the romancer, and to Guy of Warwick the plain and simple atmosphere of earnest unselfish patriotism and good citizenship, the poet has placed Guido of Tours in a family to which he has no claims of relationship, and Guy of Warwick in a country not his by inheritance.

*Practical Interpretation of the Speculum in Application to  
Guy of Warwick and Guido of Tours.*

In the search for the beautiful ideal of knighthood essential features are provided in the bravery, the religious zeal, and probably in the gallantry of Guido the Count. But in his career there is mirrored not even a reflection of the chivalric atmosphere, that

<sup>1</sup> Aleuin's Guido cannot be brought into connection with any of the numerous Guidos of his generation. A relationship cannot be traced to Guido, Bishop of Spoleto, to the four hereditary dukes of France, Guidos living at that time, nor to Guido of Soissons, of Rouen, of Auxerre, of Modena; nor is he represented in the fifteen Guidos, dukes, bishops and archbishops distinguished in the 10th century. Gui de Burgagne, celebrating in chanson the expeditions of Charlemagne, seems not to have known Guido of Tours. In none of the distinguished lines of bishops, archbishops, artists, poets, warriors, bearing the family name Guido, has been discovered trace of heredity, direct or indirect, for Guido of Warwick and of Tours. See Wattenbach, *Geschichte des Mittelalters*, and Förstermann, *Namenbuch*.

should environ kinsman to Guy the knight. No beautiful Felice, no sovereign lady, guides the voluntary self-abnegation of the Count. What Guizot says of organized feudalism may be applied to Guy of Warwick. He lived in a Utopia without a date, a drama for which we find in the past neither theatre nor actors. To the true dignity of a lordly Guy, there exists but a tiny germ warmed into activity in the tale of Alexius. Guido the Count typifies, to the contrary, the man who dares to be just, as well as generous. Not a zealot, nor a fanatic, Guido's life is eloquent in deeds, not in dreams.

The *Speculum*, deprived of the glamour of romantic environment, the legitimate inheritance neither of legendary hero nor of historical nobleman, simply an English poem of the 13th century, remains for consideration. The popular *Liber* was adapted to his people by some pious representative of the clergy.<sup>1</sup> This is the explanation for the tenth selection of the Auchinleck folio. A little worldliness tingled in the blood of this priest. His keen poetic sense directed him to grasp at an artistic setting to enliven the monotony of a task imposed in response to conscience and to duty. Sensitive to the charms of poetical art as well as to the atmosphere of his times, fresh from tales of Arthur, of Guy, of Beues, of Ipotis, he grasped at the religious sacrifice ennobled in the primitive Alexius history. Stimulated by zeal for the souls of his flock he attempted to convey interest by giving a sensational exterior to the hackneyed truths of the Dean of the Holy Martin. The element selected to embody his ideal was the bold hero, Sir Guy, the renowned Earl of Warwick. Seeing with the imagination as well as with the material sense, the mediaeval poet attempted to establish an easy relationship between romance and theology. Breathing the atmosphere of thought and of knowledge, he lived also the joyous life natural to taste, to culture, and to a clear conscience. His religious nature satisfied, it is not inharmonious that he should execute his task with such ardour, with such skilful adaptation of subject matter that the resulting *sarmoun* should link itself inseparably with literature of two types, and that the imitation should be so clever that hearer and reader alike should be deceived.

The poet's eye for effect, his *naïve* technique, his regard for connection, combined with the sensitiveness of his personality, heighten the impression of a romance of palpable beauty in main

<sup>1</sup> See Morley, *English Writers*, vol. iii., p. 364.

facts. The *Speculum* stands as the intense utterance of a poetical temperament, responsive at once to nature and to art, but in touch with earnest daily life. Such utterance meets nature in the reminder that "art is but the masque for nature." Dante speaks for Guido of Warwick and of Tours :

"Thus hath one Guido from another ta'en  
The praise of speech."

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## CHAPTER IX.

### PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF THE *SPECULUM*.

"Ut of latin þis song is dragen on engleis speche."

*De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber* of Alcuin<sup>1</sup> (*Alcuinus, Flaccus Albinius*) followed with much fidelity is the underlying fundamental source of the *Speculum* in its main outlines. The treatise in its first issue appeared in the edition of A. Dv Chesne, Paris, 1617. It was reprinted by Froben and Migne : *Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini Abbatis, Caroli Magni Regis ac Imperatoris, Magistri Opera.*<sup>2</sup> "Cvra ac stdio Frobenii, S. R. I. Principis et Abbatis ad S. Emmeramvm Ratisbonæ, Tomi Secvndi, Volvmen primvm, M.DCC.LXXVII." The *Liber* is to be found, p. 128 ff. The print of Migne is contained in column 615 ff. of the second volume of Alcuin's works, the one hundred and first of the Series, *Patrologiae Cursus, Completus* (CI), 1851 : *B. Flacci Albini seu Alcuini Opera Omnia*, J. P. Migne.

Alcuin's advice<sup>3</sup> to Count Guido furnished material for numerous Latin MSS. preserved to-day in the libraries of Spain, Italy, France, Germany, Ireland, Scotland, and for many transcripts of greater or less degree of completion and accuracy in libraries of England. Two fragmentary translations<sup>4</sup> in English at the transition stage of the language are extant. One of these, a MS. of the Library of the

<sup>1</sup> Glosses representing the *Alcuini Exhortatio* are printed in the well-known Wright-Wülker, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, London, 1884, pp. 86 and 87.

<sup>2</sup> This work is characterized further as follows: *Post primam editionem, a viro clarissimo D. Andrea Qveretano crratum, de novo collecta, mrltis locis emendata, et opserlis primvem repertis plerimv arcta, variisqve modis illustrata, etc.*

<sup>3</sup> See the supplement to *Bibliothèque des Pères Bigne Anciennes leçons de Canisius*, ed. Basnage, Tom. ii., and Ceillier, *Histoire des Auteurs Sacrés et Ecclésiastiques*, Tom. xii. p. 187.

<sup>4</sup> The Kentish *Glosses* preserved in the Cotton MS. Vesp. D vi, printed in Wright's *Vocabularies*, suggest to the reader a possible Englishing of the *Liber* in the ninth century. Regarding these *Alcuini Capitula Theologica ad Guidonem*,

Cambridge University, MS. Ii. 1. 33, has not been favoured with an edition.<sup>1</sup> MS. Vesp. D XIV, fol. 104 *a* ff. was printed by Assmann in *Anglia*, vol. xi. pp. 371 ff. Several facts of correspondence and some instances of omission make it probable that the *Speculum* was constructed directly from a later MS. Deficiency in the poetical treatment of the portion of the subject allotted to the vices (*de Vitiis*), in comparison with the exactness of the discussion of the virtues (*de Virtutibus*) suggests a fragmentary MS. of the original. Although the divergences are at times such as might be involved in shaping a Latin treatise into a metrical composition, with allowance for emotional personal interest, and a conception somewhat dramatic in execution, yet the *Speculum* demands the explanation of a sort of underplot of dramatic fancy, filling out the bleak details of the Latin outline. The poetical orthodoxy of the 13th and 14th centuries required for the complete discharge of duty the narration of the thrilling incident of the first sin, the account of the terrifying horror of the great day of doom, and the expression of the promises of the delights of paradise. To the intense personality of the poet the *Speculum* is indebted for the virtue of the enlivening episode important according to latter-day standards.

Through the individuality of the poet the *Speculum* became alive to the influence of a second source interwoven with the first, and giving tone-quality to the entire work. The real action of the poem centers in the knight Guy. The glorification of Guy of the main Guy of Warwick saga in its current English form, is parallel with the deification of Alexius in the redaction by Konrad von Würzburg. Alexius too left bride and palace to serve God through pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The *Speculum*, as an episode in the main tale, is indebted to a second source in value almost equal with the first, the *Liber*. The origin of the Guy history is prominent in the study of the relationship of Alquin and his *Liber*. The presentation of various episodes of traditional or scriptural origin is also important in the genesis of the *Speculum*. The differentiation of these sources in their various forms may be classified in three elemental groups :

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*Comitem isdem Litteris in quibus etiam non nullae voces Sax. glossate; see also Zupitza, Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, Neue Folge, Bd. ix.*

<sup>1</sup> The chapter *De Scripturarum Lectione* was printed from MS. I by Whelock in *Notes upon Bede's Ec. Hist.*, 1643, p. 173, but without connection with the MS. It is also quoted in notes to the second of Soames's Brandon Lectures, MDCCXXX, *An Inquiry into the Doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 92—93. See also *Cat. of MSS. of the University*.

1. The direct source, the *Liber*, offering frame-work for the complete text.

2. The legendary source, the *motif* directing the work, the Guy saga permeating the entire poem and with delicate subtlety giving personality to the Alexius tale. Thus there exists a link with the literature of Germany, Italy, and Greece, as well as of France, whether it be represented in England or on the continent.

3. Material employed by the poet, derived from various sources, apart from the *Liber* and the Guy saga. Here is to be included the tradition of the bush, the incident of Adam and his fall, of Abraham's interview with the angels, and details borrowed from the Scriptures.

*De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber.*

I. *Main Resemblances between Liber and Speculum.*

*Epistola Alquini.*

“What man that claymeth gentil for to be,  
Must . . . alle his wittes dresse  
Vertu to sewe, and vyses for to fle.  
For unto vertu lengthen dignitee.”<sup>1</sup> . . .

The *Liber*, as reproduced by Froben and by Migne, contains a list of chapters, *Capita*, a dedication with an introduction, *Epistola Nuncupatoria*, predicting the discussion to follow, a treatise on morality described as *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*, and a peroration, *Peroratio*. The different MSS. of the *Liber* are comparatively exact in preserving uniformly the same features, and the *Speculum* incorporates these details with some degree of fulness. It is to be noted, however, that the *Speculum* is authority for a modification of the order of arrangement. The *Epistola Nuncupatoria* of the *Liber* precedes the metrical table of *Capita*. The *Speculum* thus repeats the peculiarities of a single MS., of many brought to the test, namely, MS. *Bibl. Reg.* 6 A. XI. Here the same inversion occurs; there is here, as in the poem, deficiency in the treatise *De Vitiis*, and an appeal invoking divine blessing concludes the MS. text, similar to that marking the *Speculum* in common with numerous M.E. poems of approximately the same date. MS. *Bibl. Reg.* 6 A. XI., as represented by the *Speculum* in method of composition and application of materials, will frequently become the source of the comparison to follow in these pages. This text may be described as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Gentilesse, Moral Ballade of Chaucer*, Skeat, *The Minor Poems*, p. 195.

MS. *Bibl. Reg.* 6 A. XI., Library of the British Museum. On parchment; of the twelfth<sup>1</sup> century. This text begins on fol. 109 *b*, line 28, and ends fol. 120 *b*, line 15. It concludes abruptly with *Capitulum xxxv.*, *De quatuor virtutibus*, and is followed by a distinct treatise, *De elemosina*, beginning fol. 120 *b*, line 16. Line 28, fol. 109 *b* reads: "Incipit epistola alquini quam edidit ad Widonem Comitem." The MS. is occasionally glossed. The leaf is ornamented<sup>2</sup> on the margin to the left.

Further in comparisons important to this issue, the O.E. texts of the *Liber* will be employed as follows:

1. V. MS. Cotton, Vespasian D XIV. 14, of the Museum Library. On parchment: of the twelfth century, Nehab: *Der altenglische Cato*, Berlin, 1879, p. 41. A description of MS. Vesp. D is to be found in the *Catalogue* of Wanley, Hickes *Thesaurus*, Part II., p. 243, quoted in the third volume of the Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa*; *Angelsächs. Homilien und Heiligenleben*<sup>3</sup> (edited by Dr. Assmann), p. 246: *Codex membranaceus in Octavo partim Latine, partim Saxonice diversis temporibus scriptus*. MS. Vesp. D is described by Hickes as *Capita quædam Theologica excerpta ex libro Alcuini*, and has been printed by Dr. Assmann in *Anglia*, vol. xi. p. 371, as *Uebersetzung von Alcuin's De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber ad Widonem Comitem*. The text occurs third in a volume described as: *Miscellan. Saxonica*. It occupies fol. 104 *a*—118 *b*. The introduction, the lists of vices and virtues, the discussion of the vices, and the *peroration*, are wanting. Sixteen chapters of the original *Liber* are reproduced with marked fidelity.

2. I. MS. II. 33, University Library, Cambridge. A small quarto on vellum; probably of the 12th century. MS. II has as a whole neither been printed nor received literary notice in print to the date of the present article. As "Theological Extracts from Alcuin's Address to Count Guido of Warwick," it is noted somewhat vaguely in the *Catalogue* of the MSS. of the University Library. Introduction, lists of chapters, discussion of vices, and conclusion are deficient. It contains frequent glosses in Latin. In the history of the transition of the language, MS. II may stand a few years nearer the period of the Conquest than does MS. Vesp. D. This fact is at

<sup>1</sup> The *Catalogue* ascribes the MS. to the eleventh century.

<sup>2</sup> The decoration consists of grotesque faces in outline, following the text on the left margin.

<sup>3</sup> For information regarding MS. Vesp. D, the editor is indebted to a communication from Dr. Assmann, dated Jan. 12, 1895.

once obvious by the large number of weakened inflectional endings presented by *Vesp. D* in contrast with *Ii*. A librarian's note places this MS. "between the earlier copy of Lazamon, MS. Cot. Cal. A. IX. and the later years of the Abingdon Chronicle." The importance of this testimony will be recognized by the reader.

In the study of the sources of the *Speculum*, the almost slavish exactness of the O.E. translation renders it of little service toward the history of the *Speculum*. The fragmentary condition of the two copies of the O.E. *Liber*, at about the same stage of completion represented in the *Speculum*, as the *Liber* introduces the question as to the character of the MSS. employed respectively by the author of the *Speculum* and by the translator of the *Liber*. That the *Speculum* be derived from an English *Liber* of the period of the Conquest would seem an impossibility; cf. Morsb. § 1, Anm. 1. The link between the two redactions might be explained on supposition that the poet and the translator had access to the same Latin transcript of the original; the divergence in the texts would not seem unnatural, if it be considered that the poet's interest centred in the gallant and romantic warrior, while the translator's zeal found inspiration in the serene orthodoxy of the preceptor of Charlemagne.

The coincidences between *Liber* and *Speculum* are unmistakable in the main outlines of the two compositions. Although the general sequence is not the same, correspondences are significant.

### 1. *Dedication.*

*Dilectissimo Filio suo Widoni Comiti humiliſ<sup>1</sup> leuita alchwinus salutem,<sup>2</sup>* MS. R, fol. 109 b, l. 29, is reproduced<sup>3</sup> in the records of the *Speculum*, verses 27—64 of the history of the knight Guy of Warwick. The names of the heroes<sup>4</sup> are identical, *Guy* in both

<sup>1</sup> The expansion of contracted forms is indicated by the regular type.

<sup>2</sup> Line 28, fol. 109 b reads: *Incipit epistola alquini quam edidit ad Widonem Comitem.*

<sup>3</sup> Similar features are preserved in MS. Bibl. Reg. 5. E. IV. described: *Alcuini sive Albini Angli ad Guidonem de Virtutibus Liber*, a parchment MS. attributed to the 13th century. This MS. is without heading, and begins *D[.] lectissimo filio Widoni . . . etc.*, fol. 97 b. Near the top of the folio is written: *Aleinius sive Albinus clarissimus.* The peroration is wanting. The text ends fol. 110 b: *Explicit liber Aluinii leuite ad Widonem Comitem (vile supra, Note).* At the conclusion of the volume is a note: *Thy Will be dun þ lorde. Bonum est mihi, Domine.* A bit of a musical staff is inserted into the fly-leaf of the MS.

<sup>4</sup> References occur to folio and line numbering of MS. Bibl. Reg. 6 A. XI. A small number to the right of a word and above it marks the beginning of a line. The orthography is that of the MS. Bibl. Reg. 6 A. XI.

homilies, verse 30 of the *Speculum* and *Guido* represented in the dative *Widoni* (= *Guidoni*). *comes, comiti* (*vide ante*) is þe *earl*, verses 29, 45, 50, 65, etc. *leuita* is *Dekne* (see Georges, *Lateinisches Wörterbuch*, under *levita*), verse 41. Other correspondences are: *alchwinus* : *Alquin* 39; *salutem* : *grete þe wel* 52. *Dilectissimo filio* is at least implied in *fader myn*, v. 52, and is remotely suggested by *leue broþer*, v. 73.

## 2. *Capitula huius Libri.*<sup>1</sup>

The *capitula* enumerated by Alcuin, are metrically arranged in the list of þewes of the *Speculum*, verses 79—130. The arrangement *De Virtutibus* occurs in both instances first. It is noticeable that of the seventeen moral graces (nominally eighteen) virtually classified in the *Liber*, two are omitted entirely in the enumeration and in the discussion of the *Speculum*, e. g. xvi. *De jeiuio*, and xvij. *De castitate*; two are inverted in this enumeration, e. g. xij. *De penitentia*, and xj. *De confessione*. Verbal correspondences are not exact in three instances of the classification, e. g. v. *De lectionis studio*, replaced by *mieknesse*, ix. *De pacientia, Loue of herte* (*ful of pite*), and xv. (12 of the *Speculum*) *De timore domini*, is inadequately presented in *penaunce*. Otherwise the list of þewes of the ‘Introduction’ to the *Speculum* is the same as that *De Virtutibus* of the *Liber*, and exists in the same order, as the subjoined table will indicate. The orthography of MS. Bibl. Reg. 6 B. XI. is in general preserved. The number of the chapter in the sequence of the *Liber* is inclosed in marks of parenthesis.

### DE VIRTUTIBUS.

<i>LIBER.</i>		<i>SPECULUM.</i>
<i>Virtutes.</i>		þewes to heueue reche.
i. De sapientia	1. (1) Wisdom	v. 81
ij. De fide	2. (2) Trewe bileue	83
iiij. De caritate	3. (3) charite	83
iiij. De spe	4. (4) Stedefast hope mieknesse	85
v. De lectionis studio.	14. (5) (reding of lesezoun)	(500)
vj. De pace	5. (6) Pes	86
vij. De misericordia	6. (7) merci	86
vij. De indulgentia	7. (8) forȝifnes	86

<sup>1</sup> Cf. MS. Bibl. Reg. 5. E. IV.

<i>LIBER.</i>		<i>SPECULUM.</i>	
ix. De pacientia	8. (9) Loue of herte, ful of pite (god suffraunce)	87 (571)	
x. De humilitate	9. (10) verray humilite	88	
xi. De compunctione	10. (11) repentaunce cordis	91	
xij. De confessione	12. (12) shrifte of mouþe	94	
xiiij. De penitentia	11. (13) sorwe at þin herte rote (sped þe faste)	93 (865)	
xvij. De non tardando con- uerti ad dominum	(In gode weytes) penaunce	(865) 92	
xv. De timore domini	15. (14) (Drede of god)	(883)	
xvi. De jejunio			
xvij. De elemosinis	13. (15) almes dede and charite	95	
xvij. De castitate			

The presentation in the *Speculum* of the second division of the table of contents of the *Liber* is by no means so exact as that of the first portion. The enumeration of the vices is incomplete, and the order of the original is not observed. From the following table it will be evident, that of the sixteen vices considered in the *Liber* (properly fourteen; cf. xxvj and xxvij) again two are deficient, e. g. xxijj (6) *De iracundia*, and xxxijj (16) *De cenodoxia*, and no attempt is made to preserve the sequence of the *Liber*. *Wicke sleuþe* 116 does not occur in Aleuin's list. In the parallel to follow, Roman numerals represent the *Liber*, Arabic the *Speculum*. Parentheses indicate the sequence of the *Liber*. Otherwise the order of the *Speculum* is illustrated.

## DE VITIIS.

<i>Vitia.</i>		<i>wicke þewes.</i>	
xix. (1) De fraude cauenda	5. (1) tricherie	v. 110	
xx. (2) De iudicibus	4. (2) Fals iugement	110	
xxij. (3) De falsis testibus	6. (3) Fals witnesse	111	
xxij. (4) De inuidia	3. (4) ennie	109	
xxijj. (5) De superbia	1. (5) Pride <sup>1</sup>	109	
xxijj. (6) De iracundia			
xxv. (7) De humana laude non querenda	7. (7) þis worldes blisse Loue not to muche	113	
xxvj. (8) De perseverantia boni operis			

<sup>1</sup> See *Caput xxxv. & primo de Superbia*.

c Chapter IX. Sources of the Speculum. Alcuin's Liber.

xxvij. (9) De viij <sup>to</sup> uiticijs <sup>1</sup>	(9) þe wicke þewes	101
principalibus		
xxvij. (10) De gula	9. (10) glotonye	115
xxix. (11) De fornicatione	10. (11) lecherie	116
xxx. (12) De auaricia	8. (12) Auarice	115
xxxi. (13) De ira	2. (13) wraþþe	109
xxxij. (14) De accidia	11. (14) Accedie	117
xxxij. (15) De tristicia	12. (15) Wanhope	126
xxxij. (16) De cenodoxia <i>id est</i> uana gloria <sup>2</sup>		

3. *Epidota Nuncupatoria.*

Counterpart of the *Epidota Nuncupatoria* is to be traced in the *Speculum* as follows :

(a) Certain entreaties and promises are recorded in both texts :

<i>Liber.</i>	<i>Speculum.</i>
fol. 109 b, l. 30 : Memor peticionis	v. 46. wille to him bar. stue.
fol. 109 b, l. 31 : qua me obnixe	v. 47. tok his red. fla <sup>32</sup> gitasti.
fol. 110 a, l. 1 : exhortamentum	v. 53. preie þe for godes loue. (aliquid . . . exhortamentum, <i>Pero.</i> ).
fol. 110 a, l. 4 : tam honeste pe-	v. 59. were my ioye. ticioni. v. 60. a gret profyt.
fol. 109 b, l. 31 : promissionis mee.	v. 68. His preie i wole do. (sicut petisti, <i>Pero.</i> ).

(b) Both Guido (also Guy) and Guy of Warwick had been occupied with war and the affairs of the world. The facts recorded in the *Liber* and in the various descriptions of Count Guido, the friend of Alcuin, are of the nature of those associated with Guy of Warwick in the marvellous versions of his famous exploits. The *Speculum* does not claim to convey a record of the military achievements of the knight, but all that portion of his history is written between the lines of the present poem. The Latin treatise describes a hero of the character of Guy of Warwick, and provides ground in practical life for deeds corresponding to those for which Guy was famed.

<sup>1</sup> Read *octo uicijs*.

<sup>2</sup> *id est uana gloria* is glossed.

fol. 109 b, l. 32 : tue occupationi, quam te in bellicis (becillis in the MS.) rebus habere nouimus.—fol. 110 a, l. 9 : sciens te in multis secularium rerum cogitatio<sup>10</sup>nibus occupatum. Unde precor sanctum salutis tue (*vestrae*, Froben) desiderium.—l. 11: animus exterioribus fatig<sup>12</sup>atus molestiis.

The design of the *Speculum* in the conception of the identity of þe eorl, the genuine Guy of Warwick, and Guy of the *Liber*, is clear :

v. 29 : an eorl of gode fame.—v. 32 : þe worldes blisse.—v. 33 : þe world . . . he forsol.—v. 61 : þe world . . .—v. 62 : Haþ me lad . . .—v. 64 : þe world forsake.

The resemblance becomes more evident after reference to the English legends (edited by Zupitza) :

*Sir Gij.* Auch. MS.:

Hou he hadde euer ben strong werrour. str. 21, v. 7,  
. . . in wer shadde mannes blode  
Wiþ mani a griseli wounde . . .

Caius MS.:

That he come neuere in noo fighte. v. 7401.

MS. Ff. 2. 38 :

And how he had many slane  
And eastels and tourys many tane. v. 7135.

(c) The wish of each knight is the same and is recorded in practically the same words :

brevi sermone conscribere. v. 57 : Make me a god sarmoun.  
And don hit write in lesc-  
zoun.

huius sermonis. v. 137 : Herkne to my sarmoun.

The peroration (cf. Froben) strengthens the impression of the request : *Hæc tibi brevi sermone . . . dictavi*, l. 1.

(d) Both texts mention the purpose of this discourse :

fol. 110 a, l. 1 : ut haberet (habeas, Froben) iugiter <sup>2</sup>inter manus (in manibus) paterne admonitionis sententias, in quibus te ipsum <sup>3</sup>com-  
siderare potuisses (debuisse, Fr.), atque ad eterne beatitudinis exci-  
tare stu<sup>4</sup>dium.—l. 11 : ut animus . . . habeat, in quo gaudeat,  
*seem to correspond to* v. 56 : in amendment of me.—v. 59 : ioye  
and delit.—v. 60 : a gret profyt.—v. 48 : To kepen his soule from  
the qued.

(e) That the request was granted, each author is authority :

1, 2: sieut petisti, dictavi (Peroratio). v. 68: His preie i wole do.  
v. 69: i shal ben þi leche.

(f) The *Speculum* proceeds to outline details characteristic of the discourse :

v. 70: Aller furst i wole þe teche,  
Faire uertuz for to take.

v. 73: þat maitou noht don, leue broþer,  
Bote þu knowe on and oþer,  
I shal þe now shewe boþe.

v. 77: And at the beste i wole biginne.

Compare with these verses selections from Chapter XXXV. *De quatuor uirtutibus*, fol. 120a, l. 19: *Primo sciendum est, quid sit uirtus*, and under *Peroratio Operis* (cf. Froben) l. 3: *in quo possis te ipsum considerare, quid cavere, vel quid agere debeas.*

It is interesting to find the counterpart of *par charite*, v. 55; l. 14 of the *Liber*, *Epistola Nuncupatoria*, reads : (tamen certissime seito) sanctae caritatis (vigore eosdem esse dictatos).

#### 4. *Discussion of Alquin's Moral Virtues.*

It has been seen, that the *Speculum* preserves characteristic features of the *Liber*. The following abstract will show from the body of the discussion, that the narrative sets forth faithfully the main conception of that treatise. The passages incorporated indicate not merely, that the parallel versions correspond, but that they are often identical. The discussion of the *Epistola*<sup>1</sup> proper, *i.e.* the *Liber de Virtutibus*, is briefly epitomized in the *Speculum*. The exactness of the redaction is apparent from the fact that the coinciding passages exist in both texts almost line for line, so far as the connection is adduced. The accompanying tables will affirm that, although mechanical subdivision is lacking, as true poetic feeling would dictate for a metrical composition, yet verses 137—922 may be regarded as divided into sixteen minor parts corresponding to sixteen of the eighteen (nominally eighteen) chapters of the *Liber de Virtutibus*. The digression to be noted in the discussion as in the list of virtues, is the omission of Chapters XVI. and XVIII., *De jejunio* and *De castitate*. Chapter XVII. is represented in

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the literature of the *Epistola*, see ten Brink, *Eng. Lit.*, vol. i. p. 115, with reference to the motif of the Alexander saga: *Epistola Alexandri ad Magistrum suum Aristoclem*, etc.

name only. Chapters I. III. IV. V. XIII. and XV. bear the closest relationship to the *Liber*. The O.E. version of the *Liber* (cf. Assmann, *Anglia*, vol. xi. p. 371), *Uebersetzung von Alcuin's De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber ad Widonem Comitem*, Vesp. D. 14 (fol. 104 a) will become a third element in the comparison. The more important instances of agreement are indicated on the pages to follow.

The method of arrangement needs no explanation. Each of the three texts follows its manuscript. Capitals and punctuation have been used irrespective of original, but the orthography of the MSS. is in general not altered. Occasionally a variant representing the Cambridge MS. I. is to be noted. At times the reading of Froben (Fr.) indicates the *Liber* in its current version. Otherwise the readings of the editions of Froben and of Migne have not been introduced into these pages. Dr. Assmann follows the Vespasian MS. with exactness.

**Epistola<sup>1</sup> Alquini  
ad Guidonem<sup>3</sup> Comitem  
De Virtutibus**

MS. BIBL. REG. 6 A. XI.

*Capitulum .i.*

[fol. 110b.] *De sapientia.*

- I. 1. Primo (primum, Fr.<sup>5</sup>) quoniam que-  
rendum est homini, que sit uera scientia.  
II. 4. 5. Sapientia perfecta est dum v.  
II. 5. 6. Quia in his diabolus uita beata al-  
quiritur, sicut psalmista ait:  
I. 6. Diuerte a malo, & fac bonum.  
I. 7. Hee (non, Fr.) etiam sufficit cuiquam  
mala non facere.  
I. 7. Nisi etiama & bona faciat,  
I. 10. Virtus boni operis fructus eterno v. 148. If þu wolt haue meru and grip,  
beatitudinis.

**Speculum  
Gy de Warewyke  
De Virtutibus**

MS. AUCH. 10.

*Capitulum .i.*

[fol. 139.] *Wisdom* (v. 139).

- V. 70. Aller first i wole be teche.  
V. 74. Botc þu knowe on and oþer.  
V. 82. Vse wel. . . .  
V. 139. (also 81) Wisdom in godes dreele.  
V. 141. Twice hingis it wole he teche:  
V. 142. Whar purw þu miht to hecene reche:  
V. 143. (Pat is), lat hi sinne, and do god.  
V. 145. Ac to late þi sizne al onliche,  
V. 146. Nis noht in monh, sikerliche.  
V. 117. þu most don god forþ perwid,  
V. 148. If þu wolt haue meru and grip,  
beatitudinis.

**Liber<sup>2</sup> Alcuini**

**ad Guidonem<sup>3</sup> Comitem  
De Virtutibus**

MS. COT. VESP. D. 14.

[1.]

*De Scientia.*

1. Arest calre binzen aþihwylce men is to  
seen, lhwat see soðewisedom [is] (snaderes, I.<sup>4</sup>)  
5. (And) seo fullfremde snytere is, þat  
man ȝole heowize.  
6. þurh þa twa þinȝ byȝ þat eadlȝe lif be-  
sƿefan, swa se sealmscop cweðas.  
7. ƿecrr fram yfele and do ȝod.  
8. Buton twalcon ne maeȝ name man to  
eeere haele ȝehelpen, þat he yfeles geswica,  
9. hntre he ȝod do ȝod; he hyȝ eadlȝ on enyssse,  
13. . . . ȝodes weorcas is washme . . een  
eadhysesse.

*Verse 201—218.*

*þi hiltne* (v. 201).

- I. 11. Sed hoc cognitio diuinitatis & sci-  
entia veritatis, per fidem discordata est i<sup>2</sup>catho-  
licam.

*Capitulum .ii.*

*De fidie.*

- I. 21. In preceptis vero Dei caritas optimet v. 325. Off alle neztuz hit is next,  
peremptum.

[2.]

*De Fide.*

11. Ae beos onenawdrysse here 3ode land-  
nysse and here soðfastnysse wisdom is to  
leornigen þurh bone rihtne ȝeleafre.

[3.]

*De Caritate.<sup>6</sup>*

27. On eallen 3odes beholdan sco soðe lufe  
haefȝ bone cafordoni.

<sup>1</sup> Selections from MS. Bibl. Reg. 6 A. XI. in the Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Compared with MS. Vesp. D. 14, in the Museum, introduced here with an occasional variant from Camb. MS. II. I. 33.  
<sup>3</sup> I = Camb. MS.

<sup>4</sup> Froben's edition of 1777.

<sup>5</sup> Camb. MS.

*Verse 321—346.*

*of charite* (v. 324).

## Epistola.

## Speculum.

## Liber.

1. 21. Sine cuius perfectione nichil dico v. 326. And godles wile hit is next.  
platere posse. Paulus testatur. v. 345. (bis self) Sein Powel (*manu*) here<sup>b</sup> hiežen ne inaež<sup>c</sup> . . . .<sup>d</sup> Paulus se apostol  
witness.

1. 25. Diliges Dominum tuum tunc ex v. 329. ('It is), lone god ouer alle þing<sup>e</sup>,  
toto corde tuo, & ex tota anima tua, & ex v. 330. In þouth, in deðe, and in spekning,  
tota <sup>f</sup>mente tua.

1. 26. Addidit quodque: Secundum (Secun- v. 332. An oþer þing þu most do:  
dum autem, Fr.) simile cst huic.

1. 26. Diliges proximum tuum, sicut te v. 333. þu most lone, lu so hit be,  
þipsum. In hoc egen<sup>g</sup>oscent omnes. v. 334. þin emeristene forþ wil be;

[fol. 111<sup>a</sup>], 1. 1. Qui diligit deum (Dominum, Fr.) diligit & proximum suum (an. Fr.). v. 337. If þu lonest god hil iwis,  
v. 338. þu most louen alle his.

1. 2. Sciat omne christiana recte proxim- v. 341. (But þu) lone he existene hat bi þe  
num diuin. be . . . .

34. Oþer is þyssen 3-lie:  
35. Lafe þinne nexte swa swa he sylline.  
42. On þan onewæs næm, þat 3e bygå  
mine þejnes.

45. Se he 3-od hufȝe,  
45. he eac hufȝe his þone hextan.  
47. Wyte he swyðe rihtive ælene Cristene  
mann beon his nexte.

## Capitulum iij.

De spe.

## Verses 459—478.

*Hope to god* (q. 461).

1. 11. Ne<sup>h</sup>emo ȝifher quamvis ingentis  
catorum pondere prematur, de honestate diuina  
<sup>i3</sup>pietas desprave debet. v. 468. þouth man be charged, sikerli  
v. 469. Wid grete sinnes heue and sore,  
v. 470. He ne shal desprieve neuere he more...  
61. Ne seval nam nam, beh he seo ofsett  
mid miȝene hyrdene his synnen, 3 'orteo  
wigen bco þare newfestynysso þare godeundan  
midlootynysse.  
62. ac mid witendan<sup>4</sup> hylte and mid drieȝ  
hwamllice trearen him forȝyfonsyse biðdan . . .

1. 13. sed spe certe misericordie: illus in- v. 471. Ae soþast hope haue, to winne  
dulgentian sibi colid' anis deprecar laci- v. 472. Godes merci of his sinne  
mis. v. 473. purw shrifti of monpe and repen-  
tance.  
(cotidianis.)  
1. 14. Quame recte sperare possunt, si ab v. 475. sif þu dost þas, bi day and nift. . .  
accione þraui opriis<sup>15</sup> cessaabunt. v. 461. Hope to god, and do god,  
v. 465. For alone to hope, widonte goddede,  
v. 466. Is yfel hope, (so god me rede).  
64 5. Forþan he swyþer rihtlic he meȝȝ him  
forȝyfonsyse wenien . . . þere yfere weorean.  
. . .

<sup>1</sup> MS. Fr has dridden.

<sup>2</sup> *Hoc MS. I read*: vahr þinne heortan.

<sup>3</sup> ornate in I.

<sup>4</sup> god in I.

## [A.]

Dr. Spe.

**Epistola.***Capitulum .v.**De lectione.<sup>1</sup>*

1. 21. *Sanctorum lectio scripturarum diuinæ v. 505.* Holi writ is oure myrour,  
est . . . In his <sup>enīm</sup> quasi in quodam speculo v. 506. In whom we sen al vre socour. . . .  
Homo scipson considerare potest, *quatis sit,*  
*zuel quo tendat.*
1. 24. Qui mult cum deo sompr <sup>25</sup> esse, fre-  
quentor debet orare, frequenter & legere.  
1. 25. nam cum oramus, ipsi cum deo lo-  
quimur.
1. 26. Cum vero legimus, Deus nobiscum  
v. 501. Wid us god spekch, when we rede-  
loquitur.
- v. 497. Man, if pu wolt he world forsake,  
v. 499. pu most hem ofte in offisoun  
and in reding of lescoum.  
v. 500. And we wid him, ful wiſ,  
v. 503. And we wid him, ful wiſ,  
v. 504. What we him bisokē pat rilt is.  
v. 501. Wid us god spekch, when we rede-  
v. 502. Off him and of his godide.

*Capitulum .vj.**[fol. 111b.] De preceptis pacis.<sup>2</sup>**1. 5.* Saluator ad patrem rediens quasi v. 517. For lesu Crist hit seij ful wel:*speciale donum (nunus, Fr.) discepulis pacis  
dedit precepta dicens.**1. 9. "Breti pacifici," quoniam filii dei  
vocabuntur.**1. 9. En illius deinceps uocari, qui paueſiſi-  
eus esse iam cepit.**Capitulum .vij.**De misericordia.**verses 523—550, 567, 568.**Of mercei (v. 524).*

1. 24. Preceptum est misericordie bonum, v. 526. Man, pu most ben me/cieble,  
de qua ipse ait saluator.
1. 26. Ergo dimitat hono temporale de-  
bitum, ut <sup>27</sup> mercatur recipere eternale bonum, v. 549. "Alswich met as pu metest me,"  
v. 550. Alswich i wole mete to be,"  
v. 567. . . "He pat wole no merri haue,

**Speculum.***verses 497—510.**Reding of lescoum (v. 500).*

- v. 497. Man, if pu wolt he world forsake,  
v. 499. pu most hem ofte in offisoun  
and in reding of lescoum.  
v. 500. And we wid him, ful wiſ,  
v. 503. And we wid him, ful wiſ,  
v. 504. What we him bisokē pat rilt is.  
v. 501. Wid us god spekch, when we rede-  
v. 502. Off him and of his godide.

*verses 511—522.**Ps and loice (v. 514).**100. Se hæland . . . seale . . . hebedan  
and þuss ewarþ.**104. Eadige lyð þa ȝesiblum forhan he-  
leo lyð godes hearn ȝecilde.**106. se lyð ȝodes bearn ȝecild se þe wyle  
ȝesiblum beon.**verses 523—550, 567, 568.**[6.]**De Pace.**[7.]**De Misericordia.*

126. Mildheetonthysse is swyðe helie god  
[þeo heo so haldeſt sylf ewerȝ].
130. Ac forlaet se man nu þa hwilwendlice  
scyldle to Jan, þet he ȝearniȝe to onfome þet  
eez ȝold.

<sup>2</sup> *De pace*, Fr.<sup>1</sup> *De lectio studi*, Fr.

## Liber.

## Speculum.

## Epistola.

- I. 29. Quo mundo a deo misericordiam ex-  
pectat, qui eru<sup>32</sup>delis est in conservos stros?  
v. 559. And þu, þat art so cruwel in þonht  
v. 560. And wolt to meri herkne nolt,  
v. 561. What wole hit helpe in ony stede  
v. 562. Pe holi lat[er]nester hede?  
v. 563. On ydel dlop he næri erate.  
v. 565. And þe holi loks of sohnesse  
v. 566. Perof herþ god witnessse  
v. 567. And seijp: (He þat wolen næri haue).  
euangeli dominius exemplo roborauit, ubi ait.
- I. 31. Ad <sup>32</sup>misericordie opus optimus in  
euangeli dominius exemplum roborauit, ubi ait.

## Capitulum .r.ij.

## De patientia.

[fol. 112 b.] I. 11. Sine r<sup>2</sup>fero uel flammis  
martyres esse <sup>13</sup>possunt, si pacientium uera-

## Verses 551—566.

## Forbitesse (v. 683).

- I. 12. (Dominus in euangilio dicit): Dimit-  
tite, et dimittet uobis.  
v. 555. (þu seist: "Swete Lord,) forȝine þu  
me,  
v. 556. þat i hane gilt aȝines je,  
v. 557. Rih as i do alle þo,  
v. 558. þat me hauen ouht misdo.

## Capitulum ix.

## De patientia.

- I. 27. In pacientia eni<sup>14</sup> restra (dicitur in  
euangilio) possibilitas animas nostras.  
I. 27. In onu<sup>15</sup> eni<sup>16</sup> <sup>28</sup> uita humana paci-  
entia necessaria est.  
I. 28. & pacienter tribulationes, que nobis  
euenient, <sup>29</sup>sufficiere necesse est.  
I. 28. Sicut itaque pacienter suffiere de-  
bemus iniurias ab aliis in nos delatas ita.

## Verses 568—622.

## Of god suffrage (v. 571).

- I. 27. In pacientiu<sup>17</sup> restra possibiliis ani-  
mas nostras.  
v. 571. (And) had hem hen of god suffraunce  
v. 572. In alle manre destourbaunce,  
v. 573. And, if þe fallep traual on honde,  
v. 574. Off al þis þu most suffraunt be.  
v. 599. (And), if a man purw his power,  
v. 600. Dop þe wrong on corpe her,  
v. 612. i . i . i . . . hen here holenod,  
v. 613. To suffice wrong and vniht.

[fol. 112 b.] I. 11. Sine r<sup>2</sup>fero uel flammis  
martyres esse <sup>13</sup>possunt, si pacientium uera-

v. 610. He may be martyr, treweliche,  
v. 611. Widout shedding of mannes blod,  
v. 612. Pat may ben here holenod. . . .

- I. 26. Hwu næi<sup>18</sup> se him anȝine mildheort-  
nyssse wenien to ȝode, se þe byȝ welrew on  
his efenþowwes?

- I. 26. Drihthen sylf us eac swyðe aȝedlice  
trymude to mildicorntynsse weorcan on þan  
þoispelle, þa þa he ewaȝ.

## [8.]

## De Indulgencia.

- I. 26. (Drihiten ewaȝ): Forȝyfȝ, þonne byȝ  
ew forȝyfian.

## [9.]

## De Piaciuita.

- I. 26. purh eower jeȝyld ȝe nungen habben  
eower sawle haile.  
I. 26. On eallen þes mannes lif ȝeȝyld is  
nedȝearfice to habbene . . . swa us is eae  
nedȝearf, þat we call þa hroca and þa ȝe-  
swyne, þe us on . . . arefien.  
I. 27. swa we sculen ȝeȝyldelice arefien þa  
teone þe us oȝde mann doȝ.

I. 26. We muȝze beon martires buten irene  
and h<sup>33</sup>e, ȝyf ȝe þa ȝeȝyld soȝfestlice on ure  
modȝeȝealdeȝ mid uren han nextran.

## Epistola.

*Capitulum .v.**In nobis humiliatio.*

I. 16. Quanta sit iurias,<sup>2</sup> uera humilitas v. 657. Ac, if þu confeſt, knowe and se  
facile ex nobis dominus agnoscetur.<sup>3</sup> v. 658. Pe uirtu of humiliatio! 1.  
I. 17. (Omnis) qui se exaltat, humiliabitur. v. 659. *Qui se exaltat, humiliabitur, et qui  
tur, et qui se humiliat, exaltabitur.*  
I. 18. Humilitatis passibus ad celi eam. v. 631. Pe midle burw his humilitie,  
mipna consequentur. v. 632. Ful heie honoured þeil sholen he,  
I. 19. quia deo excelsus non superbia sed v. 633. For þeil sholen be drawnen on heili  
Humilitate attingitur. v. 634. And wonye to swibe nich.  
I. 25. Per superbiau mirabilis anglorum v. 635. And pride, it is so foul a hast,  
creatura credit de oculi. v. 636. Pat out of heuenie he was cast.  
[fol. 113a] 1. 5. Qui (enim) sibi humiliatio v. 661. *Qui sine humiliatio virtutes eritrus  
conspicit, est ignorans, qui in reuolo  
pudiciorum portat.*

## Speculum.

*Verses 623—678.*

*Pe uirtu of humiliatio* (v. 658).  
216. We machen ouchawen, . . . hwn myced  
þer meiñis es eadmodiñsse. 217. Ele<sup>4</sup> be hine syfne upp ahefð, he  
tur, et byg 3ecadmod. 219. Wid eadmodiñsse stafen we miȝen  
to heofone heilunisse 3estoon.  
220. þone helme 3od ne maȝiñ hine man  
þurh oferneta 3earcen, ac þurh eadmodiñsse.  
231. þurh oferhude seo wunderlic 3egead  
wenien frohl of heofone. 253. Se þe buten eadmodiñsse 3od deð, he  
bona opera agit, in tenuo<sup>5</sup> paluorem portat.

## Liber.

*[10.]*

*De Humilitate,*  
I. 16. Qui se exaltat, humiliabitur. v. 657. Ele<sup>4</sup> be hine syfne upp ahefð, he  
tur, et qui se humiliat, exaltabitur.

I. 17. (Omnis) qui se exaltat, humiliabitur. v. 658. Pe uirtu of humiliatio! 1.  
I. 18. Humilitatis passibus ad celi eam. v. 631. Pe midle burw his humilitie,  
mipna consequentur. v. 632. Ful heie honoured þeil sholen he,

I. 19. quia deo excelsus non superbia sed v. 633. For þeil sholen be drawnen on heili  
Humilitate attingitur. v. 634. And wonye to swibe nich.  
I. 25. Per superbiau mirabilis anglorum v. 635. And pride, it is so foul a hast,  
creatura credit de oculi. v. 636. Pat out of heuenie he was cast.  
[fol. 113a] 1. 5. Qui (enim) sibi humiliatio v. 661. *Qui sine humiliatio virtutes eritrus  
conspicit, est ignorans, qui in reuolo  
pudiciorum portat.*

*Capitulum .vi.**In compunctione cordi.*

I. 15. Compunctione cordis ex humiliatis v. 679. A god hing is humiliatio!  
dictate nascitur. v. 680. Oft him comep verrey charile,  
v. 681. And penitent, and eke shrift,

I. 15. De cojunctione confessio peccatorum uedictorum. De penitentia uera pro-  
uenient . . . indulgentia. v. 683. And of hine forȝinesses of sinne,

*Verses 679—752.**Aȝend of trespaȝ (v. 685).*

268. Seo onþredynisse þes mannes heortan  
emocȝ of eadmodiñsse.  
269. and of þere onþredynisse ondethynisse,  
and of þere audethynisse emocȝ seo dædhole,  
and of þere soȝe dædhole cumȝ seo forȝyfo-  
nyse þere ȝylen.

*Capitulum .vii.**In confessione.*

I. 8. Ore aetere confessio hit al salutem. v. 768. Loke, þat þu ofte shrine, . . .  
querit ea, misericordiana consequetur. v. 771. For hit may hile dedfi wonzale,—  
v. 795. And ne sparest for shane ne for eȝe,  
v. 796. þat þu hit milt in shife, scie,  
v. 797. Oft god þu milut wel lifliche,  
v. 798. Forþynesse haue, sikorliche.

I. 10. Qui autem confessus fuerit & reli-  
querit ea, misericordiana consequetur. v. 768. Loke, þat þu ofte shrine, . . .  
querit ea, misericordiana consequetur. v. 771. For hit may hile dedfi wonzale,—  
v. 795. And ne sparest for shane ne for eȝe,  
v. 796. þat þu hit milt in shife, scie,  
v. 797. Oft god þu milut wel lifliche,  
v. 798. Forþynesse haue, sikorliche.

I. 10. in E. 2 verie humiliatus virtus. E. 3 coruoseim. E.

*[11.]**In Conjunctione Cordis.*

268. Seo onþredynisse þes mannes heortan  
emocȝ of eadmodiñsse.  
269. and of þere onþredynisse ondethynisse,  
and of þere soȝe dædhole cumȝ seo forȝyfo-  
nyse þere ȝylen.

*Verses 753—784.**To Shriffe (v. 761).*

309. Seo andethynisse þes mannes heortan  
bare sawle to hale.

312. Se þe heo ȝeandetteȝ and forlateȝ,  
sone he heyyt 3odes mildhoirthynisse.

4. *Liber*: we man . . . ȝylenes

5. *Liber*, in E.

*Cognitum .viiiij.**In primitia.*

Verses 815—850.

*Will to lette sine (v. 839).*

[I.i.]

*In Penitentia.*

1. 31. *Cuius ipse Salvator in euangeliū uitatē ostendit ⁊ dicens:*  
 [fol. 114 a] 1. 3. *Lauamini dicit̄ Domīnus (v. 814. *Lauamini, et mundi estate.*) per ysayū prop̄hetiam & mundi estote.*  
*Lauam̄ itaq̄ue, & mundus est, quā d̄ propteritā plangit, et iterum flenda non admittit.*

v. 815. *Qui plangit v. 825. Sunne wasshū, ac nolt arith.*  
*quod grossit & post lacrimas (erasari) delicta v. 827. Pe lone teres of manes eȝe,*  
*reveruntur.*  
 1. 6. *Fili, becasti, dicit̄ in scriptura v. 837. Man, bonih̄ haue sine don,*  
*sicut, ne adicius itram, . . . sed de v. 839. ȝif þu hast wille to lene þi sine,*  
*p̄sistim depreare, ut remittantur.* v. 840. *Pat þu no more ne come þerine,*  
 v. 841. *Of þin eȝen þe hote teres . . .*  
 v. 845. *(And) make þe elene of þi sine,*  
 1. 22. *In hac ȝita tantum penitencie (penitenti, fr.) patet libertas. Post mortem v. 859. While þu art on live, þu miht worche*  
*wro mūlt correctionis est ȝlicentia.* v. 860. *Godes werkes of holi churche,*  
 v. 861. *And, certes, whan þat þu art ded,*  
 v. 862. *Panne naiton don noþer god ne qued.*

345. *Diere soðen dethote meign . . .*  
*baclend sylt on his ȝoldspelle aefowde,*  
 351. *And drichten eweȝ þurh Isam :*  
*Aȝweð cow and byð elene.*

345. *Beo þan mannen, he heora synnen*  
*(he weðs, and eft after) þan wope þa ȝicu*  
*synne wryceȝ.*

351. *3if þn synne syrne dest.*

358. *3if þn synne syrne mid aðre syn-*

*neñ.*

359. *ne ȝeech þu þa synne mid aðre bide.*

359. *ac þn ȝold ȝorne bide.*

360. *hat he þa ȝoldfama synne forgyfe,*

385. *On þysser wyrldis is se friðom dæd-*

*boda,*

*after deaðe nis name næm nan bote*

*ȝeleſſil.*

Verses 853—882.

*In tardando conuerti ad deum.*

Verses 859—60.

*In conversione ad dominum.*

1. 24. *Fili, ne tardes conuerti ad Dominum v. 864. (While þu miht gon and se),*  
 (Deum, Fr.) v. 865. *In gode weytes sped þe faste,*  
*ȝeceraun.*

[I.j.]

*In conversione ad dominum.*

*Epistola.*

*Speculum.*

*Liber.*

[fol. 114*b.omnino eum <sup>19</sup>tardle voluerit, non possit. v. 892. For sodeynliche þu milt le caitl.*

390. Se þe elas, þer he to zode ne ȝeceras,  
he deas on plih[!] his æne sawle, forþan þe  
se deas hit na ne ȝearas.

*Capitulum .xxv.*

*De Timore domini.*

l. 20. Inicium sapientie timor domini.  
l. 20. Magna est cautela peccati dei semper v. 883. Drede of god in alle ping  
presentiam timere (Deum semper praesentem v. 884. Off' wisdom is þe bigriming.  
timere, Fr.)

*Verses 883—918.*

*Drede of god (v. 883).*

*Inicium sapientie, timor domini.*  
l. 25. Alius est timor sermonum.  
l. 25. Scrui enim propter <sup>27</sup> tormenta v. 890. As hit dlop here bi þe hondre:  
dominos timent. v. 891. þe bondle nele nobis londe ne stille—  
l. 26. Si filii dei sunnus, timeamus <sup>27</sup> eum v. 897. And 3it hit lareþ bi man also,  
ex caritatis dulcedine, non de timoris amari. v. 898. þat spares more sinne to do,  
tudine. v. 899. For he donte of grot pinning,  
v. 900. Pan for be houe of heuen king,  
v. 904. To biperke him on godes face,

l. 29. & a facie tua quo fugiam?

[fol. 115*a.*] l. 7. Sic iuncteamus denun, ut dili- v. 909. And leten and sflen sinful dede,  
gauus eum, quia perfecta caritas foras mittit v. 910. Wope for lone and eke for drede,  
timorem servilem.

*Capitulum .xxvi.*

*[15.]*

*De Timore Domini.*

434. 3odes oðre is se frume wisdom.  
Ele mann simle ȝode andweardhys on-  
dredre.

v. 885. And many hauen of god drede.

v. 907. And so he shal casten his lone  
a peccatis custodit. v. 908. To Iesu Crist, þat is abone,  
v. 909. And leten and Ilen sinful dede,  
l. 25. Alius est timor sermonum. v. 890. As hit dlop here bi þe hondre:  
l. 25. Scrui enim propter <sup>28</sup> tormenta v. 891. þe bondle nele nobis londe ne stille—  
dominos timent. v. 892. Don noht aȝin his lordes wille—  
l. 26. Si filii dei sunnus, timeamus <sup>27</sup> eum v. 897. And 3it hit lareþ bi man also,  
ex caritatis dulcedine, non de timoris amari. v. 898. þat spares more sinne to do,  
tudine. v. 899. For he donte of grot pinning,  
v. 900. Pan for be houe of heuen king,  
v. 904. To biperke him on godes face,

436. Se þe fulfremedliec him ȝod ondradeð,  
he hine syfinc syvþe ȝornilice wið synne he-  
aldeð.  
443. oðer byð þære þeowen [33].  
444. þa þeowes heom ondradeð heora  
halforde for wite.  
445. Nu we ȝodes bearn synden ȝeceizle,  
ondrade we us hine of þere soðe lufe swet-  
nyssse, na of þes eðes hiunrysse.  
448. He ȝeðeniceð, þer he ȝodes and-  
weardhysse halwyder lefflon ne maieß.  
466. Swa ondraden we us ȝod, þot we hine  
lufißen forþan þe seo fulfremede lufe ut adrifß  
pone þeowice eðo.

*Capitulum .xxvii.*

*[16.]*

*[De Clemosinis.]*

*Verses 919—1028.*

*Of almescude (v. 922)*

### 5. Discussion of Alquin's "wicke þeires."

The portion of Alcuin's subject-matter, that he described as *De Vitiis*, seems to have been by no means attractive to the poet. That those moral disorders were omitted from the discussion<sup>1</sup> entirely and are contained in the metrical enumeration poorly classified and in a fragmentary condition, may be accounted for on ground of a fragmentary MS. The *Epistola Nuncupatoria* of the *Speculum* has treated concerning a few facts of the manual *De Vitiis*. Additional trace of the original is found as follows :

## CAPITULUM .XXXIJ.

De Accidia: Accedie,

<i>Liber.</i>	<i>Speculum.</i>
fol. 119 b, l. 9. Accidia est pestis.	v. 117. Accedie is a wel foul sinne.
l. 14. De qua nascitur <sup>15</sup> somno-	v. 121. Accedie is as sleuþes broþer.
lencia. pigricia operis boni.	v. 124. And makeþ man anuied to do god.

CAPITULUM .XXXIIJ.

De Tristitia; Shume.

<p>I. 22. Tristicie duo sunt genera.  <i>unum salutiferum,</i>  <i>alterum pestiferum.</i></p> <p>I. 22. Tristitia salutaris<sup>23</sup> est      quando de peccatis suis  <i>anima contristatur</i> peccatoris  <i>et ita contristatur</i>  <i>ut confessionem</i>  <i>et pe<sup>24</sup>nitenciam agere querat.</i></p>	<p>v. 785. Tweye manere shame men  <i>fint in boke.</i></p> <p>v. 786. þat oþer to saunacioun.</p> <p>v. 787. þat on (goþ) to dampna-  <i>cious.</i></p> <p>v. 799. þis ilke shame, be my croun.</p> <p>v. 800. Draweþ al to sauacioun.</p> <p>v. 794. At þin herte sore agramed,</p> <p>v. 795. And ne sparest for shame,</p> <p>v. 796. þat þu hit nilt in shrifte seie.</p>
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<sup>1</sup> The poet of the *Speculum* did not always follow his original in the actual arrangement of the chapters. With verses 765—766, 779—782, compare l. 300 ff., Caput xv.: *Qui erubescit in conspectu hominis peccare, quanto magis debet erubescere in conspectu Dei iniuriam agere.* Cf. MS. R, Cap. xiii, fol. 114 a: *Qui peccata sua occultat et erubescit salubriter confiteri;* Cap. xii, fol. 113 b, ll. 23—25; *Deum quem testem habet item habebit eam alterum.*

Verses 859 ff. of the *Speculum* recall l. 34, Caput xvii., although included under *Caput xiii.* of the poem: *In vita tua benefac animae tue, . . . quia post mortem non habes potestatem bene faciendi.*

6. *The Benediction of the Speculum.**verses 1029—1034 of the Speculum.*

The poetical invocation of divine blessing on the poet and his public, the ordinary M.E. formula, meets counterpart in the various MSS. of the *Liber*. The agreement of MS. Reg. 6 A. xi. is as follows :

fol. 109 b, l. 28. Auxiliante v. 1028. To þat blisse he vs bryng,  
Domino.

*nostro (iesu Christo qui  
cum patre & Spiritu Sancto)  
uiuit et regnat<sup>16</sup> per in-  
finita secula seculorum, amen.*

v. 1029. þat is king ouer alle þyng  
v. 1034. Amen. Amen. So mot  
it be.

With these versions may be compared the concluding passage of MS. Ii. 1. ff.:

“Se heofenlice fader (*and þe sunu and þe halȝa ȝost*) ȝeunne us  
þat we moton þer ece lif ȝearnian (*and ȝe trymme on us þo rihtan  
ȝe leafan and ȝeseylde us wið deofles costnunȝa and*) þat . . . we  
moton mid him wunian þær he lifað and rixað on ealra worulde  
woruld abutan ende, Amen.”

Add. MS. 18,338 of the Museum, a vellum octavo of the 10th century called *Isidori Episcopii Liber Officiorum de ecclesiasticis officiis, Breriarum Alcuini* concludes *gloria coronabitur. Amen.* MS. Kk. VI. 19, and MS. Mm. VI. 12, of the University Library, Cambridge, have the same ending, *perpetua coronabitur gloria, Amen.* With these is to be compared the *Speculum*, 1029, 1030, and 1034 :

“To þat blisse he vs bryng,  
þat is king ouer alle þyng.  
Amen. Amen. so mot it be.”

The *Speculum* is quite independent in the additional element of the glorification of the Virgin, verses 1031, 1032 :

“And ȝeue us grace, while we be here,  
To serue hym and hys moder dere.”

An amplification is preserved in MS. H<sub>2</sub> (fol. 53 a), 832—835, with fuller detail, marking a monkish environment for MS. H<sub>2</sub>.

MS. Bibl. Reg. 5 E. iv. adds the unique and charming *benedicite* (fol. 110 b) : *cum angelis dei perpetualiter possidere dignus efficietur.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Explicit liber Alcuini (MS.) levite ad Widonem comitem.*

## II. *Main Differences between Liber and Speculum.*

Distinct points of agreement marked in the *Speculum*, preserving introduction, arrangement, and main outlines of the *Liber*, have been discovered. On the other hand the two works are distinct from each other in important characteristics. These occur:

1. In the specification and discussion of the moral vices (*De Vitiis*, i. e. *wicke þewes*, v. 101) through deficiency in the original material, or through modification to be credited to the poet.

2. In the section *De Virtutibus*, large portions of the *Liber* are omitted from the *Speculum*, where the Latin author developed his theme consistently with his text, producing a moral, not a liturgical work.<sup>1</sup>

3. In portions of the *Speculum*, *De Virtutibus*, *Whar þurw þu milt to heuene reche*, v. 80, for which the *Liber* is not responsible, and where the poet interweaves episodes of different character.

The preceding section indicates that the *Liber* is the immediate source of the *Speculum*, directing the trend of the argument. Yet but one hundred and fifty of the eight hundred and ninety verses represented in the accompanying tables are to be accounted for through the *Liber*. The larger portion of the *Speculum* is thus not to be discovered in the pages of the *Liber*, but deviates materially from the original composition. Allowing for the variation natural to the metrical arrangement of an underlying prose work devoted to the same current of thought, it must be conceded that after the first one hundred and thirty-seven verses, the *Speculum* exists as a free production of an English redactor. The poet followed his source as conscientious principle seemed to direct, but he modelled his material according to his inspiration and enlivened his theology with incident and episode not connected with the principal action of the work. He improved dull passages, adapting them to the sympathies of the English people.

If the *Speculum* be regarded as an independent unit, its immediate sources must be looked for elsewhere or traced through representative passages. No English work has been found, that, as a whole, can be held responsible for the incidents with which the *Speculum* is enriched. The various categories of vices and virtues characteristic of the Middle Ages add nothing to the proof of the *Liber*, and they are themselves indebted elsewhere for origin. The interesting French

<sup>1</sup> See *Moralia Opuscula*, Froben II, p. 2.

treatise, *Somme des Vices et des Vertues* (Frère Lorens 1279), also called *Somme le Roi* or *Miroir du Monde* (ed. F. Chavannus, *Documētes publiés de la Suisse romande*, IV.) is distinct in itself and in its descendants. The *Azenbite*, Chaucer's *Persones Tale*, and the later text, *Confessio Amantis*, have no immediate connection with the exposition for Guy. Caxton's print, *The Book Ryal*, *The Book for a Kyng*, based on the ten commandments, the twelve divisions of the Creed, and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, is a distinct treatise. Compare also Kläber, *Das Bild bei Chaucer*, pp. 337 ff. Equally distinct are *Vices and Virtues* (Stowe MS. c. 1200), edited by Holthausen, E.E.T.S., and all the various enumerations in the different collections of Homilies, the editions of Morris for the E. E. T. S., Nos. 29, 34, 49, and 53. It is hardly necessary to look for the source of the *Speculum* in a French original. The somewhat large number of words of French origin, in comparison with other texts of the period, *Azenbite* through Danker's summary in *Die Laut- u. Flexionslehre d. mittelkent. Denkmäler nebst roman. Wörterverzeichnis* and *Poema Morale*, for example, are to be attributed to the vocabulary of the first source of the text, the *Liber*; however to the contrary<sup>1</sup> see Einenkel, *Anglia*, vol. v., pp. 91 ff. Sturmels in *Anglia*, vol. viii. p. 205, aims to prove, that in the first half of the 13th century but few A.F. words or derivatives are to be traced in any theme.

An original for the *Speculum* as a specific unit not being discovered, the history of salient passages is to be investigated. The text itself guides uniformly to the clerical literature of the Middle Ages, through allusion to St. Austin (St. Augustine), to Gregory, and to the Scriptures.

## CHAPTER X.

### MINOR SOURCES OF THE SPECULUM.

#### § 1. *Minor religious Sources.*

##### 1. *Indebtedness to St. Augustine.*

WITH Chapter XVI. (verse 919) the influence of the *Liber* ends abruptly. With verse 947 the poet transfers his study to another type of popular didactic literature. The naïve and charming account of *Elize* is to be recognized as a favourite theme with St. Augustine.

<sup>1</sup> *Die zahl der französischen wörter hängt ab vom stande der verfasser, nicht vom stoff der behandelten gegenstände, . . .*

It is the subject of more than one discourse attributed to that divine. Passages from the *Speculum* may be compared with the fortieth discourse (*Sermo XL.* § 2) of Augustine (see Migne):

<i>St. Augustine.</i>	<i>Speculum.</i>
Sermo XL. § 2.	Verses 947—970.
jubetur Elias.	v. 950. Spak to Eliȝe þe profete.
ibi pascatur a vidua.	v. 951. To a pore widewe he him sende.
ad eum Dominus	v. 949. Hou Iesu Crist, houre louerd swete . . .
dixit: . . . . “Vade	v. 953. (He seide): “Eliȝe, þu shalt fare
in Sareptam.	v. 954. Into Sarepte.
ego mandavi viduae, ut te pascat	v. 955. þer is a widewe, þat shal ibi.”
beatus Elias viduam illam in-	v. 959. þe widewe he mette.
veniet.	
aqua se lavaret,	v. 963. A dishful water she sholde him ȝiue.
cum ab ea	v. 969. “Do,” he seide, “bi my red,
cibum petet.	v. 970. Bring me wid þe a shiue bred !”
“Vade,” inquit, “mihi prius	v. 982. “Abid,” he seide, “er þu fac !”
ex eo quod habes, ministra.	v. 983. “First, þerof mak me mete,
inopiam noli timere,	v. 984. And, whan þat i hit haue iete,
non deficientem farinam.	v. 985. Off þat bileueþ, þu shalt make.”
ubi oleum infunderet, tandiu	v. 1000. “þi mele ne shal wante noht,
oleum crevit.”	v. 1001. And þin oyle shal waxen, sikerli !”
talis ist nativera	v. 1005. Now þu miht knowe in þi mod,
verae charitatis, ut erogando, cres-	v. 1006. þat in almesse dede is cat.
	double god.

To Augustine<sup>1</sup> is to be ascribed the comparison embodied in the Latin texts following verse 664 of the *Speculum, Sermones*, vol. iii. p. 353, fol. 654, also employed by Gregory:

*Qui sine humilitate uirtutes ceteras congregat, est quasi, qui in vento puluerem portat* (see edition of Migne).

Augustine's discourses in common with others of the age expound Biblical passages subject to the exegesis of the theologian of the *Speculum* and of English priests of associated literature. Cf. for instance *Sermones* 297, 302, 303, 304, etc., in connection with chapters x, v, i and vii.

## 2. *Biblical Sources.*

Under the fanciful exaltation, the decorative incidents of the Guy saga is to be discovered a solid texture of Biblical passages so skilfully interwoven, that at first their presence is not to be imagined. Some of them are as follows:

Lines 143—147, *Psal.* xxxiv. 14; xxxvii. 27; *Is.* i. 16, 17; *Amos* v. 15; *Rom.* xii. 9; 1 *Pet.* iii. 11. ll. 148—160, 1 *Cor.* iii. 19. ll. 201—204, *Hebr.* xi. 6. l. 204, *James* ii. 19. ll. 223 ff., *Gen.* iii. 6 ff. ll. 215—220, *Gen.* iii. 22. l. 238, *Gen.* iii. 19. ll. 255, 256, *Matt.* xx. 23; 326, 1 *Cor.* xiii. 13. ll. 329—334, *Luke* x. 27. ll. 329, 330, *Matt.* xxii. 37; *Mark* xii. 31. l. 334, *Matt.* xix. 19; xxii. 39. ll. 346, 352, *Gen.* xviii. 2, 3. ll. 355, 360, *Ecc.* xix. 18, 20. ll. 393—397, 1 *Cor.* xiii. 12. l. 412, ff., *Matt.* v. 8. ll. 461—465, *James* ii. 20, 22, 24, 26. l. 518, *Matt.* v. 9. l. 539 ff., *Zeph.* vii. 9; *Rom.* ii. 1. ll. 543, 545, *James* ii. 13; *Matt.* v. 7. ll. 535—542, *Mark* xi. 25; *Col.* iii. 13. l. 535, *Ecclesiastes* xxviii. 2—4. ll. 549, 550, *Matt.* vii. 1, 2; *Luke* vi. 37. ll. 555—557, *Matt.* vi. 14.

<sup>1</sup> Augustine's sermons preserve other passages suggestive of the *Speculum*: “*Vade, et affer me pusillum ut manducem*”; “*moriturum, se dicit, cum consummaverit, quod remansit*”, . . . “*cum suis filiis moritura . . .*” etc. “*Benedixit . . . Elias . . . hydriam . . . farinem et capsicem olei*,” etc. Traces of the *Vulgata* are to be noted in the account preserved by the *Speculum*:

v. 10: “*Cumque venisset ad portum, . . . apparet ei . . . vidua . . ., vocauit eam, dicitque ei: “Du mihi paullulum aquae in vase et bibam.”*”

v. 11: “*Cumque illa pergeret et afferret, clamauit . . . dicens: “Affer mihi . . . baculum panis . . .”*” v. 12: “*“. . . non habeo panem, nisi quantum pugillus farine . . . & paullulum olei in lecytho . . . faciam illum mihi & filio meo . . . moriturum.”*” v. 13: “*“mihi primum fac . . . tibi . . . postea . . .”*” v. 16: “*“farina non deficit, & lecythus olei non est immunitus . . .”*” See *Vulgata* of MDCLXXXVIII. *Liber III.*, REGUM verses 10—16.

The same theme is employed by Gregory, *Hom. in Ezechielem*, Lib. I *Hom.* IV. Tom. II. col. 808, but marks no resemblance with the version of the present poem.

ll. 559—568, *Matt.* vi. 15. ll. 568 ff., *Luke* xxi. 19. ll. 624—632, *Matt.* xxiii. 12; *Psal.* cxxxviii. 6. ll. 630—634, *Matt.* xxiii. 12; *Luke* xiv. 11; xviii. 14; *James* iv. 6, 10. l. 782, *Num.* xxxii. 23; *Is.* lix. 15; *Prov.* xiii. 21. ll. 814, 816, 824, 848, *Is.* i. 16; *2 Kings* v. 12, 13. *Ezek.* xvi. 9; *Acts* xxii. 16. ll. 854, 878, *John* xii. 35. ll. 855—857, *John* ii. 35. ll. 861, 862, *Eccles.* ix. 10; *John* ix. 4. l. 883, *Psal.* exi. 10; *Prov.* i. 7. ll. 949, 1004, *1 Kings* xvii. 9, 16.

The text underlying verses 168—176 recalls *Prov.* xxix. 23: *A man's pride shall bring him low*, see *Is.* ii. 17; *Prov.* xvi. 18, and *Job* viii. 13:

*So are the ways of all that forget God;  
And the hope of the unholy shall perish.*

Verses 177—188 describe the compensations of adversity suggested by *Heb.* xii. 6: *Whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth*. See also *Job* v. 17; *Deut.* viii. 5; *Ps.* xciv. 12; *Prov.* iii. 12. The passage carries the mind to verses 837—846 embodying the text,<sup>1</sup> *Psal.* cxxvi. 5: *They that sow in tears shall reap in joy*.

Texts in which God is symbolized by fire (v. 359): *Heb.* xii. 29; *Ps.* xvii. 3; *Hab.* iii. 5; *Is.* lxvi. 15.

In the Latin texts cited, the *Vulgata* is generally followed throughout the *Speculum*. A few orthographical deviations are to be noted; cf. l. 630, *Matt.* xxiii. 12. l. 554, *Matt.* vi. 12. l. 782, *Mark* iv. 22; *Matt.* x. 26; *Luke* viii. 11, 12, etc.

### 3. Indirect Sources of the *Speculum*.

Sources of the *Liber* as employed by Alcuin may be regarded as having a secondary and indirect value in the composition of the *Speculum*. Alcuin's *Liber*, apart from the fact that it stands as the product of the great learning and the high spiritual development<sup>2</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Shakspere, *King Richard III.* iv. 4:

“The liquid drops of tears, that you have shed,  
Shall come again, transform'd to orient pearl.”

For verses 454, etc., 544, etc., cf. *Merchant of Venice*, iv. 1:

“In course of justice, none of us  
Should see salvation.”

*King Rich. II.*, v. 3:

“I pardon him, as God shall pardon me.”

*King Henry VIII.*, ii. 1:

“I free forgive, as I would be forgiven.”

<sup>2</sup> The MS. Jun. 23, Bibl. Bod. preserves some account of the teacher Alcuin. He “ferde siððan on sæ to þa snoteran cyninge Karulus ȝehaten. se hæfde

the eminent teacher, is indebted largely to the theological fathers of the day, for Alcuin was rarely original.<sup>1</sup> Alcuin was a living exponent of modern doctrines. His life marked "self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control." Added to his sense of responsibility and of consecration he desired to be of service to humanity in promulgating the impressions and vital doctrines of those, whose theology he studied. Accordingly it is not surprising that the *Liber*, and indirectly the *Speculum*, should mirror the fundamental moral truths of Gregory, Augustine,<sup>2</sup> Prosper, Isidore, Bede, and that with Hraban he should find, "Prudence,<sup>3</sup> justice, bravery, temperance," the root and foundation of all virtue. It is not strange, that the contemplations of Alcuin should be flavoured largely with the Christian ethics of Cassian, and that the fidelity of Alcuin to his original should be reproduced in the English poem. In this connection compare passages of the *Speculum*, verses 785 ff., with Cassian over *Tristitia*: *Tristitiae genera sunt duo, unum quod vel iracundia desinente vel de illato damno ac desiderio praepedito cussatoque generatur; aliud, quod de irrationali mentis anxietate seu desperatione descendit.* For additional discussion of this question see Max Förster, *Ueber d. Quellen von Aelfric's Exeget. Hom. Catholicae, Anglia*,<sup>4</sup> vol. xvi. (1892), p. 47.

In purpose and dedication, the address to Guido, nominally Guy of Warwick through the *Speculum*, is to be traced in the work of Jonas of Orleans: *De Institutione Laiculi*, Book III. Here Matfred<sup>5</sup> of Orleans receives instruction at his own request for guidance in Christian life. In the classification of the eight fundamental sins, Theodulph and Prosper<sup>3</sup> are in agreement with Cassian.<sup>6</sup>

myclene craeft for ȝode and for worulde. To þam com albinus se æfela lareow and on his anwealde ȝelpeodiz wunode on sancte Martines mynstere and þær manesa ȝelarde mid þam heofonlican wisdome þe him ȝod forȝeaſ."

<sup>1</sup> See Guizot, *Civ. in France*, Lect. XXI.

<sup>2</sup> Dedication of *Com. on John* to Gisela preserves Alcuin's tribute to other authors for help in "expounding holy words of the gospel," and first of all to Augustine.

<sup>3</sup> *quatuor principales: Prudentia Tristitia Fortitudo, Temperantia, Caput XXXV. l. 3;* also Gregory (ed. Migne), Tom. VI. col. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Aelfric's familiarity with the works of Alcuinus is attested to through Aelfric's translation of the *Interrogationes Sigewulfii in Genesin*; see editions of MacLean and Mitchell.

<sup>5</sup> *Dilecto in Christo Mathfredo Jonas in Domino perpetuam salutem*, Migne, Tom. CVI. col. 121.

<sup>6</sup> Werner, *Alcuin u. sein Jhrt.*, p. 254.

§ 2. *Traditional Sources.*1. *The Alexius Motif.*

Guy's entreaty for counsel has been recognized in the *Liber*; the epexegetical source has been determined; the ascetic factor of the poem, providing romantic and sentimental environment for the ethical theme of Alquin, is to be traced. The legend stands out from interworkings of Biblical themes, nomadic doctrines, the inheritance of all liturgical and homiletical literature, and finds ulterior source through the investigation of that greater Guy of Warwick saga, in whose atmosphere rests the *Speculum*. In the *motif* of the *Speculum* an element in contrast with the *Liber*, is to be recognized, overshadowing in charm that marked by historical reminiscence. In distinction from the superannuated military glory, that stirred the hearts of the ancestors of modern England, it is the *leit motif* of poem as well as saga, in which present interest attains its highest expression. In the *Speculum* is blended the radicalism and the romanticism of tradition. The minstrel re-echoes the melody of earlier song no longer in familiar tongue. The essential spirit of the poem culminates in a single incident with its outlying episodes, that of the sacrificial resignation of bride in religious consecration. Here Guy of the legend is in confliction with another personality, for, whether the exterior of the saga be endowed with the fine figure of the warrior Guy or mark the features of the priestly saint Alexius, it envelops one underlying kernel. From the fundamental germ of the English Guy history has emanated an opposite type of literature recognized in many languages, a traditional history, which may in general be described as *Cançun de saint Alexis*. Through this agent the ascetic factor of the *Speculum* is to be separated from its Guido-individuality, and the *Speculum*, as a member of the Guy family, is to be regarded as the after-play of an Alexius germ wandered to England. In both are to be recognized the same characteristics; here are the same joyous wedding, the same pilgrim wanderings, and death under the same exaggerated resignation.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest redaction of this material is a life of the saint: *Vita auctore anonymo conscripta. Ex codice nostro membranaceo Ms.*

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Furnivall's edition of the Alexius miracle published for the E. E. T. S. The scope of the present volume limits mention of Alexius texts to fundamental editions. No saga has a literature more comprehensive, extending to all the languages of Europe, and comprehending all types of composition, even *dramma musicale* and *tragédie* (*Le charmant Alexis*).

*antiquissimo Hieronymi de Gaule, Geldriae Cancellario, cum aliis collata*, found in the collection of the Bollandists, and supposed to have been printed in 1636, in *Rom typis Francisci Corbelletti* from ancient MSS. of the venerable monasteries of St. Boniface and St. Alexius. This text was given to the public by Pinus in the *Acta Sanctorum Julii*. 1725, *Tomus IV.*, pp. 238—270, with the title *De S. Alexio Confessore*. The *Vita* was also included in an incomplete form, by Massmann in the following work: *Sanct. Alexius Leben in 8 gereimten mhd. Behandlungen; nebst geschichtlicher Einleitung, sowie deutschen, griechischen und lateinischen Anhängen*. Quedlinburg u. Leipzig, 1843, cf. pp. 167—171.

Johannes Pinus assumes as undoubted, that the nationality of Alexius as well as this recognition of his history was Roman. His opinion is stated in the title of his edition: *De S. Alexio Confessore, Romae, vel, ut alia acta ferunt, Edessae in Syria*. Pinus bases the entire history on a Greek canon of the 9th century, whose author was St. Joseph.

Gaston Paris, *La Vie de saint Alexis publ. par Gaston Paris et Léopold Pannier*, Paris, 1872, discovers the Guy-Alexius germ in a Syrian legend embodied in literary form by a priest of the church at Edessa, extolling the monastically upright life of a pilgrim to that church, the son of an industrious and virtuous family of Constantinople. He explains the alleged Roman ancestry through accident. The incident carried to Rome by Bishop Sergius became associated with the church of Boniface by Pope Benedict. There the narrative acquired local flavour, and became so genuinely acclimated as an episode of Roman history, that the death of the saint is actually ascribed to the 5th century; cf. *Monograph* by Du Chesne, p. 163.

The earliest presentation of the theme is to be attributed to a Latin MS. written probably in Rome, a transcript of an older text. Thus the Guy of Warwick saga was extant among the Romans, and rests not necessarily on Roman tradition, but on a Roman source developed also in England.

And here again it bespeaks an earlier generation in tradition; but all actual material in ages to follow, whether it be Greek, German, Provençal, or Norman, or French and English promulgated on British soil, returns to Roman ancestry. In all MS. forms, the Alexius narrative embodies a Latin original transcribed in Italy. In its branches are to be recognized the features of the Guy legend, resignation and renunciation, voluntary poverty, the atoning pilgrim-

age, the return to native land, the acceptance of alms from the fair hands of the forsaken bride, a moment of final recognition before both martyr and martyr's bride become united in death. These familiar lineaments are to be discovered in the history of Guy of Warwick. The link<sup>1</sup> connecting the two episodes is probably French on English ground. The characteristic modifications of the later versions of the history were collected on English shores, but the *Speculum* is undoubtedly indebted directly to a legend bearing the name Guy of Warwick.

## 2. Minor Traditional Sources.

A parallel expression introducing the account of the fiery bush, symbolical of the purity of the Virgin (*Speculum*, verses 355—368), occurs in *The Prymer or Lay Folks Prayer Book*,<sup>2</sup> edited by Littlehales, 1895, in the “Hours of the Blessed Virgin” as follows, p. 24 : *Bi þe buysch, þat moises siȝ vnbrent, we knowen þat þi preisable maidenhede is kept.* . . . “Thou art the bosche of Synay,” Shoreham’s line, *Poem to Mary*, Wright, p. 131, recalls l. 112 of *Marien Rosenkranz*:

“Se ys de bush her moy sy,” . . . etc.

The figure is used by Jacob Ryman, compare Zupitza’s note, str. 3, v. 1 ff. *Archiv*, vol. xciii, p. 309. Chaucer employs the metaphor in the *Prioresses Tale, Prologue*:

“O mooder mayde ! o mayde mooder free !  
O bush vnbrent, brenning in Moyses syghte,  
That rauysedest doun fro the deitee.”—str. 3, v. 1657 f.

But these lines were probably written later than the twelfth stanza of *An A. B. C.* (cf. Skeat, xlvi), *La Priere de Nostre Dame*,<sup>3</sup> str. 12, v. 89 ff., where the theme is developed with some fulness of incident :

“Moises, that saugh the bush with flaunes rede  
Brenninge, of which ther never a stikke brende,  
Was signe of thyn unwemmed maidenhede.  
Thon art the bush on which ther gan descendre  
The Holy Gost, the which that Moises wende  
Had ben a-fyr ; and this was in figure.”

<sup>1</sup> A genealogical table showing the connection between the two developments of the saga as represented by Guy and Alexius might be in order here; but it seems wise to reserve the discussion for a separate article, particularly since Professor Zupitza has investigated so carefully the Guy MSS.; see *Zur Literatur gesch. des G. v. Warwick*.

<sup>2</sup> E. E. Text Society, Extra Series, cv.

<sup>3</sup> Skeat, *Minor Poems*, pp. xlvi—xlviii and p. 4; Skeat’s *Chaucer*, vol. I., p. 266.

Skeat cites Chaucer's original from De Deguileville's<sup>1</sup> *Pélérinage de l'Ame*, Part I. *Le Pélérinage de la Vie humaine*, edition<sup>2</sup> of Paul Meyer, MS. 1645, Fonds Français, in the National Library, Paris. The exposition of the *Speculum* seems to stand as near the text of Deguileville as does the Chaucerian quotation, as will be seen from a comparison with the selection as contained in Stürzinger's print<sup>3</sup> of *Le Pélérinage de Vie Humaine*, “final assault of the 7 deadly sins”:

“Moïses vit en figure  
Que tu virge nete et pure,  
Ihesu, le fil Dieu, concœus.  
Un buisson contre Nature  
Vit qui(l) ardoit sans arsure.  
C'es tu, n'en sui point decœus.  
Diex est li feus qu'en toi èus  
Et tu buisson des recrœus  
Es pour temprer leur ardure.  
A ce vœoir, Virge, vœus  
Soie par toi et recœus.” —v. 11,025, etc.

The application to the virgin cannot possibly have originated with Deguileville,<sup>4</sup> for it had been given literary form fully two centuries earlier by Walter von der Vogelweide,<sup>5</sup> see *Leich*, edited by Wilmanns, Halle, 1869, p. 31 f., v. 37 ff.:

“Ein bosch der bran, dâ nie niht an besenget noch verbrennet wart:  
breit<sup>6</sup> unde ganz beleip sin glanz vor fiures flamme und unverschart  
daz ist diu reine maget alleine, diu mit megetlicher art  
Te kindes muoter worden ist  
An aller manne mitewist,  
und wider menneschlichen list  
den wâren Krist  
gebar, der uns bedâhte.”

Compare *Lobgesang auf Maria*, edited by A. Jeitteles from Innspruch and Breslau MSS., *Germania*, vol. xxxi., pp. 299, 300, v. 167 ff.:

“du grüener busch, den Moyses sach  
vol flammen, dem doch niht geschach,  
unversenget bleip er gar:  
daz bezeichnet offenbar,  
dar du meit blib unde wäre,  
dô du daz ôsterlamp gebare,  
daz für uns geopfert wart  
an daz criuze, Marjà zart.”<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It will be noted that the orthography of Skeat following Meyer is here employed; see Morley: *Eng. Writ.*, ii. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Copied by Skeat from Furnivall's *One-text Print of Chaucer's Minor Poems*, Part I., p. 84. <sup>3</sup> Printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1893.

<sup>4</sup> Varying forms are not necessary to the purpose of the *Speculum* in the selection of the passage.

<sup>5</sup> To this selection and to Böddeker's *Ballad* attention was called by Professor Kolbing, to whom thanks are due.

<sup>6</sup> *grün* according to Bartsch's print of the poem in Pfeiffer's *Deutsche Clas-siker des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1877, vol. i., p. 169.

<sup>7</sup> Zingerle (*Zeitscr. für d. Philologie*, vol. vi., p. 377) ascribes this text to the fifteenth century.

See footnotes, p. 299 : *Dasselbe Bild in Erl.* 283, 115, *im Melker Marienl.* 117, str. 2, *sowie im Arnsteiner Marienleich* 110, 44 ff.

A Carroll in *Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur, Neue Folge*, Bd. II., 1875, pp. 92, 93, *Das wunder der Incarnation*, edited by Böddeker in *Englische Lieder u. Balladen aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*, reads as follows :

“ Another signe behold and se :  
Vpon this maid virginite.  
Trulie of hir was ment  
This fierie bushe that was so bright  
To Moises did give suche a light,  
And not one leafe was brent.”—str. 4, v. 21.

Skeat, *Prioresses Tale*, p. 144, notes an illustration in an *Alliterative Hymn*, quoted in Warton’s *Hist. of Engl. Poetry* (ed. Hazlitt), vol. ii. p. 284, str. ii. v. 2 : *Heil, bush brennyng that never was brent.*

In the discovery that the fiery bush is symbol of the spotless purity of the Virgin, the passage differs from the broad-spread interpretation of the prodigy. The traditions of “bush on fire,” conspicuous in all stories of the rood-tree from the days of Cynewulf and Elene to the 14th century, and later<sup>1</sup> in their multitudinous accumulations of gleanings through the Middle Ages, unite in regarding the bush as symbol of divine Presence. A frequent mediæval application of the Biblical passages, Exodus iii. 2—6 ; Mark xii. 26 ; and Acts vii. 30, is embodied in lines from *Legends of the Holy Rood, The Story of the Rood Tree*, p. 73 :

“ For suth, he said, þi wandes mene  
þe trinite þam thre bitwene.”

Compare Napier, *History of the Holy Rood-tree*, E. E. Text Society, 103, and *Legends of the Holy Rood, Symbols of the Passion and Cross-Poems*, edited by R. Morris, E. E. Text Society, 46.

Intermediate between the two versions<sup>2</sup> comes Maundeville’s interpretation of the expressive Biblical image in *The Voiage and Tracuale of Sir John Maundevile, Kt.*, ed. Halliwell, London, 1839 ;

<sup>1</sup> The “fierie bush” is to this day in current use in figurative language. Dr. Ripley discovered in Transcendentalism “the fair tree of mysticism,” a “burning bush” of revelation and sorrow, see Sanborn’s *Henry D. Thoreau* in Charles Dudley Warner’s “American Men of Letters” (1882), p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> The prodigy is not interpreted as symbolical in Book II. *Of the Jewish Antiquities of Josephus* (ed. Roger L’Estrange, London, 1702), chap. xii., p. 48, where the record stands: “A Fire seen in a Bush, the Bush burning, the Flame fierce and violent, and yet neither Leaves, Flowers, nor Branches blasted or consum’d.” The “surprise of it struck Moses with astonishment.” The “Voice that spake to Moses out of the fiery Bush” commanded him “to depend upon the Assistance of an Almighty Power.”

the text is included in *Early Travels in Palestine*, Bohn's Antiquarian Library, Messrs. George Bell and Sons :

" And the Mount of Synay is clept the Desert of Syne, that is for to seyne, the Bussche brennyng : because there Moyses sawghe oure Lord God many tymes, in forme of Fuyr brennyng upon that Hille ; and also in a Bussche<sup>1</sup> brennyng, and spak to him."—p. 58, ed. Bell, p. 42.

" Also behynde the Awtier of that Chirche is the place where Moyses saughe oure Lord God in a brennyng Bussche."—p. 59, Bell, p. 43.

" And a lyttle aboven is the Chapelle of Moyses, and the Roche where Moyses fleyhe to, for drede, whan he saughe oure Lord face to face."—p. 62, Bell, p. 44.

Maundeville attempts no explanation of the miracle, leaving the interpretation to the theologian and mystic.

Verses 347—354 contain the exposition of Gen. xviii. 2. See also Hebrews xiii. 2. The same passage is presented in Maundeville's description of Hebron (see Halliwell) :

" And in that same Place was Abrahames Hous : and there he satt and saughe 3 Persones, and worschipte but on ; as Holy Writt seythe, *Tres vidit et una adoravit*: that is to seyne; *He saughe 3 and worschiped on.*"—p. 66, Bell, p. 47.

The same general theme is discussed by Orm as follows, verses 19,385, etc., cf. ed. of Holt :

" Nan mann ne mihlte næfre sen  
Allmahhtiʒ Godd onn erþe,  
Wiþþ erþliʒ eȝhe off erþliʒ flesh.

19,429.      Whatt Abraham, whatt Moysæs,

Ne sæȝenn þeȝȝ nohht Drihhtin Godd  
Inn hiss goddeunnde kinde ?  
Na fuliȝwiss, ne sahh himm nan  
Wiþþ erþliȝ fleshess eȝhe,  
þatt wise þæt himm enngless sen  
Inn hiss goddeunnde kinde."

<sup>1</sup> Maundeville reports the exhibition of the bush which was "burnt and was not consumed, in which our Lord spoke to Moses," shown at the church of St. Catherine, see edition of Bell, p. 43. "And thanne thei schewen the Bussche, that brenned and wasted nought, in the whiche oure Lord spak to Moyses."—Halliwell, p. 60.

## Part III.

### CHAPTER XI.

#### ON THE METRICAL STRUCTURE OF THE *SPECULUM*.

THE *Speculum Gydonis* may receive investigation on basis of laws governing the lyric verse of Chaucer. The *Speculum*, representing the pre-conquest rather than the modern side of the mediæval period, marks itself as a distinct type in the growth of language. On authority of Chauerian study noteworthy questions of mechanical form may be classified. The poem is to be studied with reference to the development of the riming vowel, its phonology, its quality and quantity, and the method of its introduction in the riming system used by the poet. Attention will be directed to the poet's use of open and closed *e*- and *o*- sounds in rime combination, to his representation of the development of O.E. *-y* (*-ŷ*), umlaut of *-u* (*-ü*), and to his arrangement of rimes in the relationship of *-y* : *-ye*, and *cons* : *cons + e*.

#### § 1. *The Strophe.*

Two lines joined by final rime form the strophe. Compared with the *Poema Morale*, in septenar, and with *On Gud Ureisun of Ure Lefði* in mixed verse, where the completion of the strophe marks also the limit of the sentence, the verse may be regarded as presaging the “run-on” line of the Elizabethan drama. Sentence structure is in no way impeded by mechanical verse form. At times the riming characteristic of the strophe is continued through two consecutive couplets, developing the scheme *a a a a*. This illustrates no unusual phenomenon in M.E. versification: *Sir Beues* 633—6, 749—52, 893—6, etc., see Kölbing, p. xi.; *Harelok* 17—20, 37—40, etc.; *Sir Fyrmbras*, see Zupitza, *Übungsbuch*, p. 107, 1138—41, 1144—47, and also in the caesural rime 1138—41, etc.; *Poema Morale*, 3—6, 75—80, 233—36, etc. The *Speculum* contains illustration through the following instances: (*-ay*) 249—52, (*-erü*) 353—56, (*-e*) 389—92, (*-e*) 401—4 (*ney* : *say* 403—4 in H<sub>1</sub>), (*-i*) 533—36, (*-erü*) 779—82, (*-ih*) 855—58, (*-edü*) 1025—28, as well as in (*-e*) 549—52, (*-omü*) 643—46. Purely accidental or resulting from the momentary impulse of the poet, successive couplets united by the same riming syllable do not present strophic formation.

§ 2. *Construction of the Verse.*

The normal line contains four stressed syllables with regularly alternating thesis, fulfilling Ruskin's requirement for the "chief poetry of energetic nations." It produces the conventional iambic tetrameter. A final unstressed syllable is admissible. The scheme thus develops a catalectic or a hypercatalectic verse; a metrical pause occurs generally after the second arsis. The same technique is employed in *Guy of Warwick*, the first 7306 lines of the Auchinleck text (cf. Zupitza's edition, and Kölbing, *Sir Beues*, p. xi.), in *Sir Beues*, verses 475—4620 (Auch. MS.), in *Owl and Nightingale*, *King Horn*, and in a multitude of like works. Although following the accentual system of versification imitated from French poetry (cf. Pl. *Grdr.*, vol. ii., p. 1042, § 33), yet the verse partakes of the character of the native English short-line couplet.<sup>1</sup> This is recognized through the logical significance of its stress, through freedom in the development of unstressed syllables, and through incidental return to a modification of the elemental alliterative construction. As medium for the expression of his own personality, external form must be considered to a degree subservient to the moral emotion of the poet. The merit of this quality in the verse is emphasized by contrast with the evenly accentuated measures of the phonetician Orrm, or of the "moral"<sup>2</sup> Gower." There the quantitative standard of the Latin model<sup>3</sup> is exemplified with painful exactness. Lines from Orrm, in septenar, Gower, and the author of the *Speculum*, both in tetrameter, placed side by side, display to an advantage the pleasing dignity, the thoughtfulness, and the melody of the verse of the present text. Compare as follows, where the opening verses of the *Orrmulum* serve as characteristic of the poem :

<sup>1</sup> The short riming couplet is to be regarded as first consistently and regularly employed in a metrical *Paternoster* composed in the south of England in the second half of the 12th century, see ten Brink (ed. Kennedy, 1889), p. 156, and also p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> See Chaucer's dedication of *Troilus* to

" . . . moral Gower . . . . .  
To thee and to the philosophical Strode."

*Radulphus Strode nobilis poeta* has earned attention from Dr. Furnivall and a notice from Gollancz, in *Pearl*, pp. I., li. See also Morley's edition of *Confessio Amantis*, p. xiv.

<sup>3</sup> The *Portia Moral*, illustrating to a degree principles of classical accentuation in respect to precision in the alternation of the stressed and the unstressed syllable, is to be distinguished from the *Speculum*, where the English element predominates.

þiss bóc iss némnæd Órmulúm,  
forrí þatt Órrm itt wróhhté,  
annd itt iss wróhlt off quáþþrigán,  
off góldspellbókess fówwré.—*Orm.* ll. 1—4.

Sometínié lích úntó þe cóck,  
Sometíme untó þe laúferock.<sup>1</sup>—*Gower*, p. 266.

As representative then of the element distinctively English, the verse is subject to modifications dependent on conditions in the thesis and upon various readings made possible through elision, slurring, and the interpretation attributed to the syllabic value of final *-e*. Through diversity in arrangement of syllables of this order the line seems at times too short for the scheme to which it belongs, at times too long. After making due allowance for instances of apocope, syncope, elision by synalepha or eethlipsis, for the doubling of the unstressed syllable, or for its omission, still the verse contains uniformly four metrical divisions. Every line of the poem can be resolved into a four-stressed verse. For instance, verse 124 reads smoothly under five-syllabic ictus as follows: *And mákéþ mán · anúüð tó do góð*. With aid of syncope of *e* in *makeþ* and of a double thesis in the first foot, the normal four-stressed measure is attained: *Ánd mákéþ mán · anúüð tó do góð*. It is also secured by means of the double thesis in the fourth measure: *And mákéþ mán · anúüð tó dō góð*. With verse 124 compare *Leg. of G. Women*, Recension B, v. 91: *And máketh hit sóune · aftír his fingeringe*.<sup>2</sup> Verse 329 adapts itself to Gower's standard (the first thesis being deficient<sup>3</sup>) arranged in quantitative pentameter: *Hít is, · lóuë góð ouer állé þíng*. Corrected by *H*<sub>2</sub>, it conforms to the four-beat line. The vigour of the preferred arrangement is apparent: *Hít is, lóuë góð · ouer állé þíng*. The flexible thesis is answerable for similar irresoluteness in verses 232, 398, 670, 847, 959, 973, etc.

In all the texts verses apparently devised for the three-accentuated measure occur, giving the copyist opportunity for amplification of the material. That the poet be answerable for the deficiency, decision cannot be ventured. Copyist alone would hardly incur the

<sup>1</sup> Gower's *Confessio Amantis, Tales of the Seven Deadly Sins*, edited by Henry Morley, LL.D., London, 1889, p. 266 (Book V., v. 274).

<sup>2</sup> This scansion presupposes that metrical and word accent do not necessarily fall together. Otherwise the following arrangement is to be adopted:

*And máketh hit sóune · after his fingeringe*.

<sup>3</sup> Naturally Gower never permitted himself the license of the omission of the "up-beat" in the first or the second section of the line according to models of versification purely English in origin.

responsibility of the fundamental mass of deviation. Line 107, *Herkue nouþe : to me*, was source of uneasiness to the scribe. Each remodelled the line, to adapt the unstressed measure to the requirements of the tetrameter. Lines omitting the unstressed syllable in the first or the fourth measure have apparently but three metrical divisions. Lines 81 (also 139) and 704 appear, at hasty glance, as follows: 81 (139), *Wislóm in góðës dráði*; 704, *Dóþ a lítel trespás*; but a preferred reading ranks them in type D: *Wíslóm · in góðës dráði, Dóþ a lítel · trés-pás*.

In no instance is the principle of the verse necessarily to be regarded as altered by the poet to introduce new rhythms, trimeter or pentameter, for purpose of added impressiveness, as has been attributed to *Sir Benes*<sup>1</sup> (cf. Kölbing, p. xi.), see line 1376, *þút i sé · nów hérē*, or 1383, *Ló hér, · þe kíng Ermín*. The *Speculum* does not illustrate the practice of the Elizabethans in modifying its accepted standard to portray solemnity, as for instance under the presence of supernatural beings (see Abbott, §§ 504, 507, 509, etc.), illustrated by Shakspere, *Macbeth*, IV. i. 20; *Rich. III*, IV. 4, 75.

### § 3. Metrical Types of the Speculum.

“So pray I god, that none . . .  
Ne thee mis-metre, for defaute of tunge.”<sup>2</sup>

In general the characteristics of the verse-system of the *Speculum* may be classified metrically according to the following scheme :

A. A marks the typical and fundamental line of the poem, the four-accented measure, constructed regularly as it is described in the preceding section. A conveys the intended movement of the original verse. To this line as a standard all other lines must be referred in metrical classification. Modifications of type A are presented developing a system,<sup>3</sup> which comprises four additional types of verse structure.<sup>4</sup> Under type A all lines will be classified, that may not be arranged in the remaining four divisions of the subject. The type is abundant in the *Speculum*. The representative verse is as follows :

<sup>1</sup> These verses could probably be adapted to the tetrameter on the hypothesis of a monosyllabic arsis, the thesis being replaced by an emphatic pause: *þat i sé · nów-hérē*: *Ló-hér · þe kíng Ermín*, the effect of slowness and solemnity being still attained.

<sup>2</sup> Chaucer, *Troilus*, v. 1809.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Schiek, pp. lvii ff.

<sup>4</sup> The standard verse of the accentual system is to be regarded as uniformly the metrical couplet of four stressed syllables to the line.

v. 17. *For, whán þe wórlđ · þe háþ ikáuht.*—31. *Hou ón a tímę · he stól in þoúlt.*<sup>1</sup>—32. *þe wórlđes blíssę · him þoúltē nóht;* cf. 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 33, etc. The verse may have a final unstressed syllable, *i. e.* a feminine ending: v. 2. *And héle of sóule · i móy ou téchë.*—3. *þat i wole spéke, · it ís no fáblë.*—4. *Ac hít is swíþë · prójítáblë;* cf. 6, 11, 12, 15, 16, 20, 22, etc.

The number of verses to be ascribed to type A varies, being increased or diminished according to the standard determining the logical significance of the unaccented syllable at the cæsura and in the first measure. Confliction often exists between A and some other distinct type. Examples could be cited in which an unaccented final syllable may be slurred, apocopated, or syncopated at the cæsura in favour of the rhythm, and conducive to type A. On the other hand, poetical license permits the sounding of a final -e or -en, otherwise silent, at the cæsura. Under these conditions types A and C have equal claims to the same verse. Because of the flexible accentual quality of the language at this period and the license permissible in the thesis, ultimate decision in classification on basis of a specific type must be influenced by personal taste, guided by a sensitive ear for rhythmical harmony, and governed by the individual judgment as to the standard employed by the poet. Compare paragraphs to follow over types B, C, D, and E.

B. B serves as a variation of the verse structure A, by which a redundant syllable is introduced before the cæsura,<sup>2</sup> giving in that position a thesis of two syllables (*i. e.* a trisyllabic measure), the *Speculum* thus presenting a development of the epic cæsura. B is not well illustrated by the poet. It does not approach the Romance standard (Italian, French, Provencal) of popularity supported by the verse of five measures (cf. Schick, p. lvii.) preserving similar construction. The added variety and melody produced by this type as developed in the five-accentuated line of Chaucer and of the Elizabethan dramatist (cf. Abbott, § 454) is to be attained for the shorter verse by other means. Supposing the accent to have passed to the first syllable in instance of *séruiſe* (*seruise?*), verse 36 illustrates the use of the epic cæsura (type B): *And in his séruiſe · wás éuere mó.* Otherwise v. 36 is to be classified under the fifth type (E): *Ánd in his séruiſe · was éuere mó.* The preservation of line rime v. 495

<sup>1</sup> Read *Hou ón a time* with fluctuating accent.

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* trochaic cæsura, the first section of the line preserving a feminine ending.

gives the epic cæsura: *þere i þe fíndë · i wóle þe bíndë*. See also verses 826 and 955. Type B is combined with a trisyllabic foot at the beginning of the verse: v. 357. *Át thë móunt of Sýnäy<sup>1</sup> · bì óldë dáwë*.—959. *Át þe ȝíte of þe cítë · þe wídeire he métte*. With mono-syllabic first measure: 303. *Wít and kúnning · ánd kóintísë*, though the reading *Wít and kúnning · and kóintísé* (*quýntísé*, MSS. A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>2</sub>) merits recognition. Probably in this class is 157: *Héle of bódì · in bón and húidë*, permitting the hiatus to exist at the cæsura. Note, however, instances<sup>2</sup> of double thesis in third foot as follows:

v. 347. *Abrahám him sáuh, · ác þú nóst noht hóu*.—381. *God ís so cléné · ánd sō clér a þíng*.—551. *Forȝéue, þou mán, · fōr þe lóue of né*. With a final unstressed syllable: 847. *Nu ȝé muwë wíten, · whát it ís to ménë<sup>3</sup>*.—549. *Álswich mét · ás þú métést mé*.—362. *Ánd himself · in þat úkë síltë*. Additional illustrations of the trisyllabic third measure are: \*41, \*341, \*350 (A<sub>1</sub>), 608, 652, 813, 1033.

Under B the number of illustrations is increased by instances in which an unaccented -e (-en) is sounded before the cæsura, but generally final -e will be elided or apocopated in favour of the fundamental type A. Accepting rigidly the inflectional laws attributed to the poet, the following lines may be read by type B: 52, \*64, 101, 181, 240, 522, 533, 747. Suppression of the final syllable at the cæsura converts into type A many verses otherwise to be cited under B (see under A): 2, 3, 15, 16, 26, 31, 32, 44, 59, 60, 76, 77, 83, 85, etc. Slurring or syncope will remove from B some illustrations: 12, 13, 345, 424, etc. Verse 94 opens a question treated under declension of substantives, that of the inflectional final -e in dative forms in the singular: *And shrýfte of móuþé · shál bé þi bótë*. Type B removes all difficulty from the acceptance of this -é in the present instance, though verse 94 may naturally be interpreted (cf. Decl.): *And shrýfte of móuþé · shál bé þi bótë*, avoiding the awkward effect of the break at the middle of the short verse.

Verse 123 possibly belongs to type B: *Hit ís a dérné · móurníng in módl*; but it seems to provide an instance of double thesis in the fourth measure, rather than at the cæsura: *móurníng in módl*; though here the question of fluctuating accent merits consideration.

<sup>1</sup> This reading presupposes that *Synay* received the accentuation familiar in modern English.

<sup>2</sup> An asterisk marks the number of a verse containing a principle of metrical structure in addition to the one specifically illustrated.

<sup>3</sup> Epic cæsura, if the reading be *wíten*.

mourníng is undoubtedly the form to be read, verse 125 *mourníngē* : (*springe*). For modern use of the epic cæsura, compare the musical application of Coleridge, *Christabel* (ed. Morley, p. 287), Part I., v. 2 : *And fróm her kénél · bénéath the róck*.—Part II., v. 121 : *She shránk and shúdderéld · ánd sáid agáiñ*. Lyric cæsura characterizes verse 999 : *Ne dréd þe nóht, woman, · ín þi þóuht*. Compare also verse 232.

C. Type C produces in the four-stressed system a verse corresponding to the Lydgatian type in the five-beat measure. It completes the rhythm by substitution of a rest for a sound, a dignified and vigorous means of poetical emphasis. The thesis is wanting in the cæsura, so that the third measure consists of arsis only, two stressed syllables meeting in the middle of the line. Compare Schipper, *Engl. Metrik*, vol. I., p. 37, and Schick, p. lviii. This type seems to have been pleasing to the poet ; cf. as follows :

v. 204 : þat ó god ís · ánd no mó.<sup>1</sup>—215. And ȝáf to mán · fré powér.—405. ȝif þú wolt sén · ín þi sílt.—613. To síffré wróng · ánd vríht.—615. Ac swích a fíht · ís vnméþ. Other illustrations are : 224, 332, 452, 453 ?, 454, 503, 719, 726, 918.

It is to be conceded, that in some instances other hypothesis is possible. Uncertainty in the classification of the syllable producing the thesis results in alternative readings for some of the lines previously cited. Following type A with omission of the thesis in the fourth measure are the following versions of lines 204, 224, 613 and 615 :

- v. 204 : þat ó god ís // and nó · mó.
- v. 224 : þat éuere síngyn // bí · gán.
- v. 613 : To síffré wróng // and ȝn · riht.
- v. 615 : Ac swích a fíht // ís ȝn · méþ.

v. 719 may be read : Whérþurw þú miht · ín þi móð. A question of emphasis modifies the absolute classification of other verses. 332 may receive the interpretation // þu móst · dó in its second section ; 453. // fro ȝóu · góñ : 454. // hadlę ȝé · nón.

Combining with unstressed final syllable occur, v. 105 : þanne ís hit góð, · þát þu shínë.—438. þat slórën hím · þúrw enúië.—446. Wid stérnë vóiž · ánl wid heíë. Additional illustrations are : 24, 25 ?, 35, 75, 100 ?, 227, 253, 498, 583, 766, 832, 909, 960, 1025. Type C produces, in combination with the acephalous verse

<sup>1</sup> MSS. H<sub>1</sub> and H<sub>2</sub> attempt to preserve type A by the modification of the construction of verse 204; H<sub>1</sub> and R of verse 452; D and R of verse 615.

(type D), the effect of two short acephalous verses, the half line following the caesura having the general character of the type<sup>1</sup> in the principle of the full acephalous line: 323. *Hérkné nú · állę to mé*.—461. *Hópę to góld · ánd do góld*.—80. *Whíche þeih běp · álle on révę*.—90. *Þít þu móst · ése mórvę*.—927. *Góld seiþ þús · ín his lórę*. Other examples are: 445, 448, 816, 824, 848, 864, 919, 927, 983, 1026. Uncertainty characterizes also the illustrations of this paragraph. The meaning of the poet may have demanded the following arrangement:

- v. 445 : þánnę wole góld // to hérm · séið.
- v. 448 : Góþ anón, // goþ nú · góþë.
- v. 461 : Hópę to góld // and dó · góld.
- v. 494 : Óff þis wórd // þat góld · séidë.
- v. 816 : Wásshëþ óu, // and běp · clénë. 824, 848.
- v. 983 : First, þeróf // mak mé · métë.

Verse 498 is removed from type C by MSS. D and H<sub>1</sub> through the reading: *Ánd to Iésu Críst þe tåke*. 919 passes also to type D on the supposition of fluctuating accent: *Léüë frénd // hérkné to mé*. 881 may be removed from type C on ground that it contributes illustration of the retention of the imperative ending in weak verbs: *þérfore wórch[ë], // whíle þu máit*. 983 may be read: *First, · þeróf // mdk me métë*.

Type C is enriched by the uniform observance of established poetical laws,<sup>2</sup> particularly in the elision (apocope) of final -e in the caesura. Yet if it be granted, that through the influence of the metrical pause a syllable be preserved, that would otherwise be suppressed, numerous lines belonging to type C, under rigid adherence to the metrical and inflectional system of the poem, may be read according to type A or type D. With the following lines may be compared v. 217, *Leg. of G. Women*:

- v. 145 : Ac to láte þi sínnë · ál onlíchë ;
- v. 294 : I shál þou shéwë · ín þis plácë ;
- v. 311 : Bóþe þe pórë · ánd þe ríchë.
- v. 217 : With flórouns smálë · ánd I shál nat lýe.—

*Leg. of G. Women.*

<sup>1</sup> The “up-beat” (*upftakt*) is thus omitted at the beginning of each of the two sections of the verse.

<sup>2</sup> The evolution of type C may possibly be accredited to the influence of the acephalous verse, as well as to the increasing tendency toward the weakening of the O.E. full endings and the ultimate loss of the inflectional final -e. Cf. *Schick*, p. lviii.

Skeat does not accredit Chaucer with the metrical suppression of *-e* in the cæsura, *Prioresses Tale*, p. lxii. The poet of the *Speculum* may at times have availed himself of the same licence. He has done so in other measures; cf. 279. *shólēn · wílnēn éuerē*.—297. *shólēn · pártēn hénne*.—316. *hém · shal wántēn óuht*. Similar instances are not wanting in the third measure: verses 109, 145, 179, 273, etc. A larger number of lines, where conflicting vowels do not coalesce, may be studied under *Hiatus* (cf. § 8). *Sir Beues* illustrates type C, MS. A, 475—4620; v. 485: *Bóutę þow mé · tó him túkē*; cf. 747, 801, 839, 916, 936, etc., and *Pearl* 60<sup>1</sup>.

D. D classifies a line iambic in movement, but beginning with a single stressed syllable.<sup>1</sup> The first measure consists of arsis alone, the German *aufaktlose verse* or *verse mit fehlendem aufakt*. It is employed by Skeat as the “clipped line,” *Leg. of G. Women*, pp. xxxv., xxxvi., by Schick as the “acephalous line,” *Temple of Glas*, p. lviii.; cf. also ten Brink, § 299, and Sidney Lanier, *The Science of English Verse*, p. 139. The *Speculum* is rich in illustration. Compare as follows:

v. 7. *þús shal bén · þi bíginníng*.—128. *Sánuðl wórþ he · néuere mó*.—137. *Hérkné now · to my sarmóun*. Other instances with unstressed final syllable: v. 1. *Hérknéþ állę · tó my spéchę*.—29. *Óff an éorl · of góðe fáni*.—39. *Álquin wás · his ríhtę námę*, and as follows: 18, 28, 30, 39, \*41, 49, 51, 54, 57, 62, 63, 70, 71, 74, 76, \*80, \*81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 91, 100<sup>1</sup>, \*107, 109, 111, 112, 115, 116, 120, 122, 129, 137, \*139, 140, 141, 155, 157, 161<sup>1</sup>, 164, 177, 187<sup>1</sup>, 196, 223, 228, 251, etc.

Of the couplet of four measures as employed by Chaucer, type D occurs in *The Hous of Fame*; cf. verses 58, 61, 86, 103, 105, 133, 172, 173, etc. In the Chaucerian pentameter Skeat discovers many illustrations; see *Leg. of G. Women*, pp. xxxv., xxxvi., and note to verse 67; *Prioresses Tale*, p. lxvi. The second system of versification *Sir Beues* uses D, verses 475(1)<sup>1</sup>, 476(2), 479(5), 481(7), 485(11), 487(13), etc. It existed in the earliest mediæval English versification, in the *septenarius* of the *Poema Morale*; cf. verses 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, etc. Milton<sup>2</sup> makes happy application of the principle in *L'Allegro*, 19, 21, 25, 26, etc., *Il Penseroso*, 17, 32, 34, etc., and it finds expression in *Vision of Sin*, part II. (see Skeat). Freedom in

<sup>1</sup> I. e. monosyllabic first measure.

<sup>2</sup> See ed. Browne, vol. i, pp. 30, 34, *English Poems by John Milton*.

this construction is attributed to the great Elizabethan master, Abt, § 479.

Group Y of the *Speculum* often seeks to remove the monosyllabic first measure by the introduction of an unstressed syllable beginning the line. The effort of *H<sub>2</sub>* at reconstruction of the metre is to be noted. Verse 7 accomplishes this by the introduction of *ys*; v. 18 replaces *In* with *Into*; v. 30 writes *Sire Gy* for *Gy*; v. 49 has *Vpon* for *On*; v. 54 *ouyr vs* for *us*; v. 57 *Doo me make* for *Make me*; v. 74 *But ȝyffe* for *Bote*; verses 28, 39, and 41 are not altered in the first measure.

E. The first measure of type E is represented by a thesis of two syllables, *i. e.* *verse mit doppeltem aufstukt*. In contrast with the five-stressed measure, where the type is not uniformly well represented, many verses of the *Speculum* may be read according to this model :

v. 341. *Büt þū lóue · þe crístene þat bí þe bē* (MS. A<sub>1</sub>).—504. *Whān wē hím bisékëþ · þát riht ís.* With unstressed final syllable : v. 21. *Nē fōr lónē to góð · ne fór his éizë.*—36. *Aúl ī hís seruíse · was óuerë móré.*—37. *Á góð mán þer wús · in þílkë dúnë.*—754. *Añl ȿ néldjul þíng · i wóle ȝou téchë.*—1006. *þat ī álmessë délé · is dóublé góð.*—1013. *Iñ ȿnóþer stéde · i húue witnëssë.* Additional instances are : 124?, 143, 145, \*232, 280, 284, 329, 340, 465, 507, 535?, 564, 565, 567, \*581, 582, 683, 779, 793, 795, \*835, 859, 936, 940, \*959, 966, 975, ? 976.

*A<sub>2</sub>* preserves in verse 149 the reading of *A* in distinction from *E*, *þis is* being read *þis'* (*þis~is*). Verses 341 and 504 were much tampered with by the scribes (cf. variants) in aspiration toward type *A*.

By the omission of *þat*, v. 1006 conforms to the fundamental type on basis of MS. R in opposition to *A<sub>1</sub>* and *D*. Contrary to other MSS., perhaps quite by accident, 92 (= 474) falls into type *A* in MS. *A<sub>2</sub>* reading : *And rédy þárg · to iðó peníunrë.* The verse is otherwise indefinite in classification, the criterion being *reli*. Accenting the second syllable type E is illustrated. A preferred form places the verse under *A* with double thesis in the second measure.

v. 1020. *Also ȿfte as þóu · maytȝ ȝéuȝ óulit*, is excluded from type E, if *Also* be regarded as a single syllable; cf. Chaucer, Genl. Prolog. v. 730. *For this ye knówen also (= als) wél as I.*

The classification distinguishing any one of these individual types is not absolute. A verse admits of various readings according to

varying interpretations of its meaning or its external structure. So 569, belonging apparently to *C*, admits of restoration to type *A* by the substitution of the dissyllabic *louërd* for *lord* of text *A<sub>1</sub>*:

Houré swétë lórd · ín his spéchë. (C)  
Houré swétë lóuerd · ín his spéche. (A)

Similarly, by granting a dissyllabic pronunciation to *eorl*, *rl* being pronounced with a svarabhakti vowel *rēl*, type *C* is converted into type *A*; cf. verses 45, 50, and 65:

v. 45. Off him þe éorl · wás wel wár. (C)  
Off him þe éor[ë]l · wás wel wár. (A)

In opposition to the hypothesis that *eo* is a dissyllable, is the reading of verse 29, *Óff an éorl of gúdë fíumë*, and the monophthongic use of *eo* in *eorþe*, possessing the metrical value of *erþe*, compare *eorþe* 296, 375, 397, 600, 604, 735, with *erþe* 382 and 589.

Type *C* often depends for its classification on the interpretation of the poet's intended meaning. In verse 100, grant that the poet wished to make *þu* conspicuous, and type *C* is assured; but *D* is quite possible on supposition of the poet's desire to emphasize the condition presented through *if* in the first measure, with added weight of stress on the idea of the wish suggested in *wolt*; cf. Abt, § 484.

If þú wolt hém · tó þe tákë. (C)  
If þú wólt hem · tó þe téke. (D)

Type *C* is peculiarly influenced by the *-ë* at the caesura. Thus verses 10 and 14 are the property of *C*, if the *-e* of *self[ë]* be silent (cf. MS. *A<sub>1</sub>*). Interpreting *þiselfë* and *himselfë* as original forms, the normal type claims the verse. The fluctuation between *A* and *C* is illustrated, verse 253, in the copyist's versions of the vigorous *steih*: *To héuene he stíh · þúrw his mihtë*. The five texts add a final *-ë*, supplying the more melodious *stýë* (*A<sub>2</sub>*) or *styë* (*H<sub>2</sub>*).

Inflectional forms of the verb, to be regarded as monosyllabic or dissyllabic, open another channel for inexactness, thus *louëst* or *louëst* is the reading of v. 13, v. 337, etc. Whether the arsis fall on the first or the second syllable of *redi* determines the classification of verses 92 (= 434); cf. type *E*.

After making allowance for elision, synizesis, hiatus, and slurrings of all kinds, there still remain verses that are uncertain in metrical structure.<sup>1</sup> Chaucer's pronunciation of *persones* justifies

<sup>1</sup> The peculiarly independent nature of each of the individual MSS. of the *Speculum* renders the question opened in textual and metrical study exceptionally perplexing.

the scansion of v. 206 : *þré persónes* · *in trinité*, with which compare v. 73 of the *Clerkes Tale*: *A faír persóne*, · *and stróng, and yóng* of *áȝe*, but see also *The Erl of Tolous*, Lüdtke, p. 36, v. 2 : *Oónly góð and pérsóns thré*.

The question of the legitimacy of the middle *-r-* in *neih-e-bouȝ* involves the type of v. 535 : *3if þi neihébouȝ* · *mísloþ þé*, being in conflict with : *3if þi neih(e)bouȝ* *mísloþ þé*, or *3if þi neih(e)bouȝ* · *misloþ þé*, the preferred form being *neihébouȝ*.

Illustrations of this character throughout the poem confirm the decision noted earlier, that the verse-types of the *Speculum* cannot be rigidly classified on basis of the accentual models of mediæval Romance poetry, but was adapted in rhythm to language susceptible to fluctuation through the influence of poetical aspiration and spiritual devotion.

In the study of the Bohemianism of this verse formation,<sup>1</sup> some attention is due to details in which the copyist was deficient in accuracy and faithfulness, and perhaps in intelligent understanding of his archetype. Although in some instances defect is incidental to the original, yet the scribe did not always understand the omission of the unstressed syllable. Thus the technique of verse 107, that stumbling-block to the scribe, illustrating the omission of the thesis in the fourth measure, is a dark mystery. MS. R tried to rectify the irregularity by the use of *vnto*; *H<sub>1</sub>* and *H<sub>2</sub>* tried to improve the metre by means of an adverbial modifier. Clearly the verse illustrates deficiency originating with the common archetype of all the MSS. MS. *A<sub>1</sub>* is to be unaltered.

Verse 341 reads in five MSS.: “But þu loue þyn cristene,” *þyn* is wanting in *A<sub>1</sub>* alone. As exact translation, it is logically based on the Latin *proximum tuum* according to v. 338. Five MSS. recognize also the necessity logically if not metrically for *emcristene*, a form familiar to *A<sub>1</sub>* and *D* alone of the scribes. *H<sub>1</sub>* paraphrases *emcristene* with *neȝtbore*, 341 (*enemy*, 334). It is expanded to *euene crysten* by other copyists.

To the influence of the individual scribe,<sup>2</sup> with his varying sense of accuracy, must be reconciled some irregularity resulting in the omission of *here* v. 268, a reading preserved by *H<sub>1</sub>* and *H<sub>2</sub>*. The error, that of haplography,<sup>3</sup> possibly originated through close associa-

<sup>1</sup> Among themselves the MSS. of this poem are peculiarly incongruous, increasing difficulty in determining the original form.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chaneer's *Wordes unto Adam, his owne Scriveyn*.

<sup>3</sup> i. e. lipography.

tion of two words distinct in meaning but the same in form.  $A_1$  detected the incongruity, and attempted correction through the introduction of *here* in a second arrangement of the same line, later crossed out (cf. text, p. 14). Verse 269 is similar, where  $A_1$  is also guilty of a careless substitution of *-es (fleshes)* for *-ly* of the original: þurw sínne of fleschly · liking. Five MSS. are answerable for *fleschly*.

In verse 89 the MSS. unite in the translation of *and* in the sense of *if* by the insertion of *ȝef*: *And ȝef þu wôlt · haue gódes órë*, removing the verse from type D and re-classifying it as A. The latter reading seems to be correct.

Of hypotheses supplied by the scribe other examples are at hand. It has been deemed wise not to extend this discussion. Variants offer material for individual judgment. Textual notes will interest themselves in additional illustrations.

#### § 4. Treatment of the unstressed Syllable.

It has been recognized, that the elemental measure contains one unstressed beat for every stressed syllable, but other combinations are employed. It is in this specific relationship that the verse distinguishes most sharply between standards of the poet Gower and those of the poet of the *Speculum*. Gower's rigid measurement of every syllable, forcing each to tally with its neighbour, found no sympathy even with Chaucer. But the better feeling of Chaucer did not permit him to introduce the double thesis with great frequency. Nor did the "halting metre" of Lydgate clog its steps with too heavy a burden of double thesis. The *Speculum* contains proof not only that a secondary unstressed syllable marks its rhythm, but that a measure may consist of arsis alone, the thesis being omitted for poetical effect or in the zeal inspired by the theme.

1. *The double thesis.* The double thesis is frequent in the first poetical measure, yet in this position as type E it may often clash with type D. That two unstressed syllables exist at the cæsura developing type B has been proved (*vide ante*). Two unstressed syllables are to be noted in other portions of the verse. The principal illustrations occur in the second measure.

v. 132. *hē nē mīhtē*; 341, *þyn ēmcristenē*; 343, *máitōn lōue gód*; 356, *ȝif ȝi bûsh*; 959, *ȝif þe cítē*; perhaps 670, *And who só bereþ pôudre*; cf. also 255, 368 ?, 807 ? Probably to be read here are 92 and 474 (*vide ante*). 592 is excluded from the list, see Morsb. § 84, *Anm.*

Probably to the fourth measure is to be traced the double thesis of verse 123 : *moúrning in mód*; verse 150 (MS. A<sub>1</sub>) is removed from classification in this division by slurring. Other conjectured instances of the double thesis in the fourth measure are generally not considered, on account of oft-quoted interference of elision, slurring, etc.; cf. verses 321, 469, 633, 873, 907, etc.

2. *Omission of the unstressed syllable.* An element of rhetorical significance characteristic of this verse is the omission of the unstressed syllable, emphasizing the narrative with dramatic pictur-esque ness through a “compensating pause,” Guest, *Hist. of Engl. Rhythm*. The pause occurs:—

(1) In the first and second measures the conjunction being emphasized by accent as follows:

v. 563 : *Nóht, · if i dár it séiē* (type D).

Compare other doubtful readings:

v. 398 : *Nay, nóman · míhtē dóñ þæt dédē*.

v. 973 : *Ne nóht · þát i míhte þe ȝíne*.

In Shakspere's time also the unemphatic monosyllable was permitted to occupy an emphatic place and to receive an accent, Abt, § 457. Shakspere strengthens a negative by the monosyllabic measure; cf. *Rich. II.* ii. 1. 148 : *Náy, · nothing; all is sáid.* And *Coriol.* iii. 3. 67 : *Náy · témpératély; your prómise,* Abt, § 482, and p. 375. The first *virtue* prescribed for Guy of Warwick, verses 81 and 139, is conspicuous through the same medium :

*Wís · dóm || in góðës drédë* (type D).

Continued exemplification of this dramatic canon designates significant passages: 86, 702, 734, etc.

(2) In the fourth measure. v. 673 : *Off mán hit fúréþ || riht · só;* 704 : *Dóþ a lítel || trés · pás.* Here the pause suggests the burden of responsibility and the seriousness of the preacher's message. v. 269 : *þurw síinne || of fléschly lík · íng.* 502 with proper licence gains in emphasis when read: *Off hím || and óf his góð · déde.* Compare also 85 (A<sub>1</sub>), *miéknesse?* (inorganic -é- is inserted in other MSS., cf. D *mekenes*); 86, *fjorȝíf · nés;* 390, *clér · té;* 107, *tó · mé;* 259, *tó · bē.* Fluctuating stress is possible, v. 259 : *Hé þat wás wóned to bē,* though the testimony of the copyists confirms *wóned* by the reading *wónt.* Compare also illustrations collected under type C. A<sub>1</sub> offers many instances of this type of verse, rectified in other MSS. through the insertion of an inorganic -é- (cf. Sachse, *Das unorganische e im Orrmulum*, p. 63); cf. *sóþ-néssø,* 346, 411, 565.

Similar feature characterizes the versification of *The Erl of Tolous* (Lüdtke, p. 59), 83, 328, 403, etc.

The tonality of this application is indicative of power, giving in line 563 an impression of vigour, in 125 of sadness, in 81 of deep fervour, and in line 704 of solemnity. It is suggestive of the modern poetry of Robert Browning, infinitely dramatic in quality. It seems to be a deliberate purpose of the poet to embody through inner principle of language the character of the thought.

### § 5. *The Cæsura.*

The cæsura became an important factor in the hand of the poet. It seems to conform to two offices. Apart from its normal function, that of the metrical pause, it performs at the same time duties of emphasis. The effect of a pause after an emphatic monosyllable is similar to that of the omission of the unstressed syllable (*vide ante*), calling attention to the reading immediately preceding (cf. type C) : 498, 517, *Iesu Crist*; 514, *lóue*, etc.; 494, *Óff þis wórd þat góð · séide*, the emphasis marking *god*.

In general there exists considerable uniformity in the treatment of the cæsura. The epic cæsura (see type B) is not, as in Chaucer and Lydgate, of frequent occurrence. The cæsura may be discovered :

1. After the ictus of the first foot : 563. *Nóht, || íf i dór it séie*. 697 : *Hit sémeþ, || þat hé haþ tréwe lónë*. It occurs apparently in a colloquial usage, where the first measure is dissyllabic after *seide* 52, 68, 953; *seist* 555; *seiþ* 567; but also after a monosyllabic first measure : *Man* 481; *Lef* 866.

2. The cæsura in other positions. Lyrical cæsura occurs in some instances by the side of epic cæsura (see type B). The position of the typical pause is uniformly after the second ictus, but isolated exception, due rather to caprice than to deliberation, is exemplified, 520 *but Iblessël*; *Comëþ* 423. Irregularity is to be noted in the following instances :

- v. 617 : *Whij ? || fór þe kínde of þí manhédë*.
- v. 395 : *Mán, || míhte hit éuere þánnë bé*.
- v. 523 : *Mán, || íf þu wólt to mé herknȳ*.

A pause offered by the cæsura seems demanded, though rarely, in two parts of the single verse : 431, 833, 982, etc.

## § 6. Resolved Stress.

Resolved stress,<sup>1</sup> fluctuating accent (*schwebende betonung, taktumstellung*), is determined on the one hand, objectively, through the natural accent of the individual word; on the other subjectively, through the rhetorical purpose of the specific verse. The rhetorical accent of the *Speculum* does not often clash with the rhythm, yet every measure cannot be regarded as a perfect unit, and stress must at times be divided between the word accent and the verse accent. This is exemplified particularly at the beginning of the verse and after the cæsura.

## 1. Beginning the verse :

- v. 43 : Wit óf clergié · he hálde inóuh.
- v. 355 : Hu Móyses him sáuh, · wólton héré ?
- v. 950 : Spák tó Elízë · þé profétté.
- v. 972 : Síkér, she séide, · “bred háue i nón.”

## 2. In the second section of the verse :

- v. 245 : To sáuuë mán, · mán hé bicám.
- v. 349 : þe fóurme · of þre chíldréen he métté.
- v. 414 : þe cléne of hérte, · blésséd þeih bé.<sup>2</sup>

The resolved stress is peculiarly applicable to individual words of Romance origin, where the accent was not at this period unalterably determined. Romance forms with the suffix *-aunce*, *-age*, etc., forms like *seruise*, *merci*, *rescun*, etc., where the primary word accent is no longer active, admit of fluctuation due to the conflict between English and French intonation. That *merci* of the present poem was subject to variable accent, is proved by metre. That the accent belongs at least once on the final syllable, is indicated by the riming form, *merci*<sup>1</sup>: (*herkny*) 524. To the contrary, *merci* in the following verses requires accent on the first syllable :

- v. 263 : Mérci · néle he shéwë nón.
- v. 472 : Gódës mérci · óf his sinnë.
- v. 532 : Mérci wás þer · néuere nón.
- v. 545 : Mérci gétestu · néuere nón.
- v. 567 : Hé þat wóle · no mérci háuë.
- v. 568 : On ýdel · dóþ he mérci cráuë.

<sup>1</sup> See Schipper, *Neuenglische Metrik*, vol. i., p. 32, natural emphasis is sacrificed to technical purpose.

<sup>2</sup> See also : “þe cléne of hérte, bléssed þeih bé.”

Verse 131, as illustration of type D, is open to speculation through variable accent :

v. 131 : Mercí he lés · þúrw þat sínne.  
Mérei hé lés · þúrw þat sínne.

Resolved accent will be recognized also as hovering accent, and as wrenched accent was in use by Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, and Gascoigne, *Notes of Instruction, Steel Glas*.

Consistent pronunciation is hardly possible at a time when laws were not more tangible, than is illustrated by Ben Jonson's rules, viz.: if a dissyllabic word be simple, it should be accented on the first syllable, but if derived from a verb, on the second ; cf. *Abt*, § 490.

### § 7. Slurring.

Slurring<sup>1</sup> (*verschleifung*) in favour of the metre occurs, for instance :

1. At the cæsura : v. 934, *Fór so lítel · an álmesdélë*.—545. *Mérei gétestu · néneré nón*.—12. *þu miht be síker · to hénene wéndë*. 264. *Ác, riht áfter · þat mán huþ dón*.—213. Also *after*.—Giving after two syllables : 876. *Ac riht áfter · þú hast dó*. *A*<sub>1</sub> and *R* preserve consistently the slurring and strengthen the claims of the verse to type A by the introduction of an additional syllable, *þat* following *after*: *Ác riht áfter · þat þú hast dó*. 345 illustrates slurring in a proper name : *þis séiþ sein Pówel · and béręþ witnésse*; cf. Pogatscher.<sup>2</sup>

2. In the second measure : 218. *þe éuel to láte · and góð to túkë*. Parallel with *euere* (read *e'er*), *euel*<sup>3</sup> is monosyllabic through slurring, as was the Shaksperian usage, *Cymb.* V. v. 60 and I. i. 72 (*Abt*, § 466). Compare with *éuel*, in other measures (giving type A), 901, and *ýuél* (probably dissyllabic, type A) 15. Type C is confirmed by the slurred form *yuel* in verses 217, 228, 872, but the preferred reading gives two syllables. See also *evyll* in *Thomas of Erceloune* (ed. Brandl) 379, *spéke none évyll of mé*. Other forms are also

<sup>1</sup> A moderated syncope resp. apocope, see Morsb., § 85, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Pogatscher gives explanation of *Powel* relatively to O.E. *au* in words of foreign origin, as follows : *Wenn Kons. + Liquida, oder Nasal, in den Auslaut tritt, kann im ae, aus silbebildender Liquida ein sekundärer Vokal entfaltet werden (Páulus, O.E. Páwæl, M.E. Powel), § 275, and § 25 : Vor silbebildendem r- oder -w im Auslaut, entsteht im ae, der Reibelaut w; e.g. M.E. Páwæl < O.E. Páwæl < Páulus, § 254.*

<sup>3</sup> Compare the Elizabethan pronunciation of *devil* (Scotch *d'vil*) with softening of the *-v-*; cf. *Abt*, § 466, with reference to *Micbeth*, IV. iii. 56 :

“ Of hórrid héll can cóme · a dévil more dámñ'd.”

found : *wonder of* 149 ; *hunger and* 185 ; *Many a* 112, 369, 592 ; *Many and* 675 ; *Many on* 829.

3. In other measures : *euere among* 186 occurs in the fourth syllabic measure ; 44. *euere he* in the third measure. With a second slurring in the same verse occurs : *many on · euere amóng* 880.

Slurring is illustrated through inflectional forms : substantives : gen. in -es : *faderes* 254, 255 ; plu. in -es : *þewes* 97 ; in en : *chil-dren ifré* 978.—Verbs : in -en : *kepen his* 48 ; *comen him* 67 ; *comen* 240.—In -est : *louest* 13 ; in -eþ : *spekeþ* (caesura) 275 ; *makeþ man* 124.

*Wheiþer* 219, 272, 536, 872, is to be read as a monosyllable, *whér* ; cf. 219 : *Wheiþer (whe'r) hé wole chése, · he háþ powér.* See Chaucer, *Monk's Prologue*, 3119 ; *Leg. of Good Women*, 1995 ; with Skeat's reference, l. 72, to Shakspere's 59th Sonnet, *Whei'er wé are ménded*, and Abt, *Sh. Gr.*, § 136 and § 466, with reference to *Tempest*, V. i. 111 ; *þider* 257 ; *Oþer* 175 ; *noþer* 862 are also to be regarded as monosyllabic.

### § 8. *Hiatus.*

The hiatus depends upon the preservation of unaccented final -e, before a word beginning with a vowel-sound, in positions where two vowels do not coalesce (cf. Skeat, *Leg. of Gd. Women*, 217), and where at times a conflict exists between type C or type A. The *Speculum*, availing itself of technical licence in favour of type A in distinction from type C, offers numerous examples of hiatus (*rile ante*) ; cf. as follows :

v. 266 : *To ióyë · ór to stróng turmiént.* (A)

v. 656 : *þé to hóldë · ín þi prídë.* (D)

The text is rich in such lines<sup>1</sup> ; cf. 58, 68, 74, 109, 143, 145, 380, 409, 493, 495, 510, 651, 722, 743, 760, 792, 817, 845, 945, 1005. Elision (apocope) is not lost in the caesura, as may be inferred from the following illustrations : 411, 413, 417, 721, 746, etc. Hiatus is possible in other measures :

v. 122 : *Wické ón · anwl wícké óþer.*

v. 1020 : *Also ófle as þóu · maytȝ zéuë ónzȝt.*

See 93, 106, 838, and possibly 600, 735, 904, etc.

<sup>1</sup> The association producing hiatus occurs before h as follows : 198, 419, 694, 789, 834, 895, 1028, 1029, etc. In this position the verse is to be distinguished from the Chaucerian system ; cf. ten Br. § 270.

Inflectional *-n* retained in the infinitive excludes from consideration passages otherwise to be ranked in this class, for example: 181, 182, 188, 285, 292, 297, 405, etc. The introduction of final *-n* in the infinitive lessens the number of lines illustrative of hiatus; cf. 58, 74, 380, 743, etc. Verse 273 is improved by the addition of *-n*; *And þére biléu[n] éuere mó.* See also 1005: *Now þu miht knówe[n] in þi mód.*

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## CHAPTER XII.

### ON THE RIMING STRUCTURE OF THE *SPECULUM*.

#### § 1. *Eud Rime.*

The rimes of the six MSS. of the *Speculum* are virtually the same, modified only in orthography through dialectical variations. They are in general adroitly handled, but are without great diversity or originality. Imperfect rimes occur through assonance.

*Assonance.*—The *Speculum* contains five illustrations of assonance: *ek* : *fet* 440; *cum* : *man* 590; *men* : *hem* 150; *wemme* : *breune* 368; *vnderstonde* : *fonge* (corrected in *D* and *R* to *fonde*) 508. 826 offers in rime with *ariht*<sup>1</sup> (*A<sub>1</sub>*), *white* *A<sub>2</sub>*, *whist* *H<sub>1</sub>*, see Kluge, *Pl. Grdr.* I. p. 849. Compare also illustrations of Guy of Warwick (Ff. 2. 38), p. xiii., *hyt* : *nyght* 9505, and *ryght* : *ȝyt* 3209 (Zupitza's 3219, p. xiii.); str. 54: *delyt* : *plyt* (-*ght*) 93. : *spyt* 95. *Pearl* 90<sup>7</sup>, and the *Rolandslied*, see Schleich, p. 26 *lyght* : *wit* 848; *erthe* : *hed* 101. Readily corrected by restoring the original reading is *þerwid* (read *þerwiþ*) : *griþ* 148.

*Inexact rimes.*—In some rimes practically perfect in the fundamental text, the vowels of corresponding syllables are dissimilar in instances, where the scribe's orthography and the author's do not correspond. The unimportant disagreement may be amended by a trifling change in orthography, since the consonants and consonantal groups following the vowel are identical. The accompanying forms are represented through illustrations from MS. *A<sub>1</sub>*: *e* : *i* (*y*): *fɔrȝete* : *ivite* 194, : *wite* 764; *her* : *fyr* 452; *here* : *fire* 356; *seknesse* : *blisse* 188; *þisternesse* : *blisse* 114; *prest* : *Crist* 806.—*e* : *ei* : *dredē* : *seide* 140, 494; *rele* : *seide* 168, 692.—*e* : *ie* : *answerede* : *heriede* 66.—*ei* : *eizē* : *lizē* 828.—*u* : *e* : *turne* : *sterne* 436.—*a* : *o* : *gange* : *longe* 762.—*i* : *o* : *skile* : *wole* 712.—*i* : *u* : *gilt* : *ipult* 888; *aperteliche* :

<sup>1</sup> The poet undoubtedly spoke *riht* : *wiht*.

*muche* 386 ; *lihtliche* : *muche* 672.—*i* : *ui* : *jire* : *duire* : 282.—*o* : *u* : *worche* : *churche* 860.—*o* : *ou* : *noht* : *bouht* 172, 226, : *iwrroulht* 580, : *souht* 196, : *þouht* 32, 560, etc. These unimportant variations exist purely on the face of the MSS. and are without weight as regards the internal principle of the rime. A more or less successful attempt at correction of such errors has been offered by various scribes, who detected the inaccuracy.

*Perfect rime*.—Perfect rime is represented in both its classes ; but this subdivision is to be modified in Teutonic words according to the interpretation of the syllabic value of final *-e*. If *-e* be regarded as silent, masculine rime predominates in the versification of the *Speculum* ; while on the other hand, if *-e* be sounded, feminine rime is in excess in the proportion in general of 7 to 6. The discussion to follow will probably show that as in Chaufer (cf. Skeat, *Prioresses Tale*, p. lvii) and in contemporary poets (but see Schleich, *Yrain and Gawain*, pp. xxvii ff.) the dominant rime preserves the *-e*, and in closer proportion relatively to the masculine rime than in the *Poema Morale* (Skeat, pp. lvii—lviii) and in *On God Ureisun of Ure Lefili*, where the relationship of masculine rimes to feminine rimes stands perhaps as 10 to 150. Assuming that *-e* is to be pronounced, on basis of rimes reenrring most frequently, perfect rime may be classified as follows :

1. *Masculine (strong, monosyllabic) rimes*. (a) *Assonantal rimes*. In *-e* : *be* : *þe* 328, 334, 414, 536, 588 ; *be* : *charite* 96, 936, 1034 ; *be* : *þle* 834, 850 ; *be* : *se* 396, 534, 738, 752, 872, : (*ise*) 402, 730, : *pite* 260 ; *me* : *se* 190, : *þe* 108, 392, 550, 552, 556, 920, 1012 ; *þe* : *bise* 488 ; *charite* : *me* 56, 324, : *þe* 84, : *be* 96.—In *-i* : *witerli* : *merci* 458, 528 ; *sikerli* : *empti* 1002 ; *leuedi* : *witerli* 364.—In *-o* : *also* : *do* 10, 208, 898 ; *do* : *to* 68, 332 ; *do* : *wo* 484, 918 ; *þo* : *mo* 240, 1004. Numerous other examples might be included, in which this poem is prolific. (b) *Consonantal rimes*.—In *-a* : *al* : *þral* 238 ; *bicam* : *nam* 246 ; *cas* : *trespas* 704 ; *last* : *east* 636.—In *-e* : *qed* : *ded* 862, : *red* 48, 654 ; *wel* : *katel* 162, 578, 896, etc. ; *power* : *ner* 216.—In *-i* : *wif* : *lyf* 234, 702, 734 ; *his* : *paradys* 300 ; *liht* : *niht* 856.—In *-o* : *forsok* : *tok* 34 ; *blod* : *rod* 248 ; *non* : *ilon* 546.—In *-oht* : *bouht* : *noht* 172 : *þouht* : *ouht* 316 ; *inonh* : *drouh* 44. Here compare *Robert of Gloucester*, where *inouh* rimes with *drou* 253, 269, 311, etc. (Wright's edition, *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, London). Compare also *Guy of Warwick*, Zupitza's fifteenth century edition, p. xiii : *yuogh* : *too* 10,859 ; *ynowe* : *also* 8953, and *Rolandlied*, *enow* : *troue* 530, 1000 (Schleich, p. 28).

Feminine (*weak, dissyllabic*) rimes.—In -a: *hauë* : *crauë* 456, 530, 544, 568, 776; *take* : *forsake* 64, 100, 268, 498; *blume* : *shame* 778, 784, 812; *grace* : *fare* 214, 904, : *place* 294.—In -e: *clene* : *eue* 366, 816; *clene* : *mene* 408, 824, 848; *sende* : *amende* 576, 952, : *spende* 990; *wende* : *engle* 12, 426; *leres* : *teres* 842; *here* : *ifere* 296, 978.—In -i: *wille* : *stille* 584, 594, 706, 892; *sinne* : *wiinne* 132, 472, 684, 694, 846, 1008; *sinne* : *biginne* 902; *sinne* : *widinne* 118; *sinne* : *inne* 732.—In -o: *more* : *lore* 24, 36, 740, 756, 854, 912, 928; *more* : *sore* 470; *broþer* : *oþer* 74, 122.—In -ouþe: *nouþe* 420, 480; *founde* : *wounde* 774; *stounde* : *bounde* 710; *wroulhte* : *bouthte* 26.

*Triple rime*.—A single couplet in triple rime is preserved,<sup>1</sup> probably incidental to the poet: *dampnacíoun* : *scuuacíoun* 788.

*Rimes in -y : -yë*.—The *Speculum*, agreeing with the system of Chaucer, is free from the riming combination -y : -yë; cf. ten Brink, *Chaucer Studien*, pp. 22 ff., and Pabst, *Robt. of Gloucester*, pp. 99, 100. Distinction is here marked between this poem and texts of Lydgate (cf. Schick, p. lxii) and of *Guy of Warwick* (MS. Ff. 2. 38, cf. Zupitza, p. xiv), where rimes *charyté* : *sekerlyë* 5367; *companÿë* : *thre* 3865, etc. are recorded. Concerning the rime *chicalry* : *Gy*, *The Rime of Sir Thopas*, v. 209, cf. Skeat's note.

*Rimes of -cons. : -cons. + ē*.—The poet was virtually accurate and logical in the use of final -e. The rime *goþ(e)* : *loþe* 448 is the most noticeable exception. The questionable *gool* : *rod* 144, *goþe* : *loþe* 448, *quede* : *fede* 1026, are treated under inflection. *milt* : *silte* 362 is withdrawn from discussion, because of the existing conditions of the poem, ascribing forms in -ē (ē) to the dative of the substantive; cf. *Inflection of substantives*. The *Roland Lied* offers example to the contrary in the treatment of *cons.* : *cons. + ē*; cf. *shal* : *alle* 17; *place* : *has* 413, 714, and other examples. See Schleich, *Prolegomena ad Carmen de Rolandio Anglicum*, p. 4.

*Cheap rimes*.—Cheap rimes are introduced in abundance in correspondences of identical riming suffixes:—*-aunce* : *-aunce* 92, 474, 572, etc.; -é : -é 96, 390, 678, etc.; -hede : *-hede* 372; -(n)esse : -(n)esse 306, 346, 412, etc.; -liche : *-liche* 146, 416, 442, 606, 718, 798, 822, etc.; -ing : *-ing* 278, 314, etc.; -oun : *-oun* 788, etc. Self-riming suffixes in -ence and in -ful are not represented in the system of the *Speculum*.

<sup>1</sup> The mediæval poet was rarely ambitious in his rhythmical composition to make current higher attainment than that of correspondences in feminine rime; cf. *Poema Morale*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Sir Beues*, *Patience*, etc.

*Double rimes*.—*eīze* (O.E. *ēage*) riming with *heie* (O.E. *hēah*) 388, on one hand, occurs also in rime with *līze* (O.E. *lēāz*) 828, suggesting a double form, but not proving its existence. Double forms of *hare* are assured in rime *hane* : (*craue*) 455, 529, 543, etc., *hane* : (*sauue*) 477 and *habbe* : (*gabbe*) 463 are preserved by the poet.

*Rich rimes*.—*acord* : *descord* 514; *anon* : *non* 972. Identical in form but different in construction are *mynē* (simple poss.) : *mynē* (absolute poss.) 340. The definite verb form *was* rimed with itself in the negative *nas* 360. Over this usage, as illustrated by Chaucer, compare ten Brink, § 330. The rime occurs in *R. of Gl.* (cf. edition of Wright) 254, 564, 656, etc. Many instances are recorded.

Of the numerous riming arts (cf. Kluge, *Zur Geschichte des Reimes im Altgermanischen*, Beiträge, vol. ix—x) lending richness and variety to the Chaucerian verse (cf. ten Brink, pp. 190 ff.), and to the systems of contemporary poets, the ten hundred rimes of the *Speculum* afford but limited scope for illustration. Of broken rimes, a class of which there are two illustrations in *Sir Beues* (see Kölbing, p. xii), v. 2928, 3423, two in *R. of Gl.* (see Pabst, § 4, with reference to *Anglia* IV, 479), v. 2481, 6575, several in *Guy of Warwick*, there occurs not an instance. No identical rime comes to light. The use of light endings by the poet, forms of *be*, *can*, etc., is attested to in the paragraph over *perfect rime*.

Although the dominant rime throughout is end rime, yet interior rime as illustrated by middle rime and sectional rime, and alliteration, are to be traced.

*Middle rime*.—It is illustrated as follows :

- v. 969 : Dō, he *seúdē*,<sup>1</sup> · bē my *rēd*[ē]<sup>2</sup>
- v. 495 : þere i þe *fiñdē*,<sup>3</sup> · i wōle þe *bíndē*.
- v. 315 : Ne lāt hit *nóht*<sup>4</sup> · come in þi þóuht.
- v. 999 : Ne dréld þe *nóht*<sup>4</sup> womman, · in þi þóuht.

*Sectional rime*.—A single instance of sectional rime is incidental to the verse of the *Speculum*, probably without the deliberate purpose of the poet :

- v. 174 : For *whán* a *máún* · haþ sínē dō.

Read with fluctuating accent, verse 919 illustrates sectional rime :

Léuē frendl, herkné to mé.

<sup>1</sup> Read *sede*, the poet's form ; cf. *se(i)de* : *rede* 168, 691.

<sup>2</sup> This is indeed questionable, but on some grounds justifiable.

<sup>3</sup> Read *fiñdē*, the verse illustrating type B with hiatus at the cæsura.

<sup>4</sup> Read *no(u)ht*.

## § 2. Alliteration.

Alliteration, as embodying an underlying and elemental principle, a form of consonantal rime representative of the native English system, the direct correlation of Teutonic literature, has been lost in the verse of the *Speculum*. Not even sufficient mechanical link remains to connect this poem with that noble alliterative group of the “West Cuntrē,” whose “literary ancestors were Cædmon and Cynewulf,” and whose latest minstrel was the Gawain poet; see Professor Thomas in her Zürich dissertation *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*,<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Trautmann,<sup>2</sup> *Ueber Verfasser einiger allit. Gedichte*; see also Gollancz,<sup>3</sup> *Pearl*, p. xx.

But though the poet<sup>4</sup> cannot “geste—rom, ram, ruf—by lettre,”<sup>5</sup> yet his usage of alliteration occurs sometimes unconsciously, accepting formulae common to the language of poetry and practical life in the century. Occasionally an example seems introduced deliberately according to literary standards for the purpose of ornament. As a rule one alliterative syllable occurs in the first half line, *i. e.* before the cæsura, one in the second. A line may have two alliterating syllables in the second half line and none in the first. In general, alliteration as here illustrated unites words connected by some normal syntactical relationship. The association is as in Chaucer based on metrical accent in preference to logical or word accent. The alliterative principle is illustrated in combinations as follows :

1. *Verb and object.*<sup>6</sup>—(a) Derived from distinct radicals : v. 28  
tale · ȝou telle.—42 · lyf he ȝadde.—463 hope · . . . habbe (hane).  
477.—689, 690 haue · hope · to henene blisse.—464 sey · þe soþ.—  
983 · mak me mete. See also 35 louede (god · and) his lore. (b)  
Presenting an etymological relationship between verb and cognate

<sup>1</sup> In *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*. ‘A Comparison with the French *Percival*, preceded by an Investigation of the Author’s other Works, and followed by a Characterization of Gawain in English Poems.’ By M. Carey Thomas (President of Bryn Mawr College). Zürich, 1883 (Zürich dissertation).

<sup>2</sup> *Ueber Verfasser und Entstehungszeit einiger alliterirender Gedichte des Altenenglischen*. By Moritz Trautmann. Halle, 1876.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Pearl*, an English poem of the fourteenth century, edited by I. Gollancz, London, 1891, where the same topic receives attention, p. xlii.

<sup>4</sup> The *Speculum* would stand as a link of perhaps one hundred (at least fifty) years nearer this O.E. ancestry than the poet of *Pearl*, if Trautmann’s theoretical date for the Gawain-group be final, 1370—80 (p. 33), or Gollancz’s be preferred to Morris’s (*Early English Alliterative Poems*, E. E. Text Society, 1864), in *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*, whose title-page is dated 1320—30.

<sup>5</sup> *Prologue of the Persones Tale*, v. 43.

<sup>6</sup> A point indicates the position of the cæsura, marking the relationship of the alliterative syllable relatively to the half-line, in legitimate descent from the native alliterative construction.

noun : 50 · sente his sonde.—549 met · as þu metest me.—859, 860  
worche Godes werkes.—398 · don þat dede.—674 dedes · þouh he  
do.—Verb and attribute : 45 · was wel war.

2. *Verb with substantice limitation by means of preposition.*—  
v. 38 lainede · in lawe.—232 (out of) paradys · he was pylt.—255 sit ·  
on side.—411 self · seide in soþenesse.—719 miht · in þi mod.—779  
for shame · . . . shewe.—780, 781 shewed · to shaftes.—804 for  
shame · shewe.—812 bringeþ · in blame.—818 wid water men wassheþ.  
—831 weneþ · wasshe wid þat water.—888 Into pine · ipult.—978  
mot make · of mete.—1014 · seide in soþenesse.—1029 To þat  
blisse · bryng. Alliteration through cognate words : 19 at his wille ·  
he wole.—405 sen · in siht.—733 tineþ · in lyf.

3. *Verb limited by the adverb.*—v. 145 late · al onliche.—179  
here · holde lowe.—312 wete þu wel.—637 wel wite. 763.—895 wot  
wel.—941 wite it wel. 1017.—609 seie · soþeliche.—821 seie · siker-  
liche. Without direct grammatical relationship : 62 lad · to longe  
while.

4. *Verb and substantire.*—v. 368 þe bush · mihte brenne. Alli-  
teration uniting cognate forms : 879, 880 gilour · gileþ; cf. 431  
gostes, · goþ. See also 447-8.

5. *Attributive adjective and substantire.*—v. 469 sinnes · sore.—  
576 þi seli soule · .—744 þe longe lyff · .—752 giltes · grete.—938  
more · mede.—980 mete · more.

6. *Substantive in a relationship dependent on an associated word  
for its direction.*—v. 123 mourning in mod.—211 shappere · of alle  
shaftes.—622 of martyrdom · þe mede.—690 hope · to heuene  
blisse.—745 drede · of domes day.—770 prest · tak þi penaunce.—  
868 deiing · þi domeslay.—998 To þe ridewe · wordes swete.

7. *Substantire and substantire.*—v. 158 · pompe and pride.—303  
kunning · and kointise.—400 lerele · and lewed.—652 to heuene · or  
to helle; cf. on · and oþer 74 and 122.

8. *Adjective and adjective.*—v. 381 clene · and cler.—574 meke ·  
and polemod. 666.

9. *Adverb and adverbial phrase producing tautology.*—v. 426  
euere · widouten ende.

10. *Unclassified expressions.*—146 Nis nouht inouh.—157 Hele  
of bodi · in bon and huile.—351 tokne · i telle þe.—356 fourme · al  
on fire.—499 ofte · in orisoun.—618 Wolde haue wreche · of wrongful  
dede.—669 fareþ · we finde · .—742 ȝeueþ him grace · of gostli.—  
857 lyf · is cleped liht.—858 deþ · þe derke niht.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### ON THE PHONOLOGY OF THE *SPECULUM*.

“that none miswrite þe.”<sup>1</sup>

In this study of the phonology of the *Speculum*, every riming couplet has been consulted. A verse-number refers to the single illustration or to both members of the strophe. In the latter instance it cites the line containing the second of the pair of rimes, irrespective of arrangement. If the rime quoted occur more than three times in the same combination, the fact is indicated by the sign *etc.* following the third verse-number. The investigation<sup>2</sup> begins always with the vowel of the text A<sub>1</sub>. This vowel heads every sectional division of the argument. The study passes from the short sound of the vowel to the long, and concludes in each instance with its combination in diphthongs. Forms bearing secondary stress are not examined. The classification is not influenced nominally by the division “high vowels,” “low vowels,” and “mid vowels.” Both members of each couplet are uniformly introduced, and marks of parenthesis inclose that element not immediately necessary to the subject under discussion. The orthography has for its basis MS. A<sub>1</sub>, and reproduces the form occurring first in that text. Phonetrical variations introduced by other scribes are not in general mentioned.

#### ă.

§ 1. Sources of short<sup>3</sup> *a* (ă) of the *Speculum* are English and Scandinavian.

##### A. Old English sources.

1. O.E. *a* (ə) corresponding uniformly to: (a) O.E. *a* (ə) before single nasals: *man* (cf. Brugmann, 180) : *bigan* 224; *man* : *can* 728; *cum* : *man* 590; *bicam* : *nam* 246; possibly also ă in *gange* : (*longe*) 761. In the study of *cam*, see *com* (O.E. *cóm* for *ewómon*; Orrm, *cōmm*) 250, 480, not confirmed by rime. Cf. Sweet, *Anglia*, vol. iii., p. 152; *Anglia*, vol. xiii., p. 214; Morsb., *Gram.*, § 90, Anm. 5; § 93, Anm. 2; p. 68, Anm. 4; ten Br., *Ch.*, § 12, Anm. 1; Menze, *O. M. Dialect*, p. 12; and Murray, *Engl. Dictionary*

<sup>1</sup> Chauer, *Troilus* 1809.

<sup>2</sup> At the request of Professor Schick the arrangement of the following chapter is based upon the dissertation of Felix Pabst: *Lautlehre des Robert von Gloucester*.

<sup>3</sup> Criteria for determining the quantity of the vowels are not abundant in the *Speculum*. General laws of historical development rather than the immediate context have often governed the decisions of the editor.

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under *come*. (b) O.E. *a*, Ge. *a* in a closed syllable; Goth. *ai*-class, Morsb., p. 136, Anm. 2: *habbe* : (*gabbe*) 463.

2. O.E. *a* (*ea*): (a) Before *l* or *l* + a consonant: *alle* (O.E. *eall*) : *bifalle* (inf.) 292; *alle* : (*calle*) 521; *al* : (*smal*) 869; *al* : (*þral*) 237. (b) Following a palatal: *shafles* (O.E. *gesceaft*<sup>1</sup>; cf. Sievers, *Gram.*, § 261) : (*crafles*) 211.

3. O.E. *æ* from Germe. *ă* in closed syllables: *faste* (adv.) : (*agaste*, inf.) 865; *was* : *nas* (Pabst, § 10 f.) 360; *huddle* (through assimilation) : (*laddle*) 41; *smal* (M.E. *smūle* in open syllables; see ten Br., *Ch.*, § 27 β; *Sir Fir.* 2274) : (*al*) 870; *war* (uninflected adjective; cf. Pabst, p. 17) : *bar* (pret.; cf. *war* : *bar*, *Genesis and Exodus*, l. 1308, and *R. of Gloucester*, l. 6012) 46; *crafles* : (*shafles*) 212.

4. O.E. *æ* shortened in open syllables before different consonant groups: *agaste* (inf. N.E. *aghast* pp., first used in 1700) : (*faste*, adv.) 866; *laddle* (ten Br., § 6 β) : (*huddle*) 42.

*B. Scandinavian sources.*

1. Scand.<sup>2</sup> *a* : *gabbe* (Ic. *gabba*, N.E. *gab*, *gabble*, *jabber*) : (*habbe*) 464; *calle*<sup>3</sup> (Ic. *kalla*, O.E. *ceallian*, cited once; cf. Murray's *Dictionary* under *call*; cf. Brugmann 585) : (*alle*) 522; *east* (O.N. *kasta*) : *last* (cf. Ic. *löstr*, Goth. *\*lah-stus*) 636.

With *east* compare *kest* (MS. A<sub>1</sub>, *kast* in R) 992, not in rime, for illustration of interchange of *a* and *e*, sporadic in words of Old Norse origin; see Morsb., *Gram.*, p. 119, § 87, Anm. 2, and Schleich, *Carmen de Rolando Anglicum*, p. 9.

2. O.N. *é*: *þral*, *tharll H<sub>2</sub>* (O.N. *þræll*) : (*al*) 238.

*gunye* (read *grunge*) : (*longe*) 761, *understande* : *houle* 1021, are discussed under *o*-rimes; *knowelache* (read *knoweleche*) : (*speche*) 509, *knowelaching* (not in rime) 725, under *e*-rimes.

*ā.*

§ 2. Long *a* (*ā*) corresponds:

*A. In words of English origin.*

1. To O.E. *ă* in open syllables, lengthened 1250 (?): (a) Before a nasal (cf. Morsb., §§ 64, 90): *agrame* (cf. *Guy of. W.*; *King Alis.*) :

<sup>1</sup> Exceptional form without *i*-umlaut.

<sup>2</sup> Naturally the long vowel of an Old Norse word is marked by the acute accent (' ) in distinction from the diacritical marks indicating length classified, chapter V., § 3.

<sup>3</sup> See Kluge, "Sprachhistorische Miscellen," *Beiträge*, vol. x. p. 442.

(ashamed) 794; name (O.E. *noma, nama*) : (*fame*) 30, 39. Here may be classed also *a* from O.E. *eo, ea*: *ashamed* : (*ugramed*) 793; *ashamed* : (*blamed*) 766; *shame* (O.E. *sceomu, sceamu*) : (*blame*) 777, 783, 811. (b) Before a single consonant except nasals: *forsake* : (*take*) 64, 72, 99, etc.; *make* (O.E. *macian*, 1250 *māke*, 1650 *māke*) : *quake* (O.E. *crucian*) 444; *make* : (*take*) 217, 582; *mule* (O.E. *macode*) : *hade* (cf. ten Br., § 27 β) 244; *make* : *sake* 986; *sake* : (*take*) 595; *hau*e (inflectional form; cf. Curtis, *Anglia* xvi., *Clariolas*, § 1) : (*crane*, inf.) 456, 530, 544, etc.; *hau*e (2 sing.) : (*saw*) 477; *fare* (inf.) : *fare* (cf. Sievers, *Gram.*, § 321, Ann. 2) 954; *fare* (inf.) : (*zare*) 490. For the rime *fare* : *fare* see illustrations, *Sinners Beware*, str. 36; *Owl and Nightingale*, (ed. Stratmann) 995, 996, and additional references Morsbach, p. 86; Pabst, *Rbt. v. G.*, p. 20, Ann. 2; Carstens, *Sir Firumbras*, p. 22.

2. To O.E. *ae*: *water* : *later* (in *neuere þe later*) 832, 930. For the question of the influence of *r* in preserving this lengthening, cf. ten Br., § 16 β, 27 β 1; Morsb., *Gram.*, pp. 84, 92 *a*, and 93 *c*.

3. To O.E. *ea*: *zare* (O.E. *gearu*) : (*fare*) 489.

### B. In loan-words.

1. Words of Old Norse origin: O.N. *a*: *take* (O.N. *taka*; cf. Goth. *tēkan*) : (*forsake*) 63, 71, 100, etc.; *take* : (*sake*) 596; *take* : (*make*) 218, 581; *eraue* (equivalent cognate, Ic. *krefju*) : (*hau*e) 456, 530, 544, etc.

2. Words of Romance origin:

(1) French<sup>1</sup> *a* in open syllables. (a) Before nasals: *blame* : (*shame*) 778, 784, 812; *blamed* : (*ashamed*) 765; *fame* : (*name*) 29, 40. (b) Before a single consonant except nasals: *fuce* : *grace* 214, 904; *grure* : *place* 294; *sane* (A.F. *sauver, saver* < L.L. *salvare* < L. *salrus*; cf. Sk. II. 54. 1; 82. 5., p. 232; cf. *sauvacionn* (800), O.F. *au* > *a + le*) : (*hau*e) 478.

(2) French *a* in closed syllables. (a) Before mute + liquid: *profitable* : *fable* 4; *fable* : *mercivable* 526. (b) Before a final -s (-z): *trespaz* : *solaz* 686; *trespas* : *eas* 704; *eas* : *solus* is employed by Chaucer, 23, 797, 798.

The rimes enumerated in § 2 indicate that M.E. *ă* had been lengthened before the composition of the *Speculum*, demonstrated as valid by the fact that stable *ă* of French origin rimes with *a* from

<sup>1</sup> In the study of the phonology of the *Speculum*, the abbreviation *A. F.* will represent Anglo-French, *O.F.* Old French.

O.E. ā. 1250 is the date ascribed by Menze (p. 11) as in general the period, when the lengthening of ā occurred in English poems. The first half of the 13th century is given by Morsbach, § 64; and the second half of the 13th century by Curtis, *Clariodus*, § 42. This fact would determine relatively to the chronology of the *Speculum*, that the poem may be placed in a period later than 1250. The pronunciation of the vowel in this position is probably as in Chaucer a pure *a*-sound; see Morsb. § 88.

For ā before a lengthening consonant-group, the sporadic form *gange* in rime with *longe* 761 is no criterion. *gunge* is explained by Morsbach, § 90, p. 123, as an exceptional instance in which the vowel-sound shifts easily to an earlier condition. In general O.E. ā had already developed a M.E. ō; cf. §§ 15, 16, 17.

*ay.*

§ 3. *ay* of the text is developed from :

1. O.E. *æ + y* : *day* : *lay* 250; *day* : *may* 492; *day* : (*nay*) 251; *domesday* : (*nay*) 257, 868; *domesday* : (*ay*) 745. A single link between *ai-* and *ei*-sounds of the poem is preserved in the couplet, *fain* (O.E. *fægen*; cf. Skeat, § 252) : (*æfæn*, O.E. *ongem*, Merc. *ongæm*) 873, 965. *mait* : (*cuiht*) 881 is probably to be classified in § 3, 1. *mait* seems to unite the grammatical forms (*ic*) *may* (*naeg*) and (*þu*) *milt*, combining the properties of both in the composite (*þu*) *mai(h)t*; cf. also *mait* (*mayt* in *D*) 342, and 882 in *D*, and *mayt* 1020, 1021. Compare Carstens, *Sir Firumbras*, p. 10, § 2; Schleich, *Carmen de Rolando*, p. 10.

2. O.N. *ei* : *nay* : (*day*) 252; *nay* : (*domesday*) 258, 867; *ay* : (*domesday*) 746.

3. Fr. Pic. *a* (*æ*) + *h*: *cuiht* : (*mait*) 882. The double forms *cuiht* and *ikauht* (cf. l. 17) are explained through analogy with *leih* and *laught*, *teilte* and *tälte*, etc. (cf. Carstens, p. 10), depending upon a cognate development through ā and ê; cf. Morsb., *Gram.*, § 102, Anm. 5; ten Br., § 113 ð and § 182. *cuiht* bears the relationship to *caucht* (pp. of *cauchen*, written also *cacchen*, Pic. *cachier*), that *leih* bears to its doublet *laught* from *geleih* (inf. *laechan*, (*ye)læccan*) and *teilte* to *tälte* (O.E. *tēc(e)an*); cf. Sievers, § 407, *a*, 4; *b*, 8; Skeat, II., § 140; Pabst, § .3, *d*; Carstens, pp. 21, 39; Schleich, *Carm. de Rol.*, p. 10. The development of the vowel is similar in *streight* < *streucht* and *eighte* < *ealhtu*; cf. Pabst, § 40, *a* and *b*. Compare *ikeiht*, *Ancren Riwle* (ed. Morton), pp. 134, 278, 332, etc.; *keilte*

(pret.) p. 154; (*bi*)*keihte* : (*eihte*), *Poema Morale*, Trinity and Jesus MSS., 318, but *kehte* : (*aehte*), Egerton MS.; *R. of G.* *yeȝt* : (*naȝt*) 4372, : *caȝte* 320; *Pearl*, *caught* : (*saght*), : (*fayght*), str. 5<sup>2</sup>, and *by-taȝhte* : (*saghte*, *naghite*), str. 101<sup>7</sup>; *King Horn*, *taȝte* : *luȝte* 248.

*au.*

§ 4. *au*, written *aw* before a vowel, is developed from :

1. O.E. *a + g*: *dawe* (O.E. *dagum*, dat.) : (*luwe*) 37, 357; *drawe* : (*luwe*) 945; *drawe* : *plawe* (O.E. *plaga*) 16. *plawe* exists as cognate of *pleye* (O.E. *plega*), cf. *R. of G.* 11195, developed through O.E. *plagan* or O.N. *plaga*. See *plawe* : (*knaare*), *Havelok*, l. 950; but *pleye* : (*weie*), l. 953. The form is not frequent. It occurs in *King Horn*, MS. II (cf. Wissmann, *Quellen und Forschungen*, No. xlv.), *plawe* : (*felaue*) 1112, and *R. of G.* 5906; cf. Pabst, § 42, and Leo, *Angelsächsisches Glossar* (1872), column 92. Further, see Bosw-Toller, *plagia*, *plagalun*, with reference to *Rush. Gloss.*, 11, 17; see Sievers, § 407, 5. Ettmüller illustrates derivatives from *\*plegan*, *Lexicon Anglosaxonicum*, pp. 274–5. The riming form *knaare* : (*lowe*) 180 is classified under rimes in *ou*, § 18.

2. Of O.N. origin are : (a) O.N. *au* developed from *á* before *ht* : *draught* (*draht*; cf. O.N. *drítrr*) : (*ikauht*) 18. (b) O.N. *a + g*, written *aw* before a vowel sound : *laice* (O.E. *lagu* from O.N. *log* < *\*lagu*) : (*luwe*) 38, 358; *luwe* : (*drawe*, inf.) 946.

3. *au* in Romance forms : (a) O.F. *a + u* interpolated before a nasal group : *repentance* : *penaunce* 92, 474, 770, and 830 in *H<sub>2</sub>*; *suffraunce* : *destourbance* 572. (b) Fr. Pic. *a + h* : *ikauht* (< *caht*, pp. O.F. *cacchen*, Pic. *cachier*) : (*drauht*) 17. *ikauht* is developed through analogy with the parallel form *ilaucht* = *geleahrt*, *ilaechen* < *gelæccan*; cf. *gelæhite* in *Samson*, *Ælfric's Book of Judges*, chap. xiv. 5, and see Skt., *Ety.* II. 140. Cf. *kacche* (*cage* in D) 903 and Varnhagen, *Anglia*, vol. III., p. 376.

*ě.*

§ 5. Short *e* (ě) is found :

*A. In words of O.E. origin.*

1. O.E. *e* < *a* (*i*-umlaut). (a) Before nasals or nasal-groups : *wemme* : (*brenne* in assonance) 367; *nempt* : (*dempt*) 135; *men* (assonance) : (*hem*) 149, but *mon* : *hom* in *R*. Probably ě characterizes the accented vowel of the following words : *ende* (inf.) : *wende* (inf.) 12; *ende* (sb.) : *wende* (inf.) 426; *sende* (3, sing. pret.) :

(*umende*) 575, 951; *sende* (3, sing. pret.) : *spende* (inf.) < mediaeval Latin *spendere*, but already O.E., 990. (b) In other combinations : *helle* (sb.) : *duelle* (inf.) 450; *helle* : (*nelle*) 271; *duelle* (O.H.G. *tivaljan*) : *telle* (inf.) 28, 284; *answerede* (read *answéred* or *answérde*) : *heriude* (Goth. *hazjan*) 66. Possibly to be classed under this head are rimes in the suffix *-nesse* : *mielnesse* : *forsifnes* 86; *jairnesse* : *pisternesse* 306; *witnesse* : *soþnesse* 346, 412, 566, 664, etc.; cf. concluding note and rimes in *i*. *e* before nasal groups (*vor dehnenden consonanten-gruppen*) is classified as long by various Anglicists, see Büllbring, *Eng. Stud.*, vol. xx., pp. 149 ff. and in *Litt. Blatt*, 1894, column 262; De Jong, *Eng. Stud.*, vol. xxi., pp. 321 ff.; Curtis, *Clarividus*, § 175; Morsb., *Gram.*, § 110, also p. 75: Orm seems to employ both *ē*- and *ē*- before *-nd*, but Robert of Gloucester illustrated only the short vowel, Pabst, § 14. In the *Speculum* *e* before *n + d* seems to be short, pronounced *ē*, decisive evidence being the rime *sende* : *amende* 575, 951.

2. O.E. (Germ.) *ē*: *werk* (sb.) : (*clerk*) 668; *wel* (adv.) : (*kutel*, *catel*) 161, 578, 895, etc.; *wel* : *godspel* (see Bright, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, April 1889, Feb. 1890) 518, 548. To the study of *wel*, Büllbring has contributed, *Litt. Blatt*, 1894, p. 261; Pabst, § 15, m.

3. O.E. *ē* shortened before double consonants: *mette* : *grette* 350, 960; *dempt* : (*nempt*) 136.

4. O.E. *ēā* before consonant groups: *hext* (O.E. W.S. *hēālst*, *hīēbst* (from Engl.), *hēhst* > *hēxt* > *hēēt*) : *next* (O.E. W.S. *nēāhst*, Engl. *nēhst* > *nēēt* > *nēxt*) 326, 662; cf. Pabst, § 14, n), and Sievers, § 313 and Note.

5. O.E. *eo* (< *i*), breaking before the full vowel (*vor dunklem vocal*) in the following syllable: *henne* (O.E. *heonane*, *\*hinona*) : (*kenne*) 297; *hem* (*heom*, him) : (*men*) 150.

6. O.E. *i* (*y*) : *nelle* : (*helle*) 272.

### B. In loan words.

1. Of O.N. origin: *brenne* (through metathesis < O.E. *baernan* caus. == *beornan*; cf. *brenna*) : (*wemine*) 368; *kennu* (O.N. *kenna*, see Skt. *Dict.*) : (*henne*) 298. Here belongs *einging* (Ic. *egyja*, Orrm. 11675) 229; see Brate, *Nordische Lehnwörter im Orrmulum*, Beiträge x., p. 37.

2. Of Romance origin. (a) Before *n + consonant*: *amende* : (*sende*) 576, 952; *ingement* : *turment* 266; *verrelement* : *ingement* 878. *amende* is determinative in the conclusion, that *e* before *-nd*

was not yet lengthened in the present text. (b) In words ending in -el : *katel* (*catel*) : (*wel*) 162, 577, 896, etc.

3. Ecc. Lat. *e* ; *clerk* : (*werk*) 667, according to Skeat (*Dict.*) directly from Lat. *clericus*, or through O.F. *clerc*.

For the suffix -nesse, see rimes in *i*, the recurring couplet, *blisse* : -nesse removing these groups from the territory of the phonology of *e*-sounds. *witnisse* : *soñnisse* are probably the authorized forms for the poem ; see Kluge, *Stammbildung*, and Morsb., § 109, Anm. 6. This transmission of the -*i*-sound, -nisse for -nesse, would classify the *Speculum* as belonging to the literature of the earlier M.E. period, see parallel instance in the early poem, *David the King*, where *meknisse* occurs in rime with *blisse*, l. 3, and *The Liif of Adam*, combining *thesternisse* : *lihtnisse* (proving no definite truth) 355 and 549.

Pabst, § 20, refers -e- (*e.g. u*), of *stede*, to a form, where the *e* was not yet lengthened, basing his conclusions on absolute riming formulae. The lengthening seems to have occurred in the *Speculum*. *stede* : *dede* 598, 604, possibly to be treated as transitional forms in the development of language, may be read *stide* : *dide*, see Streitberg, *Urgerm. Grammatik*, p. 44, Anm. 1.

### ē.

The riming system of the *Speculum* is characterized by two qualities in the development of long *e* (ē) and long *o* (ō). With reference to ē, the distinction is based on the development of O.E. ēā, ā (umlaut of Germc. *ai*), and ē̄ (lengthened from ē) on the one hand, and of O.E. stable ē, ēō, and ē̄ (Germ. ī, Goth. ī) on the other. The classification is recognized by the poet, the former division being extant in a long open ē (ē̄) ; the other ē is, *a priori*, a long closed ē (ē̄̄). The uniformity of the observance of the law is not violated by the occurrence of a sporadic rime uniting the open and the closed vowel (cf. § 8), designating, according to Zupitza, an incident in rime-formation, rather than the violation of the purity of the rime. A third class of rimes in long *e* (cf. ten Brink, § 25) will not be considered in the following paragraphs. The O.E. ā̄ (O.H.G. ī, Goth. ī̄) was, it seems, closed in the language of the poet, rather than open, as it has naturally been noted by Pabst in the discussion of the south-western (also West-Saxon territory) rimes of Robert of Gloucester ; cf. p. 7, 2.

## ē.

§ 6. Sources of long open e (ē), written *e*, are as follows :

1. O.E. ē (umlaut of *ai*, Ge. *ai*) : *mēne* (1. sing.) : *clēne* 408 ; *mēne* (inf.) : *clēne* 824, 848 ; *clēne* : *ēne* 366, 816 ; *bilēne* : (*tene*) 191 ; *ēnere* : *nēnere* (with redundant -*e*- in both instances through svarabhakti) 280, 808 ; *teche* (inf.) : *rēche* (inf.) 98, 142, : (*speche*, sb.) 2, 570, 754, : (*leche*) 70 ; *gēþ* : (*unmēþ*) 616 ; *lēde* (inf.) : (*dredē*, sb.) 19, : (*rede*, sb.) 104. Here belong the composite forms with the termination -*hēde* : *gōlhēde* : *manhēde* 372, : (*dēde*) 397, : (*dredē*) 379, 886 ; *manhēde* : (*dēde*) 617 ; *fūlhēde* : (*dēde*) 722 ; cf. Kluge, *Stammbildung* and Curtis, *Clariodus*, § 240, Pabst, § 15, o), also Paul's *Grundriss*, I. p. 874.

2. O.E. ē from various sources, lengthened in open syllables : *mēte* (T. *mat-i*) : *iēte* 984 ; *spēke* : *brēke* 810 : *dēle* : *wēle* (cf. Büllbring, *D. Litt. Zeitung*, 1894) 1018 ; *stēle*, Sievers, *Beiträge*, vol. xvi. pp. 235 ff : *dēde* 598, 604 ; *stēle* : *bēde* 562 ; *fōrȝete* : (*ivite*) 193, : (*wite*) 764.

3. O.E. ēā, Ge. *an* : *dēd* (O.E. *dēūl*) : *qed* (or *quēd*) 862 : *fēde* 1025 ; *bred* : (*red*) 970 ; *vñēþ* (adv. MSS. A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>) : (*geþ* A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>) 615 ; *bilēne* (also *bilēne*) : (*grene*) 201 ; *ner* : (*power*) 216 ; *ek* (Angl. *ēc*) : (*jet*) 439 ; *lēs* : (*pes*) 519 ; *teres* (O.E. *tēar* < *teangar*, *h* to *g* by Verner's law) : (*leres*) 841 ; cf. Siev. *Beiträge*, vol. ii. p. 411. According to the interpretation *qed* < O.E. *cweūl*, rimes in *qed* belong in this division, but cf. Pabst, § 15, b.

4. An ā lengthened from O.E. *ae* in other relationship : *sēde* (< O.E. *sāde* < *sargde*) : (*rede*, inf.) 168 ; *sēle* (*seide*) : (*rede*, 3 plur.) 691, : (*dredē*) 140, 494. For *seide* in rime with *rede*, etc., cf. Wilda, *Schweifreimstr.*, etc., p. 12 ; Menze, p. 21, with reference to the same rime, Hausknecht, *Fl. und Blfl.*, pp. 111, 116, Libeaus, Octavius (Sarrazin), etc. *sēde* is combined with *rede*, *King Horn*, 919 ; *R. of G.* 38 ; *Ed. I.*, p. 73.

5. O.F. *ai* developed into a monophthong before a dental : *pēs* : (*les*) 520.

## ē.

§ 7. Sources of long closed e (ē) are :

*A. Old English.*

1. O.E. ē. (a) Equivalent to O.E. ē (lengthened in monosyllabic words) : *mē* : *þē* 108, 392, 550, etc., : (*be*, 3. sing.) 790, : (*se*, inf.) 189, : (*charite*) 56, 323, : (*meyne*) 1015 ; *þē* in rime with (*be*, 3. sing.) 328, 334, : (*be*, 3. plu.) 413, : (*be*, inf.) 535, 588, : (*se*, inf.) 863, :

(*bise*) 487, : (*charite*) 84, 932, : (*deite*) 373, : (*leante*) 404, : (*trinite*) 351, : (*vitre*) 601. (b) O.E. ē in other significance : *her(e)* (O.E. *hēr*) in rime with (*ifere*, O.E. (*ge)fēra) 296, 977, : (*ellesiher*) 175, 779, : (*þer*) 321, : (*dere*) 1031, : (*fyr* for *fer*?) 452, : (*cler*) 375, 735, : (*power*) 220, 600, : (*manere*) 627; *mēde* : *spele* 938, 1028, : (*fede*) 956, : (*almeslēde*) 933, : (*godlēde*) 622.*

2. O.E. (*Anglian*) ē, W.S. ê, (â, Goth. ā): *drēde* (O.E. (*on*) *drēda*, (vb. and sb.) : *dēde* (O.E. *dād*) 696, 708, 748, etc., : *mis-dēde* 830, : (*godhēde*) 380, 885, : *rede* (sb.) 82, : *rede* (vb.) 648, : *louwēde* 178, : (*seile*, read *seide*, O.E. *sēde*) 139, 494, : (*lede*) 20; *leche* : (*teche*) 69; *speche* : (*teche*) 1, 569, 753; *dēde* : (*godhēde*) 398, : (*fulshele*) 721, : (*munhēde*) 618; *almeslēde* : *rede* 922, : (*mede*) 934; *godlēde* : *rede* (3. sing.) 466, : *rede* (1. plur.) 502, : (*mede*) 621; *þer(e)* : (*her*) 322, : (*were*) 354; *red(e)* : (*seide*) 167, 692, : (*bred*) 969, : (*lede*) 103. Among rimes in O.E. ē, W.S. ê, is to be classed *quēd*, according to Pabst (§ 15 b), illustrated in *quēd* : *rēd* 48, 654, : (*dēd*) 862; *quēde* : (*fede*) 1025; *speche* : *knowelache* for *knoweleche* 510; Curtis, in *Clariodus, Anglia*, vol. xvi., p. 76. In *Clariodus*, knowledge is preserved in rimes with *rāge* 1421, *lungūge* 10. *knowelaching* (725) occurs in the Southern texts: *Kath.* 1388; *Azenbite* 132; *Anver. Riwle* 92; Gower II. 319, see Stratmann, *Dict.*

For *rede* (O.N. *rēlan*) *to read*, originally the same as *rede* (O.E. *rēdan*) *to counsel*, cf. Cook, *Glossary to the Lindisfarne Gospels*.

3. Umlaut ē (from â) : *fēde* : (*mede*) 955, : (*quēde*) 1026; *fēre* : (*dere*) 423; *ifere* (O.E. *gefēram*) : (*here*, O.E. *hēr*) 295, 978; *fēt* : (*ek*) 440; *swēte* : (*profete*) 949, 998; *brēme* (see Murray) : (*leme*) 383.

4. O.E. ê, Angl.-Kent ê, W.S. ê, ð, : *here* (O.E. *hēran*) : (*fēre*) 355; *here* : (*were*) 782.

5. O.E. â developing later e, pronounced e : *be* (inf.) : *se* (inf.) 396, 534, : *ise* (inf.) 402, : *fle* (inf.) 834, 850, : (*þe*) 587, : (*charite*) 96, 935, : (*pite*) 259, : (*humilitē*) 632; *be* (3. sing.) : *se* (inf.) 738, 872, : *ise* 730, : (*þe*) 327, 333, 536, : (*me*) 789, : (*churite*) 1034; *be* (3. plur.) : *se* (inf.) 752, : *ise* 288, 342, : (*þe*) 414; *se* (inf.) : (*me*) 190, : (*þe*) 864, : (*clerte*) 389, (*humilitē*) 657; *seþ* : *beþ* 818; *bise* : (*þe*) 488; *fle* (inf.) : (*humilitē*) 678; *dēre* (adj.) : (*fēre*) 424, : (*here*) 1032; *dēre* (adv.) : (*were*) 160; *tēne* : (*bidene*) 192; *leme* : (*brēme*, *bēme* in R) 384; *leres* : (*teres*) 842; *H<sub>2</sub>* offers *free* : (*me*) 323.

6. O.E. ð, umlaut of â : *fyr* (read *fēr*) : (*her*, O.E. *hēr*) 451; *fīre* : (*here*, O.E. *hēran*) 356, representing O.E. Kent. ê, also the rime of *Troilus* 111, 978; Danker, *Die Laut- und Flexions-Lehre der*

*mittelkent. Denkmäler*, etc., p. 11 ff.; Morsb., pp. 167, 174; and Wissmann, *King Horn*, p. 22, Kölbing, *Amis und Amiloun*, p. xxvi., and ten Br., § 23 γ, Anm. with reference to *jere* : *dere*, Tr. I. 229. See the rime *fyer* (*fer*) : (*ner*) *Lybeaus Disconus* 571; *fyre* : (*Messangere*) *Duke Rowland* 94.

### B. Loan-words of Romance origin.

1. O.F. *e*, Lat. *a* (cf. ten Br. *Ch.*, § 67, § 68, Anm.). (a) Through the ending *-atitem* : *charité* : *humilité* 680, : (*me*) 55, 324, : (*þe*) 83, 931, : (*he*, inf.) 95, 936, : (*he* 3. sing.) 1033; *humilité* : (*pite*) 88, : (*he* inf.) 631, : (*þle*) 677, : (*se* inf.) 658; *deité* : (*þe*) 374; *clerté* : (*se*) 390; *trinité* : *runité* 206, 430, : (*þe*) 352; *cilté* : (*þe*) 602; *leanté* (*þe*) 403. (b) Through other formation: *cler* : (*power*) 915, : (*picher*) 976, 996, : (*her*) 376, 736; *grêne* : (*bileue*) 202, : (*Eue*) 230.

2. Fr. *ié*, Anglo-Norm. *e*, Lat. *a*: *pitē* : (*humilitē*) 87, : (*he*, inf.) 260; *meynē* (O.F. *maisniére*) : (*me*) 1016; *manere* (cf. Pabst, *R. v. G.*, § 17, II. b) : (*here*) 628; *pichēr* (*pichier*, Körting, *Ldt.-rom. Wört.*, no. 972) : (*cler*) 975, 995.

3. From other sources: *power* (O.F. *poér* for *\*poter*, *ɛ* < *ei* before *r* in monophthong, cf. A.F. *pouoer*) : (*cler*) 916, : (*ner*) 216, : (*her*) 219, 599, : (*ner*) 215.

4. *e* in loan-word from the French : *projete* (according to ten Br. § 67, β) : (*swete*) 950, 997, cf. *Handl. Syn.* 5158, 11,510.

*Eue* (O.E. *Ēfe*) : (*greue*) 229, from the O.E. according to ten Br. § 23 x. Note the same rime in the unique poem, *The Liif of Adam*, verses 315, 419, and *Eue* : *bileue* 245; *Hand. Syn.* 1604. In the *Poema Morale*, *Eue* is in rime with *ileue* 174; *Har. of Helle*, *leue* : *Eue* 173.

For *prest* : (*Crist*) 805, and *sterne* : (*turne*) 436, refer to rimes in *i*.

### ē and ē.

§ 8. The distinction between the two systems of open and closed *e*-rhymes (*ē*, *ē*), as outlined in the preceding sections, is rigidly adhered to in the *Speculum*. Some exceptions are incident to the verse, as in MSS. of other poems. For Lydgate's usage see Schick, *Temple of Glas*, p. lx; for *The Middle Scotch Romance Clarionns*, Curtis, *Anglia*, vol. xvi. p. 420; for *Elitha and Ethelreda*, Fischer, *Anglia*, vol. xi. p. 190; see also Chaucer, ten Brink, *Ch.* § 25, where forms regarded as existing in two classes in Zupitza's strongly marked division, have been explained in three classes. The language of the

*Speculum* does not indicate the distinction *e* and *ɛ* in the following instances<sup>1</sup>:

*bidene* (*bidēne*, see *Clariodus*, § 239 and Murray, *Engl. Diet.*) : *tene* 192; *leres* : *teres* 842; possibly *quede*, *cwēd*, *cnēd*, (or *quēd*? < *cwēad*, *cwēd*?) but *gnēde* in *R* (O.E. *gnēð*; cf. *Havelok* 97) : *fēde* 1026; *specche* : *terhe* 2, 570, 754, : *leche* 70; *were* : *dere* 160, : *here* 782; *elleswhere* : *here* 176, 780; *drede* : *lele* 20, : *seide* 140, 494; *rede* : *lele* 104, : *seide* (i.e. *sēde*) 168, 692; *drede*; *godhēde* 886; *fet* : *ek* 440; *red* : *brēl* 970; *dele* : *falshele* 722, : *godhēle* 398. : *manhēle* 618; *greue* : *bilēue* 200.

Were it possible that O.E. (Angl.) *ɛ*, W.S. *ə̄*, could give an open quality (*ē*), as in *R. of Gloucester* (cf. Pabst, p. 24), resulting in a neutral *e* having an open sound because rhyming with open *e*, many of the rimes cited would be not impure, but representative of the period and development of the language. Such rimes are the combinations of *rede* (*to counsel*, *counsel*), *rede* (*to rearl*, see Cook), *drede*, *specche*, *leche*, *dele*. The quality of *e* in *quel* : *del* (O.E. *dēad*, Nh. *dēāl*) 862, : *fele* (*vide supra*) 1026 is uncertain. Granting validity to ten Brink's hypothesis, § 25, 2 that *lele* is extant written with a closed *e* (*ē*), then the couplets, verses 20, 104, do not introduce an impurity in quality of the vowel. *were* : *þere* 354 belong properly under open *e*-rimes according to ten Brink.

### ei.

§ 9. *ei* written *ei*, *ey*, is developed in the *Speculum* from :

1. O.E. *e + g* : *eiȝe* (O.E. *eȝe*, *e* umlaut of *a*) : *weye* 22, : *seie* (inf., \**segan* for *seeg(e)an*, see Menze, p. 29) 796; *az̄in* : (*fiuin*, O.E. *fūgen*) 874, 966; *leid* : (*misseiȝl*) 592; *seie* : (*heie*) 445, : (*preie*) 563.
2. O.E. *æ + ȝ* : *misseiȝl* : (*leid*) 591, : (*vbbreid*) 538. For *seirle* properly *seyle*, see § 6.
3. O.E. *æi + y* : *eiȝe* (O.E. *ȝage*) : *heie* (adv. from inflected adj., see Siev., § 295, 1) 388; *eiȝe* (read *iȝe*, see rimes in *i*) : (*liȝr*) 827, see § 12, 7.
4. O.E. *ea*, *ēa* before *h*, L.W.S. *ēh* : *heih* : *neih* 634, : *iseih* 992; *iseih* (O.E. *geseah*, pret.) : *neih* 370.
5. O.F. *e + i* : *preie* : (*seie*) 564.

<sup>1</sup> A more symmetrical arrangement would place the open vowel uniformly before illustrations of the closed vowel.

The diphthong has simplified itself to the monophthong *i(y)* in *eīze* : *līze* 828. This rime, although proving no definite truth, suggests for the poet of the *Speculum* the double pronunciation employed by Chaucer, in the forms *ye* and *eye*, but not known to Robert of Gloucester; see ten Br. § 21 *ε*, and Pabst, § 39, Anm. 1. *aȝein* : *fuin* 874, 966, is the single link between the two riming systems represented by *ai* and *ei*.

*eu.*

§ 10. *eu*, written *ew* before a vocalic ending (cf. Ellis, § 302), represents :

1. O.E. *ē + u* producing an open *eu* sound (*eu*) : *rewe* (O.E. *rēw*, sb.) : (*shewe*) 80 ; *lēwed* : (*ishewed*) 400. Here belongs *slenfe* (O.E. *slēwef*) 116, *slenfes* 121.
2. O.E. *ēaw* : *shrewes* (O.E. *scrēawa*) : *þewes* (O.E. *ðēawu*; cf. *Jwlith*, 129) 102 ; *shēwe* : (*rewe*) 79 ; *ishewed* : (*lewed*) 399.

The remaining two classes of *eu*- sounds familiar to the student of Chaucer, are not illustrated in the rimes of the *Speculum*.

*ī.*

§ 11.—Short *i* (ī), written *y* in later MSS., occurs regularly corresponding to :

1. O.E. *i* unaltered. (*a*) In closed syllables. (1) Before nasal groups : *winne* (inf.) : *biginne* (inf.) 6, 78, : *þerinne* 650. : (*sinne*) 132, 471, 684, 694, etc. ; *blinne* (inf.) : *biginne* (inf.) 200, : (*sinne*) 714 ; *inne* : (*sinne*) 731 ; *þerinne* : (*sinne*) 840 ; *widinne* : (*sinne*) 118 ; *biginne* : (*sinne*) 901. *i* before -ng or -nk is probably short : *pīng* in rime with *bīgīnning* 8, 884, : *bryng* 1030, : *shīning* 382, : *speking* 330, : *wusshīng* 836 ; *pīng* : *brenning* 182, : (*kīng*) 899, : *likīng* 270 ; *wonīzing* : *desernīng* 314, : *pīng* 318 ; *endīng* : *bīgīnning* 210, : *deīng* 278 ; *mounīngē* : *springē* 126 ; *þronīng* : (*kīng*) 335 ; *nōpīng* : (*kīng*) 625 ; *drinke* : *swinke* 156. (2) In other combinations : *iwīs* : *is* 504, 724, : *his* 338, : (*paradyls*) 285, : (*prīs*) 165 ; *þīs* : (*amīs*) 801 ; *his* : (*paradyls*) 300 ; *irīsse* : (*blisse*) 309, 689 ; *mis̄e* : *wis̄e* 120, : (*blisse*) 418 ; *þerwīl* (read *þerwīf*) : (*grīf*) 147 ; *chnr̄che* (practically *chirche*) : (*worche*) 860 ; *þisternīsse* (for *þisternisse*) : (*blisse*) 114 ; *selnīsse* (*silnīsse*) : (*blisse*) 187 ; *sist* : *bist* 554 ; *wīl* (O.E. *gewīll*) : (*peril*) 169 ; *wīlle* : *spille* 198, : *stille* 584, 594, 706, etc. ; *shīft* : *ȝīft* (cf. German *Mitgift*) 682. See also -nesse : -nesse 86, 306, 346, etc. (*b*) In open syllables : *wole* (read *wīle*, inf.) : (*skile*)

712; *liue* (inf.) : *shriue* (past p.) 758, 768; *liue* (3. pl.) : (*ziue*, inf.) 184; *liue* (inf.) : (*ziue*, inf.) 964, 974; *irite* : (*forȝete*) 194; *wite* : *write* 926, : (*forȝete*) 763. On the possible length of the vowel in *-ing* and in *ȝing*, see Morsb., *Gram.*, § 55 and § 57 d, p. 73; on *king*, ten Brink, § 10, Anm. 1, and Morsb., § 55, Anm. 1, 5. *muche* for *miche* : (*aperteliche*) 386, : (*liltliche*) 671, representing O.E. *micel*, *mycel* may be classed here, though in O.E. declension united with long stems, through analogy with O.E. *lŷtel*; see Siev., § 296, note 1, and Menze, p. 34, and compare *The Liif of Adam*, uniting *muche* : *sekerliche* 397; *miche* is the form supported by Langl., *Chr.*, *Handl. Syn.*, *Havelok*, *Gen. and Ex.*, *Orrm*, etc.

2. O.E. *i* shortened in O.E. : *blisse* (O.E. *blîss*) in rime with (*iwisse*) 310, 690, : (*misse*) 417, : (*ȝisternesse* for *ȝisternisse*) 113, and : (*seknesse*, i. e. *seknisse*, also *R. of G.* 7768) 188; *iliche* : *riche* (cf. Pabst, § 25; Morsb., *Gram.*, p. 145, Anm. 6) 312. Possibly might be classed here eighteen rimes in *-liche* : *-liche* (O.E. *-lice*, *-lice*, Siev. § 43,) 416, 442, 606, 610, 798, 822, etc.; *onliche* : *sikerliche* 146; *aperteliche* : (*muche*) 385; *liltliche* : (*muche*) 672; and *swiche* : *reuliche* (O.E. *lreðulice*) 276; cf. ten Brink, § 52 ff., and *Beiträge*, vol. x. p. 504.

3. O.E. *y* umlaut of *u*: *sinne* in rime with (*biginne*) 902, : (*blinne*) 713, : (*inne*) 732, : (*ȝeriuine*) 839, : (*riuinne*) 117, : (*winne*, inf.) 131, 472, 683, 693, 845, 1007; *agilt* : *ȝulȝilt* 308; *gilt* : *ȝylt* 232, : *ipult* 888, although *ȝylt*, *ipult* is of uncertain origin. Under this heading may be classed *worche* (*wirche*, O.E. *wyrca*) : (*churche*, O.E. *cirice*) 859; cf. *wirche* : *chirche*, *Fl.* and *Blancheflur*.

4. O.E., W.S. *ie*, *i*, (*y*) through influence of the preceding palatal (Siev., § 75, 3): *ziue* : (*liue*) 183, 963, 973; *forȝete* (to be altered to *forȝite* in conformity with the rime) : (*irite*) 193, : (*wite*) 764.

5. O.E. late *i* for stable *y*, Sievers, § 36; ten Brink, § 10, Anm. 1: *king* : (*noȝing*) 626, : (*prouing*) 336, : (*ȝiuing*) 900.

6. *i* in loan-words. (1) O.N. *i*: *skile* : (*wole* for *wille*) 711; *grīþ* (Ic. *grīð*) : (*þerwid(ȝ)*) 148; *anis* : (*ȝis*) 802. (2) O.F. *i*: *peril* : (*wil*) 170. Of French origin but of uncertain etymology is *puite* (cf. O.F. *boter*) : (*luite*) 923, and *tirne* for *turne* (O.E. *tyrnian*, from the Latin) : (*sterne*) 435; cf. Steenstrup, *Daneleg*, p. 274 and Morsb., p. 167.

## i.

§ 12. Long *i* (i), written also *y*, appears:

SPEC. WAR.

L

*A. In development from O.E. forms.*

1. O.E. ī retained in M.E. (a) In open syllables : *sīde* : *abide* (inf.) 256, 676 ; *side* : (*pride*) 655 ; *līue* (O.E. *līf*, sb., dat., plu.) : *shriue* 486 ; *myne* : *myne* 340 ; *hīe* (inf., O.E. *hīgian* or *hīgian?*) : (*crie*) 968 ; *while* : (*gīle*) 62, *R. of G.* 3666, 11150. *wyse*, doublet of *guise*, borrowed through the French from the Frankish, Skeat, § 392 and *Dict.* : (*denise*) 344. (b) In closed syllables : *wīf* : *lyf* 234, 702, 734 ; *mīn* : *Alquīn* (O.E. *Ealhwīne*, Latinized *Alvīnus*) 52. To this class belong forms with the suffix -li, O.E. *lice* influenced by O.N. -ligr (-liga) : *witerli* : (*leuedli*) 364, : (*comforti*) 687, : (*merci*) 457, 527 ; *sikerli* : (*empti*) 1001, : (*fōrþi*) 468. Concerning the quality of the suffix -liche classified here § 11, 2, see Morsb. § 67.

2. O.E. ī in various relationships : (a) Before lengthening consonant groups, Morsb., § 67 : *finde* (1. sing.) : *bindē* (inf.) 482 ; *finde* (1. plu.) : *winde* (sb.) 669 ; *bindē* (inf.) : (*mynde*) 495. (b) Before O.E. -g (-īg) through vocalization of -g : *empti* : (*sikerli*) 1002 ; *herkny* : (*merci*) 523 ; *lenedli* (svārabhakti vowel -e-, O.E. *hléjdīge*) : (*witerli*) 363 ; possibly *hīe* : (*crie*) 968 ; *lyþ* 713 marks the development from *lyþ* < O.E. *līþ* ; *þre* (*þrie*) 349, 350 < O.E. *þriga*.

3. O.E. y umlaut of u, before lengthening consonant-groups : *minde* : *kindē* (O.E. *cynd*, Skeat, § 378) 620 ; *mynde* (O.E. (*ge*)*mynd*) : (*bindē*) 496.

4. O.E. ȝ umlaut of û : *pride* (O.E. *prȳte* < *prȳt*) : (*side*) 656 ; *pride* : *huide* 158 ; *luite* : (*muīte*) 924. Properly classified under rimes in e are *fyr* : (*her*, O.E. *hēr*) 451 ; *fire* : (*here*, O.E. *hȳran*, *hēran*, *hēran*) 356 ; possibly under u (see Morsb., p. 176) : *fire* : (*duire*) 282. Further over *pride*, see Kluge, *Englische Studien*, vol. xxi. p. 33. For *lite*, see *Beiträge*, vol. ix. p. 365.

5. O.E. ȝ : *forði* : (*sikerli*) 467.

6. O.E. ēð : *līze* : (*cumpaignye*) 637, : (*multiplie*) 1010 ; *līze* (O.E. inf. *lēðyan*) : (*Eliȝe*) 947.

7. O.E. ēā. (a) Before h : *līze* (originally *lēūȝ*, N.E. *lye*) : (*eȝe*) 828 ; cf. § 9. (b) Before ȝ : *eȝe* (O.E. *ēage*, read *iȝe*) : (*līze*) 827.

*B. In development from Romance forms.*

1. Generally developed from O.F. i are the following illustrations : O.F. *i*, Lat. *i* : *crie* : (*hīe*) 967 ; *Eliȝe* : (*līze*) 948 ; *deuise* : (*wyse*) 343 ; *mēdicine* : (*pīne*) 771. O.F. *i*, Lat. *ia* : *cumpaignye* (cf. Lat. *com-pānis*) : (*enuie*) 437, : (*līze*) 638 ; *tricherie* : (*enuie*) 110 ;

*glotonye* : *lecherie* 116; *multiplie* : (*lye*) 1009; *clergye* (Latin *clērīcia*, Greek *κληρικός*) : (*baylie*) 290. O.F. *i*, Lat. *ī*, before *i*-element: *kointise* : *feintise* 304. Combination *-ūlia* : *ennuie* : (*cumpaignie*) 438, : (*tricherie*) 109. A.F.-*i*, Lat. -*ē* : *merci* : (*herkuy*) 524, : (*witerli*) 458, 528. Lat. *ēi*-element: *prys* : (*iwis*) 166. In *i*-element: *prys* : (*iwis*) 166. In *i*-element: *paradys* : (*iwis*) 286; *paralys* : (*his*) 299. A.F. *i*, Germ. *ī*: *gile* : (*while*) 61. Under other formations are: *Crist* (see Pogatseher, §§ 143—144) : *prest* (Pogatscher, §§ 141—142, Wilda, p. 13) 806; *conforti* : (*witerli*) 688; *baylie* : (*clergye*) 289; *delit* : *profyt* 60; *prist*, represented by *prest*, in rime with *Crist* (with stable *i*) 805 belongs in § 12. Cf. Wilda, *Ueber die örtliche Verbreitung der 12-zeil. Schreibrime in England*, p. 13; Pogat., § 127. *duire* : (*fire*) 281 is to be studied under rimes in *u*. Inexactness in the quantity of the riming vowel, O.E. *ī* with O.E. *i*, is to be noted for *his*, and *iwis*, each combined with *paradys*, 286, 300, and *iwis* with *prys* 166; cf. *pris* : *is*, Gen. and Ex. 326; *his* : *paralis*, *Har.* of Hell 5; and Menze, p. 65.

For *pine* see O.E. *pín* < *pēna*, folk-Latin pronunciation of Lat. *poena*; Kluge, *Wörterbuch*; Siev., § 69; Pogat., § 127, *pine* : (*medicine*) 772. Cf. *peine* in *H<sub>2</sub>*, O.F. *peine*, N.E. *pain*.

### *iht.*

§ 13. *iht* of the *Speculum* represents:

1. O.E. *ih(t)*, Germ. *i, ē*: *siht(e)* (O.E. (*ge*)*sihð*) : (*almiht*) 742, : (*mihte*, sb.) 133, 254, 362, : (*niht*) 914, : (*briht*, O.E. *beorht*) 405, 905; *rnriht* : (*almiht*) 613; *ariht* : *wiht* (*R* reads *dight* < O.E. *i* < Lat. *i*) 826.

2. O.E. *i* developed through palatal influence from *ea*: *miht(e)* (sb.) : *niht* 320, 516, : (*sihte*) 134, 253, 361; *almiht* : *niht* 476, : (*silt*) 741, : (*vnriht*) 614; *niht* (*Orrm, nahht*, 1904) : (*liht*) 856, 858, : (*silt*) 913.

3. O.E. *eo* or *ēō*: *briht* : *liht* (O.E. *lēoht*) 394, : (*flyȝte*) 639, : (*silt*) 406, 906; *liht* : (*niht*) 855, 857. *liht* occurs uniformly as substantive in the riming couplet of the *Speculum*, never as adjective.

### *ō.*

§ 14. Short *o* (*ō*), written *o*, appears:

1. From O.E. *o* (*a*) before nasal groups: *honde* : *londe* 586; *strong* (adj.) : *among* (adv. O.E. (*ge*)*mong*) 186, 880; *ilong* : *wrong* (sb.) 222; *long* : *wrong* (sb.) 750; *vnderstonde* : *sonde* 50, : *bonde*

890, : *honde* 1022, : *fonge* (*fonde* MSS. DR) 508; *longe* : *gange* for *gonge* (cf. Morsb., § 90) 762. The quantity of this *o* is not certain, see Morsb., *Gram.*, p. 74, § 58; Sweet, *History of English Sounds*, § 395. Cf. also here *mon* : (*hom*) 147 of MS. R, but 149 *A<sub>1</sub>*.

2. O.E. *o* in other combinations: *born* : *lorn* 130; *folewe* (O.E. *jolyian*) : *scolewe* (< *swelgan*?) 642; *lord* : (*acord*) 844, 894.

3. O.F. *o*: *acord* : *descord* 514; *acord* : (*lord* < O.E. *hléford* < *hláf-weard*, Siev. 43, 2 b, and 11, 4, Skt., § 257) 843, 893.

For *o* (i) in *wole* : (*skile*) 712, and in *worche* : (*churche*) 859, see § 11, 1, and 3. For short *o*, written *u*, see § 19, 1.

### ō.

§ 15. The *Speculum* generally distinguishes in rime between long open *o* (ō), written *o*, and long closed *o* (ō̄), written also *o*. Certain irregularities will be enumerated in § 17. Long open *o* (ō) has its origin in :

1. O.E. ā in self rimes or with derivations from O.E. ā. (a) At the end of a word: þō (O.E. ðā, pro.) : mō 240, : wō 112, : (*mislo*, pp.) 557; þō (adv.) : mō 1004, : gō (2. sing.) 982; mō : sō 204, : (*þerfro*) 128, : (*do*, inf.) 273; also : wō 434, : (*do*, inf.) 9, 207, 897; gō (inf.) : (*do*, pp.) 875; sō : (*do*, pp.) 173; sō : (*do*, subj. 3. sing.) 673; wō : (*do*, 3. plur.) 484, : (*do*, inf.) 917. (b) Before -n: anōn : euerychōn 432, : gōn (inf.) 958, : nōn (O.E. nín) 972; nōn : bōn (O.E. bén) 532, : gōn (inf.) 652, : gōn (pp.) 454, 726, : (*idon*) 545, : (*don*, pp.) 263; rōnōn : (*don*) 241; qn : (*don*, pp.) 838. (c) Before -r: lōre (sb.) : mōre (adv.) 24, 36, 740, etc., : sōre (adv.) 236; mōre : qrē (O.E. ár) 90, : sōre (adj.) 470, : sōre (sb.) 980; sōre (adv.) : qrē 540. (d) Before -þ: lōþe : (*bōþe*) 76; lōþe : gōþe 448.

2. O.E. ā lengthened in open syllables: ilōre : wharfōre 716.

3. O.E. *o* or *u* (ea) before -ll. (a) O.E. ā lengthened in open syllables: gold : bōld (O.E. bold, house) 154. (b) W.S. ea, Angl. *a*: bōld (O.E. beald, adj.) : eold 820.

4. O.N. á: þerjōr (Ic. fríð) : (*mo*) 127, and possibly in bōþe (O.N. báðir, O.E. báðā?) : (*lōþe*) 75.

### ō̄.

§ 16. Long closed *o* (ō̄), represented by *o* in *A<sub>1</sub>*, often by *u* in *D*, is derived from :

1. O.E. ā from various sources. (a) Final -ā: dō (inf.) : tō (prep.) 68, : þertō 332, : (*also*) 10, 208, 898, : (*mo*, adv.) 274, : (*wo*

918; *dō* (3. sing.) : (*so*) 674; *dō* (3. plur.) : (*wo*) 483; *dō* (pp.) : (*go*, inf.) 876, : (*so*) 174; *mislō* (pp.) : (*þo*, pro.) 558. (b) Before -n: *dōn* (pp.) : (*rpon*) 241, : (*nōn*, O.E. *nán*) 264, : (*on*, O.E. *ân*) 837; *idōn* : (*nōn*) 546; *sōne* (O.E. *sóna*) : *dōne* (gerund) 852, : (*bōne*, O.N. *bón*, sb.) 987. (c) Before -þ: *broþer* : *þer* 74, 122. (d) In other relationships: *mōd* : *gōd* (O.E. *gōd*) 14, 124, 164, etc.; *þolemōd* : *blōd* 574, 612, : *gōd* 666; *gōd* : *rōd* 144, : *rnderstōd* 462, 940; *blōd* : *rōd* 248; *forsōk* : (*tok*) 33; *lōke* : *bōke* 460, 786.

2. O.N. ó: *tōk* : (*forsok*) 34; *rōte* : *bōte* 94; *bōne* (O.N. *bón*, sb.) : (*sōne*) 988.

The tendency of M.E. ð, in course of the century, to approach a closed o sound, if, in its antecedent form, it had been preceded by w, was represented not merely by Chaucer, but, as is here illustrated by the preceding rimes, so early as the period of the *Speculum*. This ð was therefore in existence fifty if not a hundred years earlier than the period of Chaucer's more important works. But if, under other conditions, w began the word, then the open sound is to be regarded as unaltered; cf. § 15. Therefore *wð* riming with *dð* (inf.) 918, and *dð* (pp.) 483, but with *þð* (O.E. *ði*) 112, is excluded from this class distinguishing the closed sound of ð.

### ð and ð.

§ 17. The quality of the two o sounds of the poem is not always differentiated in rime. This inexactness was represented in the language of Chaucer and his school, as well as in the productions of earlier and later poets; cf. Menze, p. 68; Morsb., § 119. 3; ten Brink, § 25; Curtis, *Anglia*, vol. xvii., p. 137, etc. Open o (ð) and closed o (ð) of the *Speculum* are combined in rime<sup>1</sup> as follows:

1. As final vowels: *dð* (inf.) : *mð* (adv.) 274, : *wð* 918; *dð* (3. plur.) : *wð* 484; *dð* (pp.) : *gð* (inf.) 876; *mislð* (pp.) : *þð* (pro.) 558.

2. Before a nasal: *nōn* : *dōn* (pp.) 264; *nōn* : *idōn* 546; *on* : *dōn* (pp.) 838.

This list does not classify *also* : *do* 10, 208, 898; *so* : *do* 174; *so* : *dō* (3. sing.) 674, rimes illustrating an accepted tendency to vacillate between high and low tone represented in open and closed qualities in sympathy with their environment, ten Brink, § 31; Morsb., § 119. 3. These have been treated § 16. In these

<sup>1</sup> In Section 1 *dð* occurs before the riming word illustrating ð, merely for convenience in arrangement.

examples (*also, so*)  $\bar{o}$  represents an O.E.  $\hat{a}$  preceded by *w*, and may be regarded as developing through that influence (see § 16) a mixture of both quantities of the vowel. This *o* might be regarded as presenting in M.E. a closed quality (Morsb., § 135, Ann. 4), or, on basis of a theory that  $\bar{o}$  (O.E.  $\hat{a}$ ) produces through influence of a preceding *w* in its O.E. form, both an open and a closed  $\bar{o}$ -sound ( $\varrho, \bar{\varrho}$ ) in a stressed syllable (Morsb., § 135. 4; ten Br., § 31), a third division of  $\bar{o}$ -rimes, including the preceding list (§ 17), might be recognized. The rimes are not impure, but embody to full degree phonological conditions of the language of the period; see Menze, p. 68.

*ou.*

§ 18. For the development of M.E. *ou*, see Luick, *Anglia*, vol. xvi., pp. 452—455. *ou* of the *Speculum* (MS. A<sub>1</sub>) is written *ou* before a consonant, *ow* before a vowel-sound, but *o* (*i.e.* *o* before *ht*) in the single instance of *noht* 32, 171, 195, etc. In *R. of G.*, to the contrary, *o* (+3<sup>t</sup>) predominates, Pabst, § 48. The open and the closed quality of *ou* (Pabst, §§ 50, 51) being treated under the same division *ou* of the *Speculum*, represents uniformly:

1. O.E.  $\check{o} + ht$ , shortened in O.E., Sweet, § 403: *wrouhte* (O.E. *worhte*, through *r*-metathesis of pret. of *wyrean*) : *bouhte* (O.E. *bohte*, pret.) 26; *wrouht* (O.E. (*ge*)*worht*, pp. through *r*-metathesis) : (*þouht*, O.E. *þôht*, Orm. *pohht*, sb.) 759, 791; *iwrouth* : (*noht*) 580, 803; *bouht* (O.E. (*ge*)*boht*, pp.) : (*noht*) 172, 226.

2. O.E.  $\check{o} + ht$ , early shortened through influence of *h + t* (Siev., § 125) : *þouht* (sb.) : (*wrouht*) 792, : *noht* (O.E. *nû(wi)ht*, *nô(wi)ht*, *nôht*) 32, 410, 560, etc.; *þouht* : *ouht* (O.E. *â(wi)ht*, *ô(wi)ht*, *ôht*) 316, 1020; *souht* (O.E. (*ge*)*sôht*, pp.) : *noht* 196; *noht* : (*bouht*) 171, 225, : (*iwrouth*) 579, 804. It is noticeable that O.E. *nû(wi)ht*, *nô(wi)ht*, as produced *noht* in rime with *bouht*, *wrouht*, *þouht*, and *souht*, the orthography showing a parasitic *-u-* as in *Clariodus*, § 60, while O.E. *â(wi)ht*, *ô(wi)ht* is represented by *ouht* in rime with *þouht*. This *o* is thus a link between the two riming systems representing O.E.  $\check{o}$  and  $\bar{o}$ .

3. O.E.  $\hat{a} + g$  (*ow* before a vowel) : *owen* (abs. poss.) : (*knowen*) 227.

4. O.E.  $\hat{a} + w$  : *knowen* (O.E. *cnâwan*, inf.) : (*owen*) 228; *knaue* (*knowe*, inf.) : (*lowe*) 180, 629.

5. O.N.  $\acute{a} + g$  : *lowe* (O.N. *lúgr*, adv.) : (*knaue, knowe*) 179, 630.

## ū.

§ 19. Short *u* (ū), written *o* through influence of the Anglo-French (cf. Morsb., p. 90), represents O.E. ī not lengthened in open syllables (Morsb., p. 163 : § 126) *loue* (O.E. *luſu*, *luſē*) : *aboue* (O.E. *a-buſan* = *on-buſan*) 54, 512, 542, etc.; *shone* (2. sing.) : *wone* (O.E. (*ge*)*wuna*, sb.; cf. Zupitza, *Ælfric's Gram.*, pp. 252—6) 106; *shone* (inf.) : *wone* (inf.) 660; *wone* (inf.) : *sone* (O.E. *sunu*, sb.) 428; *some* (see Carstens, pp. 14, 15) : *inome* 644; *gome* (*grōme* in MS. R, for which see Morsb., § 65, Anm. 10; O.N. *grómr*) : *enome* 646.

For O.E. *i* (*y*) after *m*, written also *u*, see rimes in *i*, § 11: *muche* (O.E. *micel*, *mycel*) : (*lihtliche*) 671; *muche* : (*aperteliche*) 386, the stressed vowel forming an intermediate stage between *i* and *u*.

## ū.

§ 20. Long *u* (ū), written also *ou* and represented by *ow* before a vowel and often in a final syllable, occurs :

*A. In words of Germanic origin.*

1. From O.E. ī: *mouſe* (O.E. *māſ*) : *nouſe* (O.E. *nū ðā*) 420, 480; *mouþ* : *couþ* (O.E. *cāþ*, pp., T. *kun-þo-*; cf. Sievers, § 185, 2) 814, : *encowþe* 422; *hou* : *nouth* (O.E. *uā*, parallel with *nū*) 348, : *now* 378; *adoun* (O.E. *oř dāne*, dat. *adānū*) : (*lioun*) 261; *bouř* (O.E. *bār*, ī from an older ī lengthened; cf. *neuhgebār*; see Skt., § 217) : (*honour*) 152; *proud* (read *prout*) : (*stout*, cf. Kluge, *Engl. Studien*, vol. xxi., p. 337) 624.

2. O.E. ī before *n* + *d*: *stounde* : *bounde* 710; *founde* : *wounde* 774.

3. O.E. ī + final *h*, ten Brink § 33 ε: *inouh* (O.E. *genōh*) : *drouh* O.E. *drāh*, pret., Sievers's ablaut class vi.) 44; *inouh* : *wouh* (*wowe*, DH<sub>2</sub>; *woghe* R O.E. *wōh*, sb. inflected *wowe*, Pabst, § 52, b; O.S. *wāh*, Sievers, § 242) 302.

*B. In words of Romance origin.*

1. Representing Norman. ū. Through ending *-ōrem* (O.F. *-our*): *honour* : (*bouř*) 151. Through ending *-ōrem*: *orysoun* (*ureisun* < F. *ureizun* by false analogy < ecel. L. *ōrātiōnem*) : *fujsoun* 994; *orisonn* : *lesczoun* 500; *sarmoun* : *lesczoun* (Lat. *lectionem*) 58, 138. Rom. *o* before nasals: *dampnacioun* : *sauuacioun* 788; *eroun* (A.F. *corone*, Lat. *corōnam*, ten Br., p. 5) : *sauuacioun* 800. Through other source: *lioun* : (*adoun*) 262; *myrour* : *socour* (Rom. *o*) 506.

2. O.F. *ou* : *stout* (O.F. (*es*)*tout*) : (*proul* (*t*)) 623.

ü.

§ 21. ü written always *u*, spoken *i*, finds illustration in the *Speculum* as representative of *i*:

1. Through O.E. *y*, umlaut of *u*: *ipult* (O.E. \**pyltan*, Lat. *pultare*) : (*gilt*, Skt., § 337) 888 (cf. § 11, 3 under *i*-rimes for l. 232); *puite* (cf. O.F. *boter*. Perhaps read here *pütte* as in MS. R) : (*luite*, read *lute*) 923. Here belongs also *murie* 159, 905, *muryere* 284 of the text (MS. A<sub>1</sub>). See Zupitza, *Engl. Stud.*, vol. viii., p. 465. Rimes in *gult* : *pult* are frequent in older M.E. poems; cf. *The Passion*, *ipult* : *gult* 190, 227; *ugult* : (*i*)*pult*, *Pater Noster* 90, 129, but *agilt* : *pilt*, *Liif of Adam* 331, 337, 365, 555, 757.

2. O.E. *y* (*i*): *churche* : (*worche*, inf.; O.E. *wyrean*) 860 (cf. *i*-rimes, § 11, for the reading *chirche*).

Under § 21 belongs *kubile* 178 of the text, O.E. ī (umlaut of ī) shortened before a consonant group.

ū.

§ 22. Written also *u*, spoken ī by the poet, the sources of ū are:

1. Germanic: O.E. ī (uml. of ī). The self-rime *huile* (O.E. *hýd*, N.E. *hicle*, sb.) : *prýde* < *prýgle* < *prát*, Siev. § 96, Skt. § 197; cf. Ic. *prýði*, O.N. *prýði*, O.E. *prýt* 158 (cf. § 11, 2); *fure* (i. e. *fire*) : (*duire*) 282.

2. Romance: O.F. *u* written *ui*: *duire* (*dure*, *R. of G.* 3760, 6935, see Pabst, § 113, Morsb., p. 176) : (*fire*; cf. § 12, 4) 281. Possibly to be classified in this division, but difficult of classification is *turne* (Orm. *turmeni*) : (*sterne*) 435. *turne* is equivalent to O.E. *turnian* < vulg.-Lat. *tornare* < Lat. *tornare*, loan-word from the Latin or O.F. before the conquest, explained by Pogatscher (*Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen, und romanischen Lehnwörter im Altenglischen*), §§ 159, 205, and 271 through *turnare* for *tornare*, *i*-umlaut of Lat. *o*, vulg.-Lat. *u*, hence *tyrnān*. Pabst, § 109, p. 102, accounts for *turne* as a hybrid development blending O.F. *turner* (Lat. *turbanare*), O.E. *turnian*, and O.E. *tyrnūm*; cf. also Skeat II., 75. 2; 94. 25; 138. This interpretation explains the lengthening of ū before *r + n*.

The value of ū is represented in *anuied*, O.F. inf. *ennuier*; cf. O.F. dialectical parallel form *anoüer*, line 124 of the text, Pabst, § 122.

## CHAPTER XIV.

THE INFLECTION OF THE *SPECULUM*.

THE discussion of the characteristics of the inflectional system of the *Speculum* assumes, that its conclusions have been, if possible, verified by rime or metre. Otherwise paradigms and synopses are completed from the body of the text. Conjectural readings are based upon the Auchinleck MS. The Auchinleck MS. contributes orthography, but an occasional note introduces graphical or phonetical emendations of the copyist. This chapter endeavours to collect testimony as to the development of the O.E. vowel in the unaccented inflectional syllable. It aims particularly to present a clear view of the poet's treatment of the M.E. final -*i* in rime and in caesural construction.<sup>1</sup> Its purpose is primarily to call attention to general characteristics,<sup>2</sup> rather than to establish any precise laws of grammatical structure.

## I. DECLENSION.

§ 1. SUBSTANTIVES OF THE *SPECULUM*.

## A. VOCALIC OR STRONG DECLENSION.

## § 1. MASCULINE AND NEUTER SUBSTANTIVES.

(a) *a*-stems.

*Nominative and Accusative.* The singular is without ending, corresponding to the O.E. archetype: *day* : (*may*) 492; *dom* 256, see also *freedom* 237; *gord* 143; *worl* (nom.) 519, (acc.) 420; *weye?*<sup>3</sup> (*ray* in R) 651. Inorganic -*e* seems to be demanded by *weië* (acc.) 298; compare *wegë*, *North, Gloss.*, *Mark I.*, 2, and *weyë* also within the verse, the reading of *Orrm.*, Sachse, *Das unorganische ē im Orrmulum*, p. 7, of Chaucer, ten Brink, § 199, 5, Ann., and probably of Lydgate in his *Temple of Glas*, Schiek, p. lxv, and in his *Guy of Warwick*, str. 37<sup>7</sup>, and possibly also *weië*, str. 61<sup>3</sup> (cf. Zupitza). See also *pine* 176 and the dissyllable *almesse* (O.E. Lat. Greek ? see Pogatscher, *Lautlehre*, pp. 38, 207, 218, and Cosijn. Gr., p. 97, 923).

<sup>1</sup> Difficulty must be conceded the interpretation of the value of a final -*e* at the caesura, due to the existence of type C.

<sup>2</sup> These sections do not undertake to cite all illustrations of any specific subdivision of the material.

<sup>3</sup> The mark of interrogation designates the questionable value of final -*e* in syllabic arrangement; e. g. types A and C present rival claims to verse 651, owing to uncertainty regarding the metrical value of final -*e* in *weye*:

*And óþer wéyë · is þer nón.*

*And óþer wéyë · is þer nón.*

It is not possible to decide with exactness the value of this inorganic -*e*.

*Genitive.* The ending is *-ēs*, continuing the O.E. *ēs*: *domēs*(*day*) 257, 745, 868; *godēs* 38, 81, 89, etc.; *lordēs* 892.

*Dative.* The old dative in *-ē* is preserved unaltered in the *Speculum*, but in many instances uninflected forms<sup>1</sup> occur also, when, as in Chaucer (cf. ten Brink, § 201) the dative is like the nominative: *firē* : (*herē*, inf.) 356; *weyē* : (*eize*) 22; *mouþē* : (*nouþe*, O.E. *nāþā*) 420, 480; *on linē* 859; yet without ending are *mouþ* : (*couþ*, pp.) 813, and on basis of metrical type A, *mouþē* 94. Uninflected forms, as is indicated by rhythm or rime, are: *wif* : *lyf* 234; *bon* 531; *dom* 415, 766; *day* : (*lay*) 250, : (*nay*) 251; *day* 49, 475, 516; *bon* 157; *bon* : (*non*) 531; *gold* : (*bold*) 153; *wil* : (*peril*) 169. Owing to elision *ȝate* 959, is not determinative in the question of the development of the inorganic *-e* (cf. Sachse, § 25), through analogy with short fem. stems by means of O.E. plural forms in *-u*. *day* 250, it would seem, admits of explanation as nominative, subject of *com*, *hit* being pleonastic. The line recalls the idiom illustrated in the opening song of *Wilhelm Tell*, v. 1: *Es lächelt der See!* O.E. derivatives from the Latin to be classified here end in *-ē*: *pinē*? 772, but *pine* 104.

*Plural.* The ending *-ēs* (written often *-is*, *-ys* in other MSS.), O.E. *-as*, occurs uniformly for masculine substantives: *gostēs* (type A, or *gostes* to produce type C) 431, but probably with syncope of the *-e* in *gostes* 447; *naileś* 439; *terēs* 827; *giltēs* 752; *weyēs* 865. Dative forms are *daurē* (O.E. *dagum*) : (*lawē*) 37, 357; *linē* : (*shriue*) 486. *siþē* (with apocope) 394 is the plural contributed by *H<sub>1</sub>* and *R*. The termination of the masculine is carried over to the plural of other genders and other stems. Thus *lerēs* (O.E. *hleór*) occurs in rime with *terēs* 842 and *shaftēs* with *craftēs* 212. Neuter nouns end in *-ēs*: *londēs* (*Lowlys*, *H<sub>2</sub>*) 152, 163; *wordēs* 276, 998; *werkes* 860; *shaftēs* (*creatures* in D) 781 illustrate syncope of the second *-e*; for *þingēs* (or *þinges*) 141, see Pabst, *Anglia*<sup>2</sup> xiii., p. 247, Anm. 1. The plural of the neuter ends also in *-ē*: *þingē* (O.E. *þingum*, *þinga*) 284, and perhaps in *þing[ē]*: (*beginning*, *beginning[ē]?*) 8, 883, : (*speking[e]*) 329. *les* : (*pes*) 519 is without ending. *D* and *R* offer *bemē* : (*levē*) 383; *god* 163 is without ending. See also *loueredē* 177; *bold* 154; *lyf* 952, forms possibly to be regarded as plural, but through context uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> The principle was already illustrated by so early a linguist as Orm (1200), representing, it must be remembered, the northern portion of the East Midland territory, and presenting northern peculiarities, often Scandinavian characteristics.

<sup>2</sup> *Flexionsverhältnisse bei Rbt. v. Gl.*

(b) *ja-* stems.

These stems reproduce O.E. final *-e* through *ë*: *ende* : (*wendë*) 426; *leche* (O.E. Angl. *lēce*) 69.

(c) *wa-* stems.

Plural nouns illustrative of *wa-* stems are found: *þewës* 72; *þewës* : (*shrewës*) 101, but the synecopated form *þewe* 97.

(d) *i-* and *u-* stems.

*i-* and *u-* stems offer as representative of O.E. final *-e* (*-u*) a syllabic *-ë*: *stedë* : (*bede*) 561, : (*dede*) 597, 604; *metë* : (*iete*) 983; *eiȝë* (O.E. *eȝe*) : (*weye*) 21, : (*seie*) 795. A *u-* stem is *sonë* (O.E. *sunu*) : (*wone*, inf.) 428. Possibly to be classed here is the plural *metys* (H<sub>2</sub>) 155, through analogy with O.E. *mettas* of the *ja-* declension, Siev. § 263, N. 3.

## § 2. FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES.

The endings of the feminine *jō-* and *i-* stems agree with those of the *ō-* stems.

*Singular. Nominative.* The termination is *-ë*, through weakening of O.E. *-u* for short stems, Sievers, § 252, or an inorganic *-ë* added through analogy with oblique cases for long syllables: *shamë* 799, 801; *shamë* : (*blame*) 811; *lorë* : (*more*) 755, 853; *dredë* : (*godhede*) 380; *Louë* (*Louȝ* ?, elision of *-ë* before a vowel in the following word) 87. The ending *-e* is also to be noted: *lone* 304; *Streinȝe* (before *i* of the following syllable) 305; *worldë* 17, 61; *Drede* 883. Characteristic of the period is the inorganic *-ë* affixed to the nominative singular of nouns ending with the suffix *-nes* (*-nis*), already to be noted in the English *Liber* (Camb. Univ. MS. Ii. l. 33) of the 12th century. Cf. *soȝiestnysse* 28; *oncnawennysse* 20, 27 (Zupitza, *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum*, ii. 11); *fairnesse* : *þisternesse* 305.

*Genitive.* The ending is *-ës* through analogy with the masculine: *worldës* 13, 32, 113, 151, 195, etc. An old genitive is recognized in the adverb of time, *whiles* 184.

*Dative.* *-ë* is the characteristic ending of the feminine dative, but uninfllected forms are found here as in the masculine of the *a-* declension. (1) *-ë*: *louë* : (*aboue*) 53, 541; *louë* 243, etc.; *trouȝë* 1033; *spechë* : (*teche*) 1, 569, 753; *hondë* (dat.): (*londë*) 585, : (*vnderstande*) 1022; *shame* 777, 779, 804, etc.; *dredë* : (*dede*) 910, 943; (*lede*, inf.) 20; *rotë* (Scand. loan-word) 93; *huidë* : (*pride*) 157;

*rodē?* 26; *hellē* : (*nellē*) 271. (2) -*e*: *lone* 6, 21, 144, etc.; *rod* : (*god*) 144; *rod* : (*blod*) 248; *sorwe* (before initial *e* in the following syllable) 769, but *sorrē* (with hiatus) 93; *dredē* 444, 914. To be classed here is *Euē* 229, according to ten Brink of O.E. origin, see also Siev., § 194.

*Accusative.* -*e* is the normal ending: *soulē* 48, 576; *whilē* 62; *louē* : (*abone*) 511; *shamē* 783; *soulē* 688; *dredē* : (*dede*) 695, 707, : (*godhede*) 885, but by the side of -*e* occurs not infrequently the weakened -*e*: *worldē* 64.

*Plural.* Plural feminine forms of substantives have the ending -*en*, indicating the tendency to adopt in the plural the inflection of the weak or *n*-declension, already existing sporadically in the 12th century: *wounlēn* (acc.) 442; *houlēn* 440; also -*es*, *sinnēs* (dat.) 469, (acc.) 803; *synnys* in *H<sub>2</sub>* 91 and 830; *dedēs* 674; probably *heste* (singular!) 810.

## B. CONSONANT DECLENSION.

### § 1. MASCULINE SUBSTANTIVES.

#### *n*- stems.

*Nominative.* The nominative ending is -*e* in continuation of O.E. -*a*: *bileuē* 203; *gomē* (O.E. *guma*) 645; *mone* (before a vowel) 383; *namē* : (*fame*) 30, 39, but *hope* 466.

*Oblique cases* are in -*e*: *hopē* 463, 471, but *hope* 477, 690; *tenē* 192; *time* 703.

*Plurals.* In -*en* is *sterrēn* 383, retaining the old plural ending in -*n*, a plural not confirmed by rime. *shrewēs* occurs in rime with *þewēs* 102, and *ferē* with *dere* (O.E. *dērē*) 423.

### § 2. FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES.

*Nominative.* In -*e* are *wileuē* 965, 971, 987, 1003; (type B or with apocope?) 955 and the elided form *sunnē* 386.

*Genitire.* Ending in -*e* is *hertē* (*hertē rote*, *hertē blod*) 93, 247; *henene* (O.E. *heofonan*, gen. of fem. *heafōne*, *heuenē* *blisse*, *heuenē* *king*) 336, 626, 690, 900. *A<sub>2</sub>* offers *sommēs* 393.

*Datire.* -*e* characterizes *hertē* 87, 165, 208, 408, but *hertē* 414; *eorþē* 296, 375, 397, etc.; *sidē* : (*abide*) 255, 655; *sunmē* (dat. of indirect object) 393; *widerē* 951, 998.

*Accusative.* *ȝemē* 553; *leueli* (O.E. *hléfliȝe*) : (*witerli*) 363 shows no inflection.

## § 3. NEUTER SUBSTANTIVES.

*Nominative and accusative* end in *-ē*: *eizē* 396; *eizē* : (*heie*) 388.  
One plural form occurs: *eizēn* (*eghen* in *R*, dat.) 841; *eizēn* (acc.) 992.

## C. OTHER DECLENSIONS.

## § 1. SUBSTANTIVES ILLUSTRATING MINOR DECLENSIONS.

(Sievers, §§ 281—290.)

(1) Irregular consonant stems. (a) *Masculines and Neuters*. The singular is represented by: *man* (nom.) : (*can*) 727; *man* (nom.) 37, 222, 223; Gen. *mannēs* 388, 611, 723; *man* (dat.) 51; *man* : (*cam*) 590. Plurals of the same class with *i*- umlaut are: *men* (dat.) 149; *fet* : (*ek*) 440. (b) *Feminines*. These end in *-ē*: *bokē* : (*lokē*) 460, 785; *niht* (nom.) : (*liht*) 856; *niht* (dat.) : (*mīht*) 320, 516; *niht* : (*liht*) 858, *niht* in this construction being an objective adverbial. (2) Stems in *-r*: voc. *fāder* 52, dat. after *leue* 424 (O.E. *lēof*, cf. Chaucer) 428. The genitive is *fāderēs* 254, 255. *brofēr* (nom.) : (*oþer*) 121; (voc.) 73. (3) Stems in *-nd*: *frend* 919; *fend* (dat.) 229; *fēndē* (gen. in *H<sub>1</sub>*) 696. (4) Stems in *-os*, *-as* (Gk. neuters in *-oç*, Lat. *-us*, *-eris*), Sievers's second class: *lomb* (nom. sing.) 260. The plural occurs in *children* (cf. Sievers, § 290, 2) (nom.) 287, (gen.) 986, (dat.) 349, 522. *childe* is the reading of *D* and *R*.

## § 2. SUBSTANTIVES OF ROMANCE ORIGIN.

*Singular*. In general, substantives of Romance origin retain a final syllabic *-ē*, preserved from the O.F. original: *gracē* : *facē* 214, 904; *gracē* 78; *gracē* : *placē* 294; *preiē* 68; *blamē* : (*shame*) 778, 784, 812; *ioyē* (*ioye*) 295, 301, see also *croun* (A.F. *coroune*, *corone*?) 799, and *paunter* (O.F. *pantiere*?) 18, etc. Polysyllabic forms recur in Romance derivatives: *repentaunce* : *penaunce* 92, 474, 770; *suſ-fraunce* : *destourbaunce* 572; *manerē*? 628; *anguisse* 183; with accent thrown back: *séruiſe* 36; *séruiſe* 238; *cité*? 959; *Mérei* 131, 545; but also *mercí* 458, 524; *peril* 170; *myróur* 505. Representing a Romance original without final *-e* monosyllabic forms occur: *los* 158; *prys* 166; *voiz* 446; *cas* 703. In polysyllables: *katél* (*catel*) 162, 577, 896; *uertá* 922, etc.

*Plural*. The plural endings *-s* (-*z*) and *-e* occur for polysyllables of Romance origin, but seem to be generally without syllabic value: *deciples* 570; *uertuz* (*vertuys* in *H<sub>2</sub>*) 71, 325, 661; *persones* 206; *manere* 785. Possibly to be regarded as plurals are: *vessel* 153;

*tresor* 154. Ending in *-es* occur *rentes* (*rentys*) 152, 163, and *iyses* (syncopated form?) 286. *H<sub>2</sub>* reads *peynys* 176.

## § 2. ADJECTIVES OF THE *SPECULUM*.

The inflections of the poet agree with the O.E. forms through the weakening of unaccented full vowels. The twofold Germanic declension, the strong and the weak, is illustrated, but in the plural both declensions fall together in the uniform syllabic unaccented final *-ē*. Romance adjectives in inflected and uninflected forms retain unaccented *-ē*. Uninflected forms are also illustrated in adjectives of two or more syllables of Germanic or Romance origin.

### § 1. STRONG ADJECTIVES.

Strong adjectives of Germanic origin, in legitimate descent from the O.E., tend to drop the inflection except in *ja-* stems. Such adjectives of the strong declension find illustration as follows :

*Singular forms*: *gret*, *grete* with apocope of the final *-e* 158, 214; *hot* 819; *god* 843. Used predicatively occur: *god* 105, 202; *rumeþ* 615; *Wicke* (O.E. *wicca*) 122; *murie* 905; *fuin* 965; *empti* 1002 show the vocalization of O.E. *g*. The dative is found corresponding to the uninflected nominative: *gret* 170, 899; *strong* 266, 274; *al* 319; *god* 571; *cold* 929. Yet sporadically the poem presents instances of inflection by means of *-ē*, in the dative. Cf. *godē* 29, 40; *heihē*, a form open to speculation on part of the copyists, 214; *hotē* 282, 451; and possibly *strongē* 282, 449. Datives having apocope of the final *-e* occur: *smale* 181; *hote* 182; *gode* 931. *ja-* stems are inflected with *-ē*: *trewē* 304, 697; *sternē* 446; *mildē* 594; *newē*?, used predicatively, 760.

*Plural forms*. The final *-ē* is retained: *Fairē* 71, 154?; *foulē* 72, 803; *Riche*? 153, 155; *oldē* 357; *alle* 239, 300, 329, 338, etc.; *gretē* 469; *godē* 674, and *gode* (dat.) 865. Stems in *ja*: *bremē* 383; *kenē* 439; *swetē* 998. Predicative adjectives are: *lopē* 76; *foulē* 818; *gode* (with apocope) 287.

Words of more than one syllable are without inflection: *wraþful* 436; *ydel* 463, 466; *Holi(y)* 505, 701, 733, 755; *wrongful* 618; *Gostli* 715; *sinful* 751; *delli* 774.

To the strong declension belong: *Wheiþer* (r. *Wher*) 219; *oþer* 74, 122, 651; plural: *oþerē* 135; *Tweig* (apocope) 141; *Tweye* 785; *aller* (*furst*) gen. plu. 70; the Scandinavian form *boþē* 75, 216; *Summē* 825, is a dissyllable as in Lydgate and Gower in distinction

from Chaucer's monosyllabic rendering *some* (except in rime; see ten Brink, §§ 255, 327). Compare also the riming form of the *Speculum*, *somē* : (*inome*), v. 643. Unaccented final *-e* is subject to apocope in *Boþe* 311, 400, 436 l. Contracted forms are *next* : *hext* 326, 662.

### § 2. WEAK ADJECTIVES.

O.E. full-toned inflectional forms corresponding to *n*-stems of the substantive declension are represented in the *Speculum* by unaccented *-ē*. As in O.E. the weak adjective is employed :

*a.* After the definite article : *rihtē* 22 ; *gretē* 256 ; *strongē* 449 ; *heiē* 622, but *heie* (with apocope of *-e*) 415 ; *foulē* 654 ; *longē* 744 ; *derkē* 856, 858. Weak adjectives of more than one syllable are without inflection in this position : *holi* 352, 565, 687 ; *sinful* 727. Ordinals are declined as follows : *formē* (superlative in *-ma*) 223 ; *þridlē* 250, 251 ; *firstē* 358. A comparative occurs : *þe clannere* 826. To this division belongs *þilkē* (= *þe ilkē*, O.E. *sē itea*) 37.

*b.* After a demonstrative pronoun : *þat ilkē* 362 ; *þat foulē* 696 ; *þis ilkē* 799. *þat hote* (acc.) 182, and *þat faire* 914 occur with apocope of final *-e*. Adjectives of two syllables are found after a demonstrative, but are not inflected : *þat litel sinjul* (dat.) 708 ; *þis seli* 987.

*c.* After a possessive pronoun : *his rihtē* 39 ; *his gretē* 361 ; *his ownē* (*ownē*?) 314 ; *hire gretē* 390 ; *Hire ctenē* 364 ; *þin orēn* (read *ownē*?) 620 ; *þi rihtē* 878 ; ja- stems : *Houre swetē* 569 ; *hourē . . . swetē* : (*projete*) 949. Adjectives of two syllables are illustrated : *þi seli* 576 ; *His gostli* 736 ; *Hire litēl* 990.

Plural forms are preserved : *þe wickē* 101 ; *þe richē* : (*iliche*) 311 ; *þe hotē* 827, 841 ; *þe leste* (*e* through elision) 1016 ; *þise holi* 191 ; *His grisli* 442. Once the adjective precedes the vocative plural : *minē blessedē ferē* 423.

Of the weak inflection are probably *þiselfē* 10, 564, 579 ; *himselfē* 14 ; *onē* (O.E. *ána*) 239, see Sievers, 324, N. 1. In the weak declension are to be classified *Boxomere* (followed by *he*) 233 ; *muryere* 284 ; and *beyþere* 952.

*Romance forms.* Romance adjectives retain in inflected as well as uninflated forms final *-ē* : *porē* (?) 951 ; *doublē* 940, 1006 ; *mercιublē* 526 ; see also *pore* (-*e* through elision) 164 ; *cler* 381, 915 ; *stout* 623 ; *cruwel* (read with syncope of *-e-*, unless epic cæsura, metrical type B, be preferred) 559.

*Vocatives.* In this position the inflection is uniformly *-ē*.

Singular: *leuē* 73, 919; *Svetē* (*ja-* stem) 555. *fersse* (sing.) 623 is the single Romance form. Plural: *corsedē* (*cursēd?*) 431, 447.

Before proper names occurs: *Sein (Powel)* 345; (*Daui*) 459, 691; (*Gregory*) 663. For *seint* 275 see ten Br., § 242.

### § 3. NUMERALS.

Numerals are employed in the *Speculum* as follows. They illustrate occasionally the value of an unaccented -ē:

*Cardinals*: *on* : (*don*) 838; *o* 204, 205, 354; *Tweie* (*two* R) 141, (*Tweye*) 785; *þre* 206, 349, 350; *hundred* 394. *Onē* 239 preserves the form of the numeral with the meaning *alone*. Negative of *on* preserves -ē: *nonē* 344.

*Ordinals*: *þe fīrstē* (acc.) 358; *þe fīrmē* (nom.) 223; *þe þridlē* 250, 251.

In orthography these forms reproduce MS. A<sub>1</sub>. Decisive evidence through rime exists for numerals only in instance of *ou*; *vide supra*.

### § 3. PRONOUNS.

#### § 1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

The personal pronouns in use in the *Speculum* are as follows:

a. *First Person*: Sing. Nom. *i* (*I*) 2, 3, 27, 49, etc. Gen.—Dat. *me* : (*charite*) 56 : (*þe*) 1011, etc. Acc. *me*, 62, 189, etc. Nom. *we*, 501, 504, 506, etc. Gen.—Dat. *us* (*vs*) 54, 501, 1031, etc. Acc. *us* (*vs*) 1029.

b. *Second Person*: Sing. Nom. *þu* (*þou*) 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, etc. Gen.—Dat. *þe* : (*charitē*) 84, : (*me*) 108, : (*be*) 328, 334, 588, etc. Acc. *þe* : (*bisē*) 487, : (*be*) 535, 588, etc. Plural. Nom. *ȝe* 177, 425, 447, etc. Gen.—Dat. *ou* (Auch. MS.), *ȝou* (MSS. Arund. and Harl.) 2; *ȝou* 284; Acc. *ou* (Auch. MS.) 816, 824, 848.

c. *Third Person*: Mase. Sing. Nom. *he* 19, 31, 33, etc. Gen.—Dat. *him* (*hym*) 32, 227, 608, etc. Acc. *him* (*hym*) 34, 133, 369, etc. Fem. Sing. Nom. *she* (*ho*, MSS. D and R, or *scho* in R) 965, 968, 972, 990, 1004. Gen.—Dat. *hire* (*hyre*) 981, etc. Acc. *hire* (*hore*, *hyre*, *hyr*) 960, 961, etc. The final -e (dat. and acc.) is uniformly silent.

Neu. Sing. Nom.: *hit* and *it* are found in A<sub>1</sub> and R (MSS. A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub> have *it*) 3, 16, 119, etc.; *hit* 123, 160, 161, etc. Gen.—Dat. *him* (*hym*) 680. Acc. *hit* (*it* A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>) 15, 58, 175, etc.; *it* (A<sub>1</sub>) 563, 575, 581, etc.

Plural. Nom.: *hij* (MSS. A<sub>1</sub> and R) 186, 277, 279, 309, etc.; *þei* (*þeih* A<sub>1</sub>) 25, 80, 104, etc. Scandinavian forms are uniformly

represented by the MSS. A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. Gen.—Dat. *hem* (often written *hom* in MS. R) : (*men*, assonance) 150; *hem* (*hom* R) 159, 168, 316 etc. Acc. *hem* (*hom* R) 25, 100, 106, etc.

Possibly the most noticeable feature in the study of personal pronouns is the introduction of *hij* by the side of *þeih*, *hit*, and *ou*, the characteristic of MS. A<sub>1</sub>; of *hij*, *hit*, *hom*, *scho?* and *hore*, of MS. R, and possibly for dialectical purposes of *ho* in MSS. D and R.

Scandinavian forms *þei*, *þeir* belong to later MSS., though A<sub>1</sub> has *þeih* sporadically. *þe*, *me*, *hem*, *him* are the personal pronouns absolutely warranted by the MSS. on basis of the rimes.

#### *Possessives.*

*Simple possessives*: *my* (generally before a consonant sound) 1, 59, 60, etc.; *myn* : (*Alquiu*) 52; *our* 505, 916; *vrē* 363, 506, but *ourē* before the name of the deity 844; *vrē* 595, etc.; *Houre* 569, 949, whose syllabic character is lost by apocope. *þi* (followed by a consonant sound) 7, 14, 69, etc. *þin*<sup>1</sup> (before a vowel sound) 9, 93, 334, etc.; *his* (*hys*) 18, 19, 21, etc. *Herē*<sup>2</sup> (fem.) 952; *hirē* 235?; *Hire* 956, 990, 995; *mynē* : (*mynw*) 339; *þin[ē]*? 841 and *þinē* (plu.) 842 retains its syllabic -ē, but *þine* 841; *Hise* (plu.) 570, 752; *His* 992; *here* 103, 169, etc. Otherwise plurals of possessives are often apocopated.

*Absolute possessives*: *mynē* rimes with *mynē* (simple possessive) 340, *his* with *paradys* 300, and with *iwis* 338.

#### *Relatives and Demonstratives.*

Relatives and demonstratives present no novel features. *þat* has the value of a *who*, lines 54, 317, (plu.) 424. Equivalent to *what* in lines 3, 73, etc., its use is substantive. *þat* serves also as a demonstrative 59, 82, 88, etc. *þis* 149 (= *þis is*) is the single instance of contraction. *þisē* 84 is used substantively. Without syllabic value is -e in *Whiche* (plu.) 76, 287, and in *þise* 97, 191, etc.

#### § 4. ADVERBS.

Adverbs following the history of the development of O.E. forms end in -ē, when formed from adjectives.

*Adverbs from adjectives*: *derē* : (*were*) 160; *derē* 172, 226; *sorē* : (*lore*) 236, : (*ore*) 539; but *sore* through elision 766, 794; *lowē* 630; *foulē* 591; *stillē* : (*wille*) 584, 593, 706, etc.; *fistē* : (*ayaste*) 865. As continuation of O.E. full endings occur: *aboutē* (elision) 190,

<sup>1</sup> Plu. 9, 334?

<sup>2</sup> *Here live*, plural?

(apocope) 515; *abontēn* 196; *abouē* 908; *Oute* 490; *oſte* 493, 499, 1020. Through analogy *ekē* 436, 584, 681; but *ek* : (*fet*) 439. Assuming directly the form of an adjective ending in -e occurs: *swifē* 4, 236, 578, 630, 736, 879. Of another class are adverbs formed by composition of the simple adjective stem with O.E. *-lice*: *aperfölichē* 385; *soþlichē* : *opënlichē* 442; *Kinadelichē* 817, but *Hollīchē* 353; *sikerlichē* 373; *Bodilichē* 375; *Rihtfullichē* 458. *witerli* : (*comforti*) 687; *sikerli* : (*empti*) 1002. Adverbs without corresponding adjectives: *ȝit* (O.E. *gît*, *gŷt*) 851; *eftsonē* : (*dowē*) 851; *sonē* : (*bone*) 987; *sone* 903. Oblique cases of adjectives employed as adverbs are from the accusative: *inouh* : (*drouh*) 43; *inouh* 305; *ful* 66, 517, 632; *heiē* : (*eiȝe*) 387; *heig* 632.

A genitive as introductory element of a compound word occurs: *ellēs (cher)* 176, 780. Derived from substantives are *alday* 342; *forsoþē* 391; *adoun* 842; *adoun* : (*lioun*) 261; *by day* and *nilt* 475, represents adverbial construction of this class. *sorē* (original form with *i-* umlaut, Sievers, § 237, 2) offers illustration of an instrumental used adverbially. Adverbs from prepositions are: *innē* : (*sinue*) 731; *onne* 267. Adverbs of place are: *wherē* 176; *her* 197, 220; *herē* 296; *þer* 322. Of time *nouþē* 107; *nouth* 348; *þannē* 199, 283, 395 is very frequent. A numeral adjective, *Enē* is used by the poet. Cf. *enē* : (*clenē*) 366, 815, and *bidenē* 191; *Enēs* (gen.) 939.

*Comparison of adverbs.* Comparative: *betrē* 78, 937; *ererē* (comp. of *ar*, preserved by MS. A<sub>1</sub> alone) 140, 168; *inwardlicherē* 321; *clamnere* 820, 828; *lassē* 536; *morē* : (*ore*) 90, : (*lore*) 739, 854, etc.; *mo* : (*þerfro*) 128. Superlative: (*Aller*) *furst* 70.

Formal adverbial expressions occur: *ful iwis* 165, 285, 337, 503, 723; *mid iwisse* 309, 689; *on heih* 633; *On ydel* 568, 668; *for euere mo* 240; *widoute fable* 525; *widoute nay* 252, 258; *fer and ner* 216; *lude and stille* 584, 706, 891.

## II. CONJUGATION.

### THE VERB.

In the classification of strong and weak verbs with resulting methods of tense-formation, the *Speculum* does not differ materially from the normal text of the period, whose master was Chaucer. The study of the inflection of the verb with reference to the syllabic value of final -ē is of peculiar importance and interest. The copyists are often in disagreement regarding the poet's inflectional forms, and absolute proof is wanting for some specific illustrations.

§ 1. Forms that may be referred to the present stem.

*The Infinitive.* The final *-n* of the O.E. infinitive is almost universally dropped, sometimes with apocope of the final *-e*, resulting from the weakening of *-a* of the O.E. termination. Twice, remains of the O.E. *-ian* class occur in *-i* (*y*), confirmed by rime.

a. Infinitives in *-ē* (*-in*, *-ym* of the MSS.): *techē* : (*speche*) 2, 570, 754; *drawē* : (*plawe*) 16; *ledē* : (*dredle*) 19; *hanē* 455, 529, 543, 567, etc.; *jolere* : (*swolewe*) 642; *shewē* : (*rewe*) 79. Apocope of the *-e* occurs: possibly *nempne* (or double thesis at epic cæsura?) 101; *hane* 148; *come* 331; *long* 343; a contracted form is *seiē* 445, 796.

β. O.E. *-n* is retained: *don* 643; *gon* : (*non*) 652; *ben* (*A<sub>1</sub>*) 938; *knowēn?* : (*owen*) 228; *betēn* 175; but *chastēn* (*Kast*, *H<sub>1</sub>*) 181; an abbreviated form is *han* 295. In some instances the retention of final *-n* is conducive to smoothness of metre: *bileuen* 273; *wilnēn* 279; *tellēn* 292; *wantēn* 316.

γ. Forms without ending through loss of *-n*: *do* : (*also*) 10, 208, : (*to*) 68, : (*mo*) 274; *be* : (*charite*) 96; *go* : (*lo*, pp.) 875.

δ. Infinitives in *-i*, *-y* are: *herkny* : (*merci*) 523; *comforti* (not understood by the copyist of *R*: cf. *R*) : (*witerli*) 688; and within the body of the text *singy* 714; *wonyē* 634; cf. *welny* (D) 280; *perty* (D) 298. This distinctively Southern inflectional characteristic is abundant in *Azenbite*, *Ancre. Riwle*, *R. of G.*, and the *Poema Morale*, but the infinitive in *-i* (*-y*) occurs also in the Southern Midland poems, *Horn* (see Wissmann) *werie* 1411, *chaungi* 1076, and in the Auch. *Reinbrun* (*Gy, sone of Warwike*): *norsy* : *serry* 151; *pasy* : *prony* 972. For this infinitive in East Midland poems, see Stürzen-Becker, p. 71; Morris, *Spec. of E. Lit.*, p. xxi.; in Chancier, ten Br., § 196.

ε. *Gerund.* Instance of gerund occurs: *to donē* 852.

ζ. Of Romance origin are a few infinitives in rime: *greuē* : (*bileue*) 202, : (*Eue*) 230; *denisē* 343; *duirē* 281; *sauē* : (*haue*) 478. *vsē* occurs 90; *sufrē* 184, 583; *preiē* 564.

*Present indicative, 1 pers. sg.* The ending is *-ē*, occurring in rime: *findē* : (*bindē*, inf.) 481; *vnderstondē* : (*soude*) 49; *menē* : (*clene*) 407; *lizē* : (*cumpaignye*) 637; *seiē* 467; with apocope of the ending, *gretē* 52; *sey* 464. Romance form: *preiē*, 53, 601. *willē* (anomalous form) is confirmed by rime: *willē* : (*skile*) 712.

*2 pers.* The ending in *-est* (MS. *-us*, *-ys*, *-es*); *-ēst*, *-est* is of frequent occurrence not confirmed by ryme. The couplet preserves only the contracted form: *sist* : *list* (*bitst*) 554; cf. *Floris und Blaunchef*.

105. The vowel of the radical is in general not modified. In the body of the text are to be noted the following examples: *met̄est* 549; *ȝeūst* 936; *couþest* 657. In *-est* occur: *lonest* 13, 321, 337, etc.; *leuest* 189; *sparest* 795; *seist* 555; *seet* 385, give contracted forms.

*3 pers. sg.* The third person ends in *-þ* (MSS. *-es*, *-ythe*, etc.) once in rime: *geþ* : *vumeþ* 616, possibly *seþ* 817, and almost universally within the body of the text, where no criterion exists to determine that *-þ* be not the language of the copyist. The vowel of the radical is not modified. Examples are: *bringiþ* 114; *beginnþ* 126; *ȝenþ* 212; *louþ* 340; *ofþinkþ* 539; *bitoknþ* 363; *lastþ* 426; *spekþ* 501; *makþ* 520; *berþ* 566; *fondþ* 655. In *-þ* occur: *spekeþ* 275; *berþ* 345; *falleþ* 585; *fareþ* 669; *berþ* 670; *semeþ* 697; *linþ* 733; *ȝeueþ* 742. Contraction of the ending is recognized in *seiþ* 276, 339, 345, 459; *luþ* (3 sing.) 386, 695; *halt* 166, 171; *tit* 807; *sit*<sup>1</sup> (one of the ten verbs preserving the present form with *-jo-*) 255; *fint*? 785; *ȝleþ* 672; *lyþ* (*jo-* stem) 710, 713.

*Plurul.* Riming couplets preserve *-ð* in one instance: *bef* : *seþ* (sing.? *men* = *one*, German *man*?) 818, but the verse contains additional illustration of forms in *-ð* (MSS. *-iþ*, *-yþ*) : *louð* 23; *beþ* 23, 76, 80, 97, etc.; *biselerþ* 504; *wassherþ* 818; *Mukerþ* 828. With syncope of *-e-*: *þinkeþ* 150; *wassheþ* 825. Plurals in *-en* (*-en*), *-ð* (*-e-*), are offered by rime: (*whiles þeih*) *luð* : (*ȝiue, inf.*) 184; (*Wheiþer . . . nellæ* : (*helle*) 272; (*as men?*) *redð* : (*seidð*) 692; *dredð* : (*dedð*) 830; (*þeih*) *be* 287, 341?, 414. The rime contributes a plural in *-ð*: (*we*) *findð* : (*winde*) 669. Examples not verified by rime are: *fallen* 170; *finden* 518; *wolën* 272. *comen* 240, 280, *sholen* 416 occur with synecopated *-e-*. Contracted plural forms are: *han* 384; *fint* (or sing.?) 785.

*Suljunctive.* Present endings are *-ð* and *-e-*, 2nd pers.: *shonð* : (*wone*) 105; *missð* : (*wisse*) 120; *þu knowð* 74; *berð* 671; 3rd pers. in *-ð*: *she turnð* 966; *hauð*? (with apocope) 837; *be* : (*se*) 872.

*Imperative singular.* The riming couplet introduces no example of the imperative, but the text affords illustration. Here the distinction active in Chaucer (cf. ten Br., § 189) of the preservation through weakened endings of the O.E. inflection remains. The subdivision into strong and weak imperatives seems still extant through ending in *-ð* for weak verbs: *Herknð* 137, 419; *louð* 329; *hanð* (Mätzner II., p. 29) : (*sane*) 477; *Lokð* 488; but *Long* with apocope 113.

<sup>1</sup> *sit* = absorption of inflectional *þ* with *t* of the radical. See *halt*, *tit*, and *fint*.

Making allowance for possible *hiatus*, e.g. *Hérknē*, *and* 328; *Herkne*? 348, 378; *Lok* 758, 768. Often divergence from the strong verb is not marked, and the two classes fall together in forms without -ē. Singular, weak: *lef* 392, 866; *Put* 476; *þenk*? 493; *Cast* 647; *sped* 865; *Bring* 970. Strong: *lat* (possibly through contraction) 143, 777; *Nym* 553; *Forȝif* 541, 555; *tak* 770; *Go* (anv.) 855; *Do* 969; *ȝif* 1012. Romance imperatives end in -ē: *Vse* 82.

*Plural.* Plural endings seem to be -ēþ: *Herknēþ* 1, 790; *Sittēþ* 790; *Comēþ* 423; *Listnēþ* 753; *Wasshēþ* 816, 824, 848. Remnant of an older form is illustrated in *gōþ* 445; see Schleich, p. 6. Riming forms contribute no important testimony for the *Speculum*.

*Participle.* The present participle is wanting in MS. A<sub>1</sub> of the *Speculum*, but A<sub>2</sub>.D.H<sub>1</sub>.R read *suffrand* (Northern form) 587, and A<sub>2</sub>.D.R offer *suffrande* 597 (H<sub>2</sub> *sufferynge*, A<sub>1</sub> *suffraunt*), the Anglo-Norman participle in adjective construction.

*Verbal substantives in -ing* (or -ingē). Verbs are of frequent occurrence in rime and text: *beginning*: (*þing*) 7, 884; *beginning*: *ending* 210; *deiing*: *ending* 278; *shining* 382; *speking* 330; *woniȝing*: *deseruing* 314, : (*þing*) 317; *pining*: *brenning* 182, : (*king*) 899. In -ingē ?: *mourningē* (*mōurnīng* ? 123) : (*springē*, inf.) 125.

§ 2. Forms that may be referred to the first and second preterit stems.

*Preterit. Strong verbs.* Ablaut variations of the O.E. are preserved in the *Speculum*: *tok* : *forsok* 34; *drouh* : (*inouli*) 44; *bar* : (*war*) 46; *bicam* : *nam* 246; *lay* : (*day*) 249; *steih* 253; *sauh* 347, 350, 355, 374; *iseih* : (*heih*) 369, 991; *vnderstod* : (*god*) 462, 939; *barl* 571; *eam* : (*man*) 589; *gan* (in pleonastic construction) 641, 642; *slowen* 438.

*Preterit. Weak verbs.* The second person ends in -ēst: *noldēst* 659, and the preteritive-present *counfēst* 657. Syncopation occurs in *huddlestū* 579; *woldestū* 873; *maiton* 343. See also *mait* 881, *mīht* 1005. Otherwise weak verbs end in -ēl, -ēd, -ēt. *Singular verbs.* (a) In -ēl: *liuēlē* 38; *birēlē* 133; *answerēlē* 971; *Grauntēlē* 988. (b) The weak ending recurring more frequently is -ēdē, illustrated as follows: *louedē* 35; *answeredē* : *heriedē* (i. e. through analogy with the present, ten Br., § 162) 66; *hadē* : *madē* 244; *deielē* 248, 528; *shewedē* 361; *dedē* : (*stedē*) 598; *answeredē* 981; *seidē* (i. e. *sedē*) 965; *liuedē* 1004. Variation of the radical vowel occurs in *laddē* 42. Plural verbs: *woldēn* 268; *woldē* 530; *sernedē* (2 pers. pl.) 452; *dedē* : (*stedē*) 603. With apocope: *halde* 454.

Apocope and elision are also active in the following instances of singular verbs. With apocope : *kudde* 178; *madę* 213; *woldę* 529. With elision : *birede* 133; *dede* 230; *seide* 411. Syncope and elision are both marked in *deiedę* 144, 531, and *liuedę* 192. The *d* of the ending is lost? in *sendę* : (*amendę*) 575, 951; *senlę* : (*spende*) 989.

(c) Forms in *-tę* : *wronhtę* : *bouhtę* 26; *þouhtę* 32. In *-te* : *bouhte* 236. Resulting from assimilation of the termination and the final vowel of the radical occur *grettę* : *mettę* 350, 960, but *grette* (with elision) 353, *putte* 994, and *sente* (before *h-*) 50; *kest* introduces a contracted form 992. Preteritive-present forms are : *mihtę* (1. sing.) 292; (3. sing.) 368, 376, 398. With elision : *Mihtę* 291, 366, 367, 396.

*Past Participle of strong verbs.* The participle ends in *-ē*, but forms occur in *-en*. (a) In *-ē* or with loss of *-n* : *inomę* 644, 646; *boundę* : (*stounlę*) 710; *ilorę* : (*wharf*) 715; *shrińę* : (*liue*) 758, 768; *forȝetę* 764; *þounlę* 773; *ietę* : (*mete*) 984; *do* : (*so*) 174; : (*go*) 876. (b) In *-n* : *born* : *lorn* 130; *don* : (*non*) 264; *ilon* : (*non*) 546; *don* 802, 837; *ȝolden* 932. A syncopated form is *comen* 67; *nomen* 649.

*Past Participle of weak verbs.* The weak participle ends in *-ēl*, resp. *-el* and *-t*. (a) In *-ēd* : *Ibiriēd* 249; *wemmēd* 366; *preuēd* (or *preued*, type C?) : *ishewēl* (?) 399; *ifilēd* 410; *dampmēd* 432; *chargēl* 468; *ashumēd* : *ugramēd* 794; *elepēd* 857; *irekenēd* 869. In *-ed* : *woneēd* 259 (or *wonēd*, clerical form *wont*); *ȝarkēl* 300; *ashameēl* 809. Romance forms are *anuiēd* 124; *Sauñēd* 128; *honurēd* 521, 632. (b) In *-t* : *ikanht* 17; (*i)bouht* 160, 172, 226; (*i)pylt* 232, 888; *agilt* : *fulfilt* 308; *gilt* 556; *iwrōuht* : (*noht*) 580, 803; *caiht* : (*mait*) 882; see also *leid* 592; *ajerl* 685. A contracted form is *misseił* 538, 591; and the Fr. Pie. *kanht* 17. *couþ* occurs (O.E. *cūþ*; Goth. *kunþ-s*) 814.

*The prefix *i-* in the past participle.* The prefix *i-* is undoubtedly to be read. Stürzen-Becker, p. 74, writes concerning the value of this prefix in East Midland poems. It is illustrated in *King Horn* : *ihorn* 140; *inome* 160. Its value in the metrical verse is pointed out in the accompanying selections :

- v. 17 : For, whán þe wórlđ · þe háþ ikáuht.
- v. 546 : Off tréspas, · þát þu hást idón.
- v. 580 : But ás hit wás · þurw góð iwróuht.
- v. 715 : Góstli wit · he háþ ilóre.
- v. 724 : þurw dédli sinne · iffléð ís,
- v. 803 : And fóule símnes · háþ iwróuht.

Indication of inheritance from reduplicating verbs is to be noted in the *Speculum*. Derivatives from *lētan*, *rēlan*, *feallan*, *healdan*, *gongan*, *cnāwan* find representatives in this poem, chiefly through infinitives. Cf. the contracted form *halt* 171; *held* 593; *lat* 315; *gange : (longe)* 761; *knowe : (lowe)* 180, 629.

Contracted participles are to be noted in *idlemp* (O.E. *gedēmed*, *gedēmde*, Siev. 406, N.) : *nempt* (O.E. *genemde*) 136, but on the other hand gemination is not simplified in the weak participle *wemmēd* 366. A remnant of the old ending is marked in *goþē* (the -*ē* added through false analogy) : (*loþe*) 448; for *goþē* : (*soþe*), v. 469 of the *Rolandshied*, see Schleich, pp. 6 and 13 (*Prolegomena*), and Wölker's note *Anglia*, III., p. 402. The MSS. vary in the orthography of the inflectional terminations, the later MSS. contributing Midland and Northern forms.

The examples cited in the preceding pages show, it is believed, that the poet pronounced *e* in unaccented syllables, and particularly in unaccented inflectional syllables. This principle governed the composition of words. The *e*, organic or inorganic, standing between the parts of a compound word was sounded by the poet. MS. A<sub>1</sub> often omits this *e*, and thus places two accented syllables in immediate juxtaposition. Conclusions regarding *e* in the unaccented syllables have been collected in the two following sections.

#### *Composition.*

An unstressed -*ē*, required by the rhythm between principal and subordinate syllables in words of Teutonic or of Romance origin and frequently written in that position by the later MSS.,<sup>1</sup> rarely by MS. A<sub>1</sub>, has often the place of an unaccented syllable with its equivalent value. Orrm illustrates this phenomenon (cf. Sachse, p. 63), and it exists in Chaucer. Illustrations contributed by the *Speculum* are as follows: *loūrede* 177; *soþenesse* 346, 411, 664; *soþiliche* 525, 609; *mildēliche* 605; *trewēliche* 610; *fōrȝiñenesse* 683; *aperfēliche* 385, 416; *knowēlache* 509; *knowēlaching* 725; Fr. derivatives: *amendēment* 56; *ingēment* 265, 878; *verreēment* 877; the Eng. *dirkūessē* (MSS. D.II<sub>1</sub>) 114, (MISS. A<sub>2</sub>-D) 306. In opposition to these conclusions the following instances are to be cited, where -*e*- is not marked by distinctive syllabic value: *soþenesse* or *soþenesse* 722; *Wrahfūl* 262; *seknesse* 187; *Steleafast* 85; *līltliche* 198; *Sodeyneliche* 882; *delli* 710, 713; *soþeliche* 441.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. show much divergence in the introduction of this inorganic -*e*.

It would seem, that distinction should be made between the verse omitting the unaccented syllable through the deliberate intent of the poet, and the verse corrupt through the scribe. This alternative renders some forms difficult of classification. Cf. notably: verses 81, 125, 305, 360, etc. Allowance must be granted type C in a few instances. To be noted possibly for fluctuating accent is *neihēboure* 535.

### *Final -e.*

Conclusions involved in the discussion of the preceding sections, depending on the historical verification of phonological and inflectional classification, are approximately determinative with reference to the syllabic value of the final -e of the poem. Regarded from a position within the line as testified to by the rhythm, and at times confirmed by instances representing the riming system, it seems evident that the poet pronounced final -e and the -e of inflectional syllables, and that the final -ē of Romance words was still a distinct syllable. Double forms having the same syntax are attested to (cf. *mouþe*, *mouþ*, etc.) by the *Speculum*, and are reconciled by rime and metre. Evidence for the -e before the cæsura is subject to modification, due to the existence of the types C and E.

Conclusive in the history of the poem is the decision that the value of the -e in inflectional syllables has not been lost, that important dissyllabic forms have not been reduced to monosyllables; and, it is confirmed, that the poet, as master of language, availed himself with true æsthetic spirit of the license of the use of forms fluctuating in syllabic value within the verse and at the rime.

## CHAPTER XV.

### DIALECT AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE *SPECULUM*.

#### § 1. *The Dialect of the Poem.*

“Is your own land indeed so far away,<sup>1</sup>  
As by your aspect it would seem to be?”  
“But trusteth wel, I am a sotherne man.”<sup>2</sup>

THE phonological and the inflectional systems of the *Speculum* afford criteria for the investigation of the dialect of the poet. The following testimony is of value in the discussion :

1. Obvious is the Southern element in the language of the poet in rigid distinction from the Northern, as is indicated through the

<sup>1</sup> Rossetti's translation of Dante's *Vita Nuova*.

<sup>2</sup> Chaucer, *Persones Ta'e, Prologue*, v. 42.

following combinations. *Nōn* is embodied in rime with *dōn* (pp.) 263 and with *ilōn* 545, etc. *alsō* occurs with *dō* 9, 207, 897. *gō* is united with *dō* (pp.) 875; *þō* with *miselō* 557; *mō* with *dō* 273; and *sō* with *dō* 173, 673. *wō* is in rime with *dō* 484 and 917.

2. The representative vowels *i, ī, < O.E. y, ȳ* (umlaut of *u, ū*), in rime with *stable i ī*, offer conclusive evidence for Midland dialect. Conclusive Midland forms are found in the following combinations: *mymle* with *binde* 496; and *pride* with *side* 656; *sinnē : winnē* 131, 472, 693, 845, 1007; *sinnē : widinnē* 117; *sinnē : blinnē* 713; *sinnē : innē* 732; *sinnē : þerinnē* 839; *sinnē : biginnē* 902; *puite : luite* 924. The self-rimes, *pride : huide* 158; *mindē : kindē* 620; *agilt : fulfilt* 308; *gilt : pylt* 232, and *gilt : ipult* 888, contribute nothing in the specification of the dialect, but confirm the testimony of decisive rimes.

3. Conclusive for Midland influence is the inflectional form in the plural of the present indicative. The ending *-ē* is uniformly returned by riming couplets: (*we*) *findē* : (*windē*) 669; (*men*) *redē* : (*seidē* for *sedē*) 692; *linē* (3 plu.) : (*ziue*, inf.) 184. The number of these forms is increased by the plurals of the regular text in its various MSS. Cf. *fallēn* 170; *sholēn* 281, 288, 295, 309, etc.

4. A Midland country in its Eastern division or a Southern neighbourhood is the evidence of *geþ* : (*unmeþ*) 616, third person singular, and possibly *seþ* (subject, *men = one*) : *beþ* (plu.) 818. Inflection by means of *-est* and *-ēþ* in the second and third persons singular is abundant in positions not supported by the rime. Indefinite is the form *sist* : *bist* 554. The text also affords plural verbs marked by the Southern ending *-ēþ*: *beþ* 23, 97; *louēþ* 23; *seiþ* 339; *bisekēþ* 504; *Mahēþ* 828; *pinkēþ* 150; *wasshēþ* 825.

5. Apparently contradicting a claim to Midland origin through a form peculiar to the Kentish vocabulary but used by Chaucer, is the rime *fyr* : *her* (O.E. *hér*) 451; *fire* : *here* (O.E. *hýran, hýran*, Angl. *hýran*, *i*- umlaut of *éā*) has no value in determining dialect, see Kölbing, *Sir Beues*, p. xvi. *dede* : *stede* 598, 603, may be read *dide* : *stide*, or *dude* : *stude*. *dide* (sing. or plu.) is explained by Morsb. § 130, Anm. 6, as representing an older *i* (*y*); *stede* preserves Kentish *-e-*; see reference to Siev., *Beitr.*, vol. xvi., p. 235, Morsb., § 132, Anm. 2. This form is employed by *Rbt. of G.*, v. 330, but it was found in all parts of England; cf. *Gen. and Ex.*, 1298, 1836. For *styde*, see Streitberg, *Urgerm. Gram.*, p. 44, N. 1.

6. Southern is the infinitive in *-i, y*: *herkny* : (*merci*) 523;

*comforti* : (*witerli*) 688. The text offers: *singy* 714; *wonye* 634. These infinitives are not incompatible with Midland authorship, as will be recognized by comparison with *King Horn*: *werie* 1411; *chaunpi* (Fr. origin) 1076.

7. Through the prefix *i-* (O.E. *ge*), required by the metre, and the loss of the inflectional final *-n*, the past participle is recognized as Southern in development: *inome* : (*some*) 644; *ilore* : (*wharfore*) 715. The Midland *King Horn* duplicates the phenomenon, verses 140, 162, 484, 500, 548, etc.

8. The normal form *seide* (O.E. *séde*) of frequent recurrence and verified by rime as follows: *seide* (MS. *seide*) : (*drede*) 140, 494, : (*rede*) 168, 691, characteristic of Southern poems, is, according to Sarrazin (*Octavian*), specifically a Kentish feature; cf. Wilda's note, p. 51, Pabst's, p. 26, Menze's, p. 21, and Brandl, *Anzeiger für d. Alt. xix.* 101. *seide* : (*rede*) 155, 223; *seide* : (*dele*) 131, occur in the *Poema Morale*. *seide* in rime with *drede*, *rede*, etc., is the reading of *Sir Benes*; see Kölbing, p. xv. *ful iwis* 285, 337, and *mid iwis* 309, 689 occur in Southern poems; cf. *Poema Morale* 40, 141, 154, (*mid nane jwisse*) 236, 375, 391; *On God Ureisun of Ure Lefili* 6; *De Muliere Samaritana* 37, 53. *henne* (O.E. *heonon*) : (*kenne*) 297, contributes a Southern rime, Sarrazin and Carstens, p. 8, Nessmann, p. 10.

9. Significant for Western origin is the couplet *fire* : *duire* (Fr. *durer*) 282, see *Rbt. of G.* 3760, *dure* : *fure*, but *dnre* : *fuire* occurs in *Alisaunder* 4322, a Southern poem with Kentish peculiarities. The *ui* represents the orthography of the *Ancren Ricle*, *Hali Meidenhad*, etc., Morsb., §§ 132, 133, 2 Anm. 2. The possibility of determinative value for dialectical purposes of the rime *puite* : *luite* 923, is weakened through the uncertainty of Anglieists regarding the specific etymology of *puite* (N.E. *put*). It is suggestive of *put* (read *pit*) : *rytte*, *Floris und Blommebeyl.*; cf. Hausknecht, p. 132, 1. The rime is probably *pítte* : *lítte* with unequal quality, see Morsb., § 129, Anm. 4, b, and p. 181.

Other couplets, calling to mind a South-western country, unfortunately do not occur in such connection as to become of value in the investigation. *ipult* : *gilt* 888 (cf. v. 232), *miche* : *uperteliche* 386, and : *lifflíche* 671, *churche* : *worhe* 859, are not significant in dialectical study. They may be read with equal correctness *ipilt*, *miche*, *chirche* : *wirche*. *turne* : *sterne* 435, apparently characteristic of the Kentish dialect, is not impossible in Midland dialect, and is actually the form of *Orrm.* 961; cf. Morsb., p. 167.

Examining the conclusions derived from the foregoing paragraphs, the preponderance of testimony, contributed by the mass of phonetic and inflectional characteristics, argues for the poem a Midland nativity. Sporadic forms locate the poet in an East Midland territory, perhaps in the neighbourhood of *Floris and Blancheflur* or *King Horn*, a poem also coloured with strictly Kentish characteristics. But this original home must have been far to the South, on proof of characteristic elements of the language. Some margin must be conceded in this judgment, for a poet of advanced culture in his age, as was illustrated in Chaucer, might have left the mark of the breadth of his culture in the variety of phonological elements represented in his speech. Still it would seem, that many Southern characteristics, and the combined value of the Southern features, would indicate that the environment of the poem was to some degree Southern.<sup>1</sup> The Western elements of the poet's language are not essentially farther to the West than are those of the *Hali Meidenhad*, *Katherine*, and other lives of saints, comprising Professor Morsbach's Katherine-group. With due regard, then, for rimes that might, *primâ facie*, indicate other locality, it would seem that the phonetic elements of the language of the *Speculum* combine in ascribing the *Speculum* to a country intermediate in position between the East and the West, but eastern rather than western. The poem has the colouring of the dialect spoken near the Midland boundary, possibly in a territory not far removed from the home of the legends of the saints, represented by the legend of *Katherine*, but in the associated neighbourhood of *Sir Beues*; see characteristics summarized by Kölbing, pp. xx., xxi.

### § 2. Chronology of the *Speculum*.

Absolute evidence affording even approximately an exact date for the composition of the *Speculum* has not been discovered. On ground of external test its ulterior terminus is naturally the limit of its oldest transcript. As an individual member of the Auchinleck collection, palaeographical considerations suggest that the *Speculum* be regarded as a representative of the early decades of the 14th century. Important testimony is contributed by Zupitza, testing the

<sup>1</sup> In the early study of the dialect of the *Speculum*, in April 1894, the editor regarded the poem as a type of Middle-Kentish (borrowing Danker's phrase) literature. On later consideration it seemed that the rimes *i*, *i* (O.E. *y*, *ȝ*) : *i*, *ȝ* (O.E. *i*, *ȝ*) are sufficiently numerous to be evidence of Midland environment; this a suggestion of Zupitza in 1894, later confirmed by Kölbing, both in personal communication with the editor.

age of *The Riming Chronicle*, *Liber Rerum Anglie*, Auch. 40; see *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen*, vol. lxxxvii., p. 90. He recognizes as determinative basis the period of King Edward the Second (Ed. II.), the Auchinleck list of kings continuing to 1327 through the reign of that monarch. Zupitza writes: *die in ihr (i. e. the Auch. MS.) gegebene Version der Chronicle of England geht bis zum Regierungsantritte Edward III.* Directly interpreted this specific transcript could not have been completed earlier than 1327, and, if Virgilian philosophy be valid, *ab uno discet omnes*, the *Speculum* on this proof could not be ascribed to a date earlier than 1327. The examination of the massive "Aflleck" folio with its exquisite workmanship, and with the indication of the existence of large numbers of finely wrought illuminations belonging to the original volume, suggests that the mechanical execution of details of such delicacy could have demanded that an interval of a number of years intervene between the transcription of No. 10 and the completion of No. 40. The year 1325 might then be a generous limit *ad quem* for the *Speculum*. Considerable uniformity in the handwriting indicates that the transcripts were prepared at approximately the same general period. The *Speculum* bears, it is true, a different script. That change in text does not necessarily indicate a later interpolation, but rather the influence of another copyist, as seems confirmed in the fact that the ninth selection bearing the original number XIV., immediately preceding the tenth piece, original number XV., contains near the bottom of fol. 38*d* instructions for the copyist, the first line of folio 39*a* in the handwriting of the scribe of No. XIV: *Herkne al to mi spech* (cf. text), also the hand of text XVI. immediately following the *Speculum*. That this marks no irregularity, is further attested through the circumstance that the various articles follow<sup>1</sup> each other in orderly sequence,<sup>2</sup> apparently not disturbed by any irregularity in workmanship; cf. also Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, vol. vii., p. 183.

Various limits have been proposed dating this choice relic of Boswell's library. Numerous speculative periods, individual problems,

<sup>1</sup> "The poems regularly follow each other. There is no reason to believe that the alteration in script indicates earlier or later date than may be reasonably ascribed to the rest of the works;" see Scott, *Sir Tristrem*, pp. evii., eviii.

<sup>2</sup> The Auchinleck MS. was, it will be recalled, the property of Alexander Boswell, father of Johnson's celebrated Boswell. The manuscript folio was a gift to the Faculty of Advocates in 1744. Interesting is the history of four of its leaves, the possession of David Laing. These precious parchments had served as covers for books and blanks, until purchased by Laing in 1750.

have been attributed to the Auchinleck texts by its various editors. Kölbing, *Sir Beues*, p. vii., dates the collection not younger than 1327; Scott, *Sir Tristrem* (1804), p. lxxxi., 1330; Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, vol. ii., p. 448, the beginning of the 14th century; Skeat, *Specimens of Early English*, vol. ii., p. xxxix., 1320—1330; Laing, *A Penni worth of Witte*, etc., p. i., “not later than the middle of the 14th century.” “The *Speculum*,” says a well-known Anglicist, “could have been copied into the collection so early as the 1310.” Ritson, questionable authority, *A.E. Metrical Romances*, p. lxxxvi., mentioning the fact, that several poems of the folio refer to the reign of Edward the Second, believes that no romance was entered into the collective MS. before the time of Edward the First. Scott,<sup>1</sup> p. cvii., discusses the possibility of the earlier part of the 14th century, and p. lxxxi., has concluded that the date of the collection does not seem to be much later than 1330. The *Catalogue of MSS.* in the Advocates’ Library, probably influenced by Scott, states indefinitely, about the middle of the 14th century. It would seem, from weight of general testimony, that the compilation of the Auchinleck texts was completed before 1340. That the common original of the MSS. of the *Speculum* could hardly have been transcribed later than 1325, is necessary, if the foregoing evidence be valid. On the other hand, there is nothing to dispute a greater antiquity or a more flowery youth. That the Auchinleck copies be a forgery of the 17th century, as Hazlitt<sup>2</sup> (*Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, vol. i., p. 193) maintains, there is not the smallest proof.

Nor do the sources of the *Speculum* contribute material conducive in marking progress in the solution of the age of the poem recorded. Were the verses 355—368 to be considered as definitely an adaptation of stanza twelve of the fundamental poem underlying Chaucer’s *A. B. C.*, and ascribable to the same source, de Deguileville (cf. chap. x.), then these verses written 1330—1331 (cf. Skeat, *Minor Poems*, 1888, p. xlvii.) contribute inferior date for the *Speculum*; but, although there is nothing seriously incompatible with this assumption, the evidence is not conclusive. The inference is not necessary, for the parallel metaphor was in existence so early as the 12th century, or earlier (cf. *Sources*, chap. x.), and *Legends of Mary*

<sup>1</sup> “The date of the MS. cannot possibly be earlier, and does not seem to be later than 1330,” Scott, p. lxxxi.

<sup>2</sup> After examination of Hazlitt’s note, I find a reference to the same statement in Mall’s *Harrowing of Hell*, p. 5, in which he expresses opinion that Hazlitt’s conclusion is *übertrieben*.

began to be recognized in English literature in the 13th century; cf. Lauchert, *Englische Studien*, vol. xvi., p. 124: *Erst am anfang des 13. jht. erscheint das Marienlied in der englischen litteratur.*

The solution of the question of the chronology is not advanced by the testimony of the MSS. The Guy legend was promulgated no earlier probably than the 13th century, as is the argument of its oldest MS., the Wolfenbüttel Codex, No. 87.4, *Augsteorum Guelferbyt*, of the 13th century. To this century belong the French MSS. of the Bodleian Library. The earliest English MS. does not permit the diminution of years from the history of the *Speculum*. It is a contemporaneous MS. of the Auchinleck collection. The remaining French MSS. and all the English MSS. belong to later centuries. The account of Guido in the *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, Berlin 1872, is of the late 13th century.<sup>1</sup> The *Dictionary of National Biography*, in a carefully discussed article over Guy of Warwick, grants literary form to the saga in the concluding years of the 12th century; ten Brink (*Eng. Lit.*, I. p. 246) believes that "Guy of Warwick and Bevis of Hampton were unknown to saga until they emerge as heroes of Anglo-Norman poems of the 12th century." An editorial note to Percy's *Folio MS.*, vol. ii., p. 509, allots the oldest literary form to the 13th century; Tanner (*Die Saga v. Guy v. Warwick*, p. 34), the 13th century; Jusserand (*Eng. Novel*, p. 39), the 13th century; Ritson, not later than the reign of Edward the First, and in the *Legemæ Cutholice* (1840, cf. chap. ii., § 3), in the 13th or early 14th century; Morley (*Eng. Writers*, vol. iii., p. 276), the 13th century. That the Alexius saga was associated with an English hero in the 11th century (cf. G. Paris, p. 27, and Pannier, p. 340), opens the question as to whether the same germ could have become associated with Count Guido at an early stage of the development of the Alexius literature, and distinct from Guy of Warwick. The theological element in the *Speculum* points to a period of religious awakening,<sup>2</sup> such as was conspicuous in Southern England<sup>3</sup> in the 13th century.

<sup>1</sup> ten Br., I. p. 264. See also *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. of Wilhelm Dick, Erlangen 1890.

<sup>2</sup> Ritson, *Cath. Leg.*, ascribes the folio to "the gloomy fanaticism of a lazy monk" . . . "for the promotion of fanaticism," see pp. xi. and xii.

<sup>3</sup> Ritson, p. v. of *Cath. Leg.*, believes that the Auchinleck texts were written "in some North of England monastery," in opposition to Scott's view that the folio was written in South Britain. Scott's argument is, that every poem that introduces local reference concerns South England, and not a word refers to Scottish affairs. Scott locates the scriptorium of an Anglo-Norman convent as the scene of the workmanship of the Auch. texts (cf. p. cviii.). Laing confirms Ritson's conjecture, but places the location in the extreme North of Scotland.

Were it possible to ascribe connection with “Count Guido’s Address to Guy of Warwick,” Camb. MS. II. I. 33, the history of the *Speculum* could be conveyed to a more remote period. This MS. is attributed to the 12th century, but the text seems to represent virtually an 11th-century version. The language is archaic. Old forms are used intelligently. The weakening of unaccented vowels is not abundant. Full vowels are employed consistently. Such conditions would place the O.E. *Liber* so early as the year 1000 or 1025. Some points of coincidence could be traced more readily between the *Speculum* and the MS. *Vesp. D*, xiv., fol. 104 a ff., described in Hiekes’ *Thesaurus, the Wanley Catalogue*, pp. 246 ff.; cf. Assmann, *Anglia*, xi., p. 371, and *Homilien und Heiligenleben, Bibliothek der A.S. Prosa*, vol. iii., pp. 246 ff., probably the composition of one of the School of Ælfric, as Assmann suggests. This work has been ascribed to the last years of the 12th century; cf. Nehab, *Der altenglische Cato*, a Berlin dissertation, 1879, pp. 32—41. This premise would give the vantage ground of a hundred years to the earlier cited 13th century. The cogency of such a premise would be disputed; cf. Morsb. i., § 1, Anm. 1. The *Liber* is not of service in ascribing terminology to the *Speculum*, but internal tests, theological, aesthetical, metrical, phonological, ascribe to the poem an early composition.

The theology of the poem contributes no facts useful in establishing its exact age. Mediæval theories of hell fires, heaven’s blisses, popular versions of the fall of Lucifer, reproduce tone and feeling of ages earlier than the 12th century, where these attributes of Christian doctrine are preserved; cf. *O.E. Homilies* edited by Morris (E. E. T. S.). It is possible that the hypothetical period allotted to the authorship of the *Speculum* finds terminus at one extreme by the date 1325. It is not probable that the poem was materially a later product, and it may be inferred that it was a much earlier composition. That conclusion will be in harmony with the history of associated Romance poems. Scott’s protracted and tireless search for Thomas the Rhymer placed the composition of *Sir Tristrem* in 1250. *Sir Beues*’s history begins with the 13th century, Kölbing, p. xxxviii.

Internal evidence of the poem, on basis of phonological and inflectional investigation, will probably demonstrate that the poem was not the product of a period earlier than 1250. Compare the chapters over *Phonology* and *Inflection*.

1. The lengthening of the short vowel in open syllables had already occurred. Whether this linguistic change immediately preceded or immediately followed 1250, the date of the composition of the *Speculum* must be associated with a later period.

2. O.E. *ā* had passed into *ō*. This could not have occurred later than 1250; cf. Morsb., § 64, and Napier, *Compassio Mariae*, p. 84.

3. In harmony with these conclusions is the retention of final *-ē* in the language of the poet. This recurs with a fair degree of constancy. Compare the section over final *-e*. The *Speculum* is an early production, yet naturally it does not represent a composition on the immediate boundary of the O.E. period, the weakening of the O.E. full vowel having occurred long before. On the other hand, it is to be conjectured that it may present an early phase in the history of the M.E. poetry.

4. Were the diphthongic character of *e + o* (*ēo*?), for example, to be regarded as an internal trait of the *Speculum*, that feature would attest to the antiquity of the original; cf. Napier, p. 86. The transition stage in the orthography *ei*, *Streinfe*, l. 305, suggests early condition of the language.

In conclusion,<sup>1</sup> it is to be said that the poem, the *Speculum*, must be ascribed to a period *circa* 1300. The limits seem certainly within the boundaries 1250—1325. The authority of the phonology of the text would justify the hypothesis of the existence of the poem even before the concluding years of the 13th century.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### AUTHORSHIP OF THE *SPECULUM*.

#### § 1. *Conjectured Authorship.*

1. *Lydgate.* The *Library Catalogue* of the MSS. of the British Museum classifies the MS. Harley 525 (*H<sub>2</sub>*) among texts of John Lydgate. Certain external evidence might tend to justify this arrangement. Metrical, grammatical, and dialectical features of the transcript preserved in MS. *H<sub>2</sub>*, and particularly the name of the central figure of the narrative, suggest, at casual glance, Lydgate. Moreover, to ascribe the paternity of a M.E. poem to John Lydgate<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A chapter on *The Style of the Speculum* could be appropriately introduced at this point; but the more conspicuous characteristics of the poem have demanded so full a discussion, that it seems wise to reserve the investigation for a special article.

<sup>2</sup> For the authentic works of Lydgate, see Schick, pp. exii, and cliv, clv.

is a fallacy of the age.<sup>1</sup> It is a fallacy in this instance, for the author of the *Speculum* was probably dead before Lydgate was born. 1368 is the earliest year<sup>2</sup> to which the birth of the monk of Bury is ascribed; 1370 is probably the more correct limit.<sup>3</sup> The original poem of which MS. H<sub>2</sub> is a late transcript must certainly have been in existence in 1327, forty years and more before the advent into the world of "that approbate" priest, its reputed author. The poet must indeed be permitted the privilege of birth before that of authorship. *Poeta nascitur non fit.* Contrary to circumstantial evidence, history offers facts *a priori* not to be controverted. John Lydgate's claim to the authorship of the *Speculum* is ungrounded. The argument is *reductio ad absurdum* on proof of the earliest MS. of the poem. It might be intimated, that the *Catalogue* of the Harleian collection be placed "under correcciooun."<sup>4</sup>

2. *Alquin versus Aleuin.* The *Speculum* testifies concerning its authorship. Thus it is learned who wrote the sermon for Guy: "Alquin was his rihte name," l. 39. Sir James Foulis, according to Ritson, *A. E. M. R.* I. p. xciii, explains that *Alquin* was "a Scotch Highlander." On investigation it might seem that Sir James is a myth, as is his Scotchman. History provides no direct personality for these two gentlemen. In the records of the family Sir James Foulis,<sup>5</sup> ancestor of the race, Burgess of London, died in 1549, and his grandson,<sup>6</sup> Sir James Foulis, the last Lord Colinton, two generations removed, died in 1688; cf. the interesting records made public in *The Account Book of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston, 1671—1707*, by Rev. A. W. Cornelius, Edinb. 1894. Yet if Sir James cannot be identified in person, it is not impossible that Ritson refers to some

<sup>1</sup> "The great names of literature have always been made the official fathers of unclaimed productions;" cf. Gollancz, *Pearl*, pp. xliv and xlv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also ten Brink, *Gesch. der Engl. Litt.*, ed. Brandl, Bd. II, p. 273 (Engl. ed.), where the dates 1371 and 1373 are offered for consideration.

<sup>3</sup> Schick, *Temple of Glus*, p. lxxxvii.

<sup>4</sup> The circumstance is worthy of Lydgate. His search after opportunity for self-deprecatory phraseology is in attempted imitation, perhaps, of Chancer, his "maister"; cf. *Prologue to the Persones Tale*, v. 56 (v. 17367, Tyrwhitt's enumeration),

"(But natheles this meditacion)  
I putte it ay vnder correccioon."

Compare Schick's discussion of the question, pp. cxl and exli, with quotation from *Troilus*, III, 1283, p. lxxxv, "alle under correccioon."

<sup>5</sup> The figure of Sir James Foulis is to be recognized in the group of Scottish nobles, portrayed on the famous window adorning the parliamentary buildings, Edinburgh.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Genealogical Tables accompanying the Foulis *Account Book*.

descendant of the family<sup>1</sup> Foulis, whose members have long been influential in the affairs of Scotland. Although no literary record authorizes the testimony of Foulis, still Ritson's quotation might be based upon some personal communication. The statement accredited to Sir James may be accounted for on various grounds. The *Speculum* could easily be regarded as the product of the authorship of that Alquin or Aleuin of Britain, *nom de plume* of Jacob Ilive, who "went on a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land," and whose pseudo-translation into English of the *Book of Jasher*<sup>2</sup> was published in 1751. Another hypothesis is, that Foulis might have been misled by the orthography. Finding a clue in a phonological test he might have conjectured the -*qu*- of Alquin to indicate Scotch origin. On the supposition of further investigation on the part of Foulis, Albinus, *Aleuin Albinus Flaccus*, could have suggested to him a native of Alban or a home in Alban. In this manner Alquin (Aleuinus) could have been converted into a Scotchman without having ever trod the Alban soil. But these conjectures are not supported, for the language and vocabulary of the *Speculum* do not indicate Scottish source for the original poem. Ritson attempts to correct the error<sup>3</sup> of Foulis, explaining that the Alquin here meant (*i. e.* in the *Speculum*) was Alquinus = Albinus Aleuinus, a Saxon-Engleishman at the court of Charlemagne; cf. *A. E. Metrical Romaneës*, p. xci. A blunder equally grave is involved in Ritson's explanation, for *Ealhwine* was, of course, no Saxon.

On the other hand, the underlying Latin text, *De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber*, is by no means so conspicuous as source of the *Speculum* as to give to Aleuin, Alcuinus, Albinus Flaccus, who died in 804, preceptor of Charlemagne, any claim to the authorship of the present text. Rather the poem stands as an individual product. Its author, the poet, must be responsible for the entire composition.

3. *The poet of Ipotis as author of the Speculum.* Concerning alleged claim of the same authorship for the *Speculum* and for *Ipotis*, nothing is to be proved. On purely external evidence the personal

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be no connection between the family of Sir James and that of the eminent Glasgow printers to the University, which has identified the name Foulis with immaculate prints of the classics. Robert Foulis's *Demetrius Phalereus on Elocution*, 1742, the first Greek text printed in Glasgow, and the celebrated edition of *Horace*, 1744, have immortalized themselves in the memory of *literati*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Holy Scriptures*, Josh. x. 13 : 2 Sam. i. 18.

<sup>3</sup> No explanation occurs through Sir Henry Foulis's (Bart.) *Relation of a bloody fight*, etc.

character of the two poets is at the two diverging extremes of development. The same poet could have written the two poems only under different degrees of inspiration, or under varying conditions of life. *Ipotis* stands for a cruder nature, a narrower phase of experience. The artistic element is marked in the *Speculum*, but the poet of *Ipotis* permits all the machinery of his workmanship to be visible in rigid harshness.

As for internal tests, there are none of importance to cite. A few parallel passages are to be quoted; a few coincidences in construction can be traced. But no peculiar merit is to be ascribed to a common use of terms like the following (see Gruber, *Zu dem mittelenglischen Dialog ‘Ipotis’*; Berlin, 1887): *herene may wynne* (MS. D) 25, *Spec. 5*; *dedly synne* 26, *Spec. 724*; *herene blysse* 30, *Spec. 309—10*; *in hys seruyse* B 612, *Spec. 36*. Prayer Book descriptions of God, 11. 35—36, *Spec. 207—10*, the Trinity, 11. 54—57, *Spec. 204—6*, an account of the fall of Lucifer, 11. 106—108, *Spec. 635—44*, point to nothing startlingly original in mental activity. The rimes are ordinary and do not contribute evidence marking connection with the *Speculum*. Both poems account for authorship on weirdly impossible grounds. It will be remembered that the *Ipotis* attributes its source to the apostle John, a theory fallacious on its surface, as well as assured by the crude verse. The assumption is without the grounds for possibility that must be permitted the hypothesis of the *Speculum*. The charming fantasy discovering a personality for Guy of Warwick in Count Guido is not reproduced in the awkward assurance of verses 613—616:

“Seynt Jou þe evangeliste,  
þat ȝede in erþe with Jesn Cryste,  
þis talle he fond in latyn  
And dede it wrytte in parchemyn.”—*Ipotis*, MS. B.

Nothing more striking can, it seems, be cited to clinch the argument of coincidence in the authorship of *Ipotis* and *Speculum*.

## § 2. *The Actual Author of the Speculum.*

“I know him by his harp of gold.”<sup>1</sup>

History has not revealed the name of the poet of the *Speculum*. Whether he be called Lydgate or Alcuin, or whether he remain a nameless spirit, his name is of secondary interest. The man is to be recognized through his work. As to his individuality, as represented

<sup>1</sup> *Tristram and Iscuit*, Part I, v. 19. *Poems by Matthew Arnold*, Macmillan, MDCCCLXXX, p. 132.

in his character and his personality, his mirror reflects his own features. The poet belonged to the clergy, but he was no ordinary priest. He lived no humdrum life of ascetic severity. His horizon was broadened by gifts of homely personal sympathy for his flock. His heavens had midsummer clearness through the beautifying dignity of love to humanity. The poet illustrates forcibly the application of the *Ars Poetica* that tuned the classic lyre of Penshurst and *Arcadia*: *sayle my Muse to mee, looke in thine heart, and write.*

The minstrel's songs peopled for him a glowing world of fancy, a vision of the hero in generous deeds. The knowledge that he uniformly displays of the Holy Scriptures and of the works of the fathers, suggests preparation for the priesthood and recalls hours of study at some monastic school, some English Abbey like that of the Holy St. Martin in France, with "quiet cloisters and gardens, in which the arts of peace<sup>1</sup> could be cultivated," and where a gentle and pious brotherhood could "illumine a martyrology or carve a crucifix."

The *Speculum* testifies to the worth and permanence of the individual; it reveals the story of a life. That life marks triumph over temptation, a longing for the mercy that the poet implores be given, a struggle after holy living, so that *In holinesse his lyf he lulle*, l. 42. The poet has learned the lessons that he would teach, of fortitude, of patience, of hope, of faith, of trust. He has lived through the humility of confession. He has found joy and peace. Aleuin's *Liber* is for him no collection of well-dried statistics. On the contrary, it reproduces his own experience. He has developed character, that gives as well as receives, in sympathy and helpfulness. He has grown not narrowly in mind alone, but in heart, in breadth of soul, in all that for this period could make true and intelligent manhood.

Did this modest country priest take part in church controversy, his attitude must have been that of the humanitarian. His argument would be primarily the doctrine of enforcing principle through laws of Christian brotherhood. He would become the apostle of gentleness, of culture, of kindly speech, the optimistic apostle of joy, the mind at peace, for,<sup>2</sup>

". . . gently comes the world to those  
That are east in gentle mould."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Macaulay.

<sup>2</sup> It was not until a year after the present sketch had been completed, that the editor discovered that a similar theme had served as similar inspiration to Mr. Gollanez in his graceful "hypothetical biography" of the poet of *Pearl*. Cf. pp. xlvi, xlvii, xlviii.

Here gynnere þe sermon

þat a clerk made þat was cleput Alquyn

To Gwy of Warwyk

*Guy of Warwick, in deep remorse, would expiate his offences against God. He told his wish to Alquin, Dean of a religious brotherhood, and asked counsel for the welfare of his soul. The holy friar prepared a sermon, in which he instructed Guy how to discriminate between virtue and vice. The discourse unfolds principles of spiritual growth through a twofold medium, the renunciation of evil and the achievement of good. Alquin concludes with an appeal for benevolence, which is enforced by an account of the incident of the widow of Zarephath.*

# Speculum Gy de Warewyke.

<b>H</b> erkneþ alle to my speche,	39 a	Hearken!
And hele of soule i may ou teche.		I teach of the soul's health.
þat i wole speke, it is no fable,	4	
Ac hit is swiþe profitable.		
Man, if þu wolt heuene winne,		To win heaven, love God and
þurw loue to god þu most biginne.		
þus shal ben þi beginning :	8	
þu loue god ouer alle þing		
¶ And þin emeristene loue also,		thy fellow• Christian.
Riht as þi-self[e] þu most do.		
If þu wolt þus biginne and ende,	12	
þu miht be seker to heuene wende ;		Flee the world.
Ae, if þu lonest more worldes god		
þan god him-self[e] in þi mod,		
þu shalt hit finde an yuel plawe :		
To deþ of soule it wole þe drawe,	16	To death the world's
¶ For, whan þe world þe haþ ikault		
In <sup>1</sup> his paunter þurw his draught,		net drags the soul,

For the title, see the Introduction. The numbering of the folio follows the Auchinleck MS. The character \* reproduces the paragraphing of the Auchinleck text. 1 to] vnto DH<sub>2</sub>. 2 And] om. D. may] wyll A<sub>2</sub>D)H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. 3 no] not R. 4 Ac] Bot DH<sub>2</sub>R. For H<sub>1</sub>, swiþe] ful H<sub>1</sub>R, very gode & H<sub>2</sub>. Between 4 and 5 the following three lines are interpolated in H<sub>2</sub>:

For the sowlys saluaeyowne  
Who soo that herythe þis sermonne

*Incitum sapientie timor domini* (Cp. H<sub>2</sub> in l. 138.)

6 þurw loue] To lone H<sub>1</sub>, to god] of god A<sub>2</sub>D, god H<sub>1</sub>, om. H<sub>2</sub>. 7 and 8 are omitted in H<sub>1</sub>. 7 þus] þis A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. shal ben þil] ys the fyreste H<sub>2</sub>. 8 þu] To A<sub>2</sub>, om. DH<sub>2</sub>, god ouer] wele god abovyn H<sub>2</sub>. 9 emeristene] euen crystyn A<sub>2</sub>)DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. loue] om. A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>, þou lone H<sub>1</sub>. 10 do] do so D. 11 and 12 are omitted in H<sub>2</sub>. 11 If] And if R. 12 miht be] may R. wende] to wende R. 13 Ac if] And þef A<sub>2</sub>D. But and H<sub>1</sub>, Ille H<sub>2</sub>. But if R. worldes] þe worldes A<sub>2</sub>, worldly H<sub>1</sub>, þis worldis H<sub>2</sub>, worldlis R. 15 an] for an H<sub>1</sub>, plawe] lawe (The word was originally plawe, þ can be traced in the erasure.) D. 17 ikault] caught A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>2</sub>R. 18 In] In to H<sub>2</sub>. þurw his] at a A<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub> have and in.

	Al at his wille he wole þe lede.	
and thou	Ne shaltru spare for no drede,	20
shalt suffer.	Ne for loue to god, ne for his eīze, To gon out of þe rihte weye ;	
	¶ For swiche [þer] beþ, þat loueþ more þe world and his foule lore,	24
	þan þeih don god, þat hem wrouhþe And on þe rode [hem] dere bouhþe.	39 b
	¶ Her-of i wole a while dwelle,	
I wish to tell	And a tale i wole ȝou telle	28
of an earl,	Off an eorl of gode fame—	
Guy of War-	Gy of Warwyk was his name—	
wick,	Hou on a time he stod in þouht : þe worldes blisse him þouht noht.	32
how he for-	þe world anon he þer <sup>1</sup> forsok	
sook the	And to Iesu Crist him tok,	
world,	And louede god and his lore	
and chose	And in his seruise was euere more.	36
God.		
A devout	¶ A god man þer was in þilke dawe,	
man,	þat liuede al in godes lawe ;	
Alquin,	Alquin was his rihte name,	
lived then,	And man he was of gode fame ;	40
	Dekne he was, and þe ordre he hadde ;	
	In holinesse his <sup>2</sup> lyf he ladde ;	
	Wit of elergie he hadde inouh,	
	þefore to godnesse euere he drouh.	44
of whom	¶ Off him þe eorl was wel war,	
Guy	þefore his wille to him [he] bar,	

19 Al at] At R. wole] shall H<sub>2</sub>. 20 Ne shaltru] þou shalt not R. 21 Ne for] For noo H<sub>2</sub>, to god] of god A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>, om. H<sub>2</sub>, eīze] awe R. 22 þe] his H<sub>2</sub>, weye] lawe R. 23 For] om. DH<sub>2</sub>, þer] it A<sub>1</sub>DR, bei A<sub>2</sub>, 24 and] þen D, foule] fals A<sub>2</sub>. 25 þeih don god] Iesu eriste H<sub>2</sub>. 26 hem dere] dere A<sub>1</sub>, derv hem A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>, ful dere R. (D has heu dere.) bouhþe] abouȝte H<sub>2</sub>. 27 Her-of] Here R. wole] sall D. while] stounde H<sub>2</sub>. 28 wole] sal D. 30 Gy] Sire Gy H<sub>2</sub>. 31 Hou on] On D, Vppe on H<sub>2</sub>, how in R. 32 þe] þis DH<sub>2</sub>. 33 he þer] he A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>, þer he DR. 34 him] he hym DH<sub>1</sub>, tok] bi toke H<sub>1</sub>. 35 And] He H<sub>2</sub>, his] all his A<sub>2</sub>R, eke bys D (and and in H<sub>2</sub>). 36 in his seruise was] serued hym after R. 37 in] be H<sub>2</sub>, þilke] bat A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. 38 liuede] leued R. al] wele A<sub>2</sub>, wel alle R. in] om. R. 40 And] A A<sub>2</sub>. And a D, A noble H<sub>2</sub>. man he was] man DH<sub>2</sub>, gode] riȝt gude D. 41 and] om. R. þe] om. H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>, he] om. DH<sub>2</sub>. 44 þefore] and þefore R. 45 Off him] þare of A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>2</sub>. was wel] sone was full H<sub>2</sub>. war] I war A<sub>2</sub>D. 45 and 46 are omitted in R. 46 þefore] And þefore A<sub>2</sub>, And alle H<sub>2</sub>. he] om. A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> þer is on erasure in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> MS. H<sub>1</sub> has his his.

- And of him<sup>1</sup> he tok his red,  
¶ To kepen his soule from þe qued. 48  
¶ On a day, i vnderstonde,  
Sire Gy þe eorl sente his sonde  
To þe holi man Alquin  
And seide : '[I]<sup>2</sup> grete þe wel, fader myn,  
And preie þe for godes loue,  
þat us alle sit aboue,  
þat þu wole, par charite  
And in amendment of me,  
¶ Make me a god sarmoun  
And don hit write *in* lesczoun :  
þat were my ioye and my delit  
And to my soule a gret profyt ;  
For þe world þurw his foule gile  
Haþ me lad to longe while.  
þer-of i wole *consail* take,  
Hu i mihte þe world forsake.'
- ¶ Alquin þe eorl þo answerede,  
And Iesu Crist ful ȝerne he heriede,  
þat swich a wit was comen him to  
And seide : ' His preie i wole do.'  
' And, [sethen] i shal be þi leche,  
Aller furst i wole þe teche,  
Faire uertuz for to<sup>3</sup> take  
And foule þewes to forsake.
- ¶ þat maitou noht don, leue broþer,  
Bote þu knowe on and oþer,
- 48 kepen] wyten D. qued] dede D. 49 On] Vpon H<sub>2</sub>. 51 þe] þat R. Alquin] sire alquyn A<sub>2</sub>D. frere Alquyne H<sub>2</sub>. 52 wel] om. H<sub>2</sub>. 53 And] I A<sub>2</sub>, anon I D. 54 us] ouyr vs H<sub>2</sub>. 55 and 56 are omitted in A<sub>2</sub>. 55 par] for H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. 57 Make me] Doo me make H<sub>2</sub>. 58 don hit write] write hit R. lesczoun] a lessoun DR. 59 were] where D. my ioye] ioy A<sub>2</sub>. my delit] grete delyte H<sub>2</sub>. 61 foule] false H<sub>2</sub>. 62 lad] lette H<sub>1</sub>, be lyed H<sub>2</sub>. while] A while H<sub>2</sub>. 63 þer-of] þer for D. wolle] wolde H<sub>2</sub>. 64 þe world] hym H<sub>2</sub>. 65 Alquin] þen Alquyne R. þe eorl þo] þen to þe erle D. sere Gy sone H<sub>2</sub>. þo erle R. 66 And] And swythe H<sub>2</sub>. ful ȝerne] ful werna D. om. H<sub>2</sub>. he] om. A<sub>2</sub>D. 68 His] þi A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. i wole] he wold DR. 69 And sethen] and whan A<sub>1</sub>. Sythe that H<sub>2</sub>. & sithen þat R. be] nu ben A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub>. þi] his H<sub>1</sub>. 70 Aller] Alþere A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. Erle D. furst] ferest H<sub>1</sub>. wole] schal D. 71 for to] to þe D. 72 foule] lethere H<sub>2</sub>. 73 þat] his H<sub>1</sub>. þus R. don] om. A<sub>2</sub>. mynn H<sub>2</sub>. 74 Bote] But ȝyffle H<sub>2</sub>R. on] o ȝyngre A<sub>2</sub>. þat on D. bothe one R. oþer] þat oþer D (ope *in* H<sub>1</sub>).

<sup>1</sup> him is above the line in MS. A<sub>1</sub>. MS. D has hys.<sup>2</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> omits I.<sup>3</sup> to is above the line in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

	I shal þe now shewe boþe, Whiche beþ gode and whiche beþ loþe ;	39 d 76
First, to win grace he taught the virtues in order.	¶ And at þe beste i wole biginne, þe betre grace for to winne. þe uertuz i wole first shewe, Whiche þeih beþ, alle on rewe.'	80
Wisdom shall be thine, also faith, love, steadfast hope, meek- ness, peace, mercy, for- giveness, patience, humility.	‘ Wisdom in godes drede Vse wel, þat be my rede ; Trewe bileue and charite— þise sholen bileue wid þe— Stedefast hope and nienesse, Pes, merci, and forȝifnes,	84
Repent!	¶ Loue of herte, ful of pite, þat is verray humilitate. And þu wolt haue godes ore, ȝit þu most vse more, For þi sinne penaunce, And redi þerfore to don penaunce	88
In penitence confess.	Wid sorwe at þin herte rote, And shriffe of mouþe shal be þi bote. In almes dede and charite þi lyf shal euere more be.	92
Give in char- ity to thy life's end.	¶ þise beþ þe þewes, þat i þe teche, Wharþurw þu miht to henene reche, And so þu miht þe world forsake, If þu wolt hem to þe take.’	96 100

75 and 76 are transposed in A<sub>2</sub>. 75 þe now shewe] shewe to þe now H<sub>1</sub>, the shewe nowe hem H<sub>2</sub>. 77 And at] And A<sub>2</sub>, At H<sub>1</sub>. wole] sal D. 79 i wole] þat I wyll A<sub>2</sub>, I sal D, fyrste I wylle H<sub>2</sub>. first] ȝow H<sub>2</sub>. shewe] chewe (Before chewe space is left for an s.) D. 80 Whiche] þe wyehe D. alle on] now o D, al in H<sub>1</sub>, vpon A H<sub>2</sub>, on a R. 82 be my] I þe D, is my R. Between 82 and 83 are the following two lines in A<sub>2</sub> (Cp. A<sub>2</sub> in ll. 140, 141, and 142.):

Twey þynggys it wyl þe tech  
Whare þorouȝ þou myȝt to heuen rech

83 bileue] loue R. 84 þise] þey H<sub>1</sub>, þese thre R. bileue] leue D, leene R. þe] me H<sub>2</sub>. 85 hope] om. A<sub>2</sub>, boþ H<sub>1</sub>. 87 ful] and fulle H<sub>2</sub>. 89 And] And ȝef A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R, hane] om. R. ore] lore D. 90 vse] doo welle H<sub>2</sub>. 91 sinne] synne haue D. 92 perfore] þare A<sub>2</sub>. 94 And] Wip H<sub>1</sub>, mouþe] mowȝt D. shal be þi] to A<sub>2</sub>, with dede D, wyll be þi H<sub>2</sub>. 95 charite] chaste D, in charyte H<sub>2</sub>. 96 [yf] lyffe also H<sub>2</sub>. 97 þewes] vertues A<sub>2</sub>. ii] I wil R. 98 Wharþurw] Where with H<sub>2</sub>, reche] Areche H<sub>2</sub>. 99 so] thus H<sub>2</sub>. þu] þorow H<sub>1</sub>, miht] mayste H<sub>2</sub>R. 100 wolt hem to] hem wolt to A<sub>1</sub>, wylt heuen to A<sub>2</sub>, wylt þese to D, wylte to thys goodnesse H<sub>2</sub>.

¶ 'Nu i wole nempne <sup>1</sup> þe wicke þewes, þat beþ noht gode, ac muche shrewes, For, if þu dost bi here red[e], To strong[e] pine þeih wolen þe led[e];	40 a	Base vices.
¶ þanne is hit god, þat þu shone To drawe hem into þi wone. Herkne nouþe to me, And i hem wole nempne þe :	104	lead to pain, therefore shun
Pride, wraþþe, and enuie, Fals iugement and tricherie ; Fals witnesse is on of þo— Many a soule itt <sup>2</sup> doþ ful wo. Loue noht to muche þis worldes blisse : Hit bringeþ man to þisternesse, <sup>3</sup>	108	pride, wrath, envy, injustice, faithlessness, false witness- ing.
¶ Auarice and glotonye, Wicke sleuþe and leecherie.' 'Accedie is a wel foul sinne To man, þat he may come widinne, And, what it is, i wole þe wisse, Understond, þat þu ne misse :	112	Avoid worldliness. It induces
¶ Accedie is (as) sleuþes broþer, Wicke on and wicke oþer ; Hit is a derne mourni[n]g in mod And makeþ man annied to do god. Offte þurw swiche mourning[e] Wanhope beginneþ for to spring[e],	116	avarice, glut- tony, sloth, lechery.
101 wole] sall D. nempne] nenen A <sub>2</sub> D (D has new, but the e is hardly distinguishable from o. There is a break in the parchment before wykyd.) H <sub>1</sub> , telle H <sub>2</sub> , þe nemen R. þe wicke] wykyd A <sub>2</sub> D, þis worldly H <sub>1</sub> , þe oþere H <sub>2</sub> . 102 beþ noht gode] are swithe R. ae] bot A <sub>2</sub> DH <sub>1</sub> H <sub>2</sub> , om. R. 103 here] therc H <sub>2</sub> . 105 is hit] it is A <sub>2</sub> DH <sub>2</sub> , is R. 105 reads in H <sub>1</sub> : þeþor loke þou hem shoine. 106 To] For to H <sub>1</sub> R. into] in H <sub>1</sub> . 107 nonþe] now A <sub>2</sub> DH <sub>1</sub> H <sub>2</sub> R. to] wele vnto D, bisily to H <sub>1</sub> . Awlyle to H <sub>2</sub> , vnto R. 108 ij om. R. hem wole] wylle hem D, hom 1 wil R. nempne] schewe A <sub>2</sub> , neuen vnto D, nenen to H <sub>1</sub> . 108 reads in H <sub>2</sub> : And I wylle telle ȝow wheche þei bee. 109 ennie] enueny D. 111 and 112 are transposed in H <sub>2</sub> . 112 ful] myche H <sub>1</sub> , full moche H <sub>2</sub> . 113 þis] om. D. 114 Hit] For it DH <sub>1</sub> . bringeþ] lediþ H <sub>1</sub> , man] a man A <sub>2</sub> H <sub>2</sub> , men DH <sub>1</sub> , mony R. to] vnto R. þisternesse A <sub>2</sub> , dyrkenes DH <sub>1</sub> , Uncerteynnesse H <sub>2</sub> , merkenes R. 116 sleuþe] slownes R. 117 wel] ful R. 119 what] om. A <sub>2</sub> . wole] sall D. 120 Understond] vndirstond wel H <sub>1</sub> , Vndyrstonde yt welle H <sub>2</sub> . ne] not R. 121 as] om. A <sub>2</sub> H <sub>1</sub> H <sub>2</sub> R. sleuþe] slow- nes R. 122 on] is on A <sub>2</sub> R. 123 a] as a A <sub>1</sub> D. 124 And] Hytt H <sub>2</sub> . man] men D. annied] vnneþe D, fro mynde R. 125 Offte] Welofte H <sub>2</sub> . swiche] swiche wicke A <sub>1</sub> A <sub>2</sub> R.	120	[Acedia], the brother of sloth,
	124	attends despair of the mercy of God,

<sup>1</sup> The final e is above the line in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.<sup>2</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> has itc.<sup>3</sup> Read þisternisse.

- þat, bote man turne awey þerfro,  
Sauued worþ he neuere mo. 128
- ¶** Wroþer hele was Iudas born,  
For þurw þat sinne he was lorn ; 40 b  
Merci he les þurw þat sinne,  
Wher-þurw he ne mihte no ioye winne. 132
- Hasten ! **¶** Veh man birede him in his sihte  
Flee that sin. To flen þat sinne bi his mihte  
And alle oþere þat i haue nemþt,  
If he wole to ioye be demþt. 136
- Hearken to my sermon !
- Wisdom
- points two ways to heaven :  
flee sin ; do good.
- The rewards are mercy and peace.
- H** erkne now to my sarmoun,  
What i wole telle in my lesczoun.  
Wisdom in godes drede,  
Off which þat i erere seide,<sup>1</sup> 140 *De Sapientia.*
- ¶** Tweie þinges it wole þe teche,  
Whar-þurw þu miht to heuene reche :  
þat is, lat þi sinne and do god  
For his loue, þat deiede on rod ; 144
- ¶** Ac to late þi sinne al onliche  
Nis noht inouh, sikerliche.  
þu most don god forþ þerwid,<sup>2</sup>  
If þu wolt haue merci and griþ. 148
- 127 þat bote] Bot A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R. Butt yffe H<sub>2</sub>. man] a man A<sub>2</sub>D, men H<sub>1</sub>. turne] lee H<sub>2</sub>. 128 worþ he] worth þei A<sub>2</sub>, shul he be H<sub>1</sub>, maye he be H<sub>2</sub>, bes he R. 129 Wroþer hele] In a earful tyme H<sub>1</sub>, With wroþe hele H<sub>2</sub>. 130 þurw] om. D. lorn] for lorne A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. 131 þurw] for A<sub>2</sub>. 132 ne] om. H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. no ioye] heuen A<sub>2</sub>. 133 birede] I rede A<sub>2</sub>, be redē D, be redy R. him] om. R. 133 reads in H<sub>1</sub> and in H<sub>2</sub>:  
I conseil yche man with al his myȝte H<sub>1</sub>.  
Euyry man behouythe in hys syȝte H<sub>2</sub>.
- 134 flen] flye H<sub>1</sub>. bi] om. H<sub>1</sub>, with H<sub>2</sub>R. his mihte] all his myȝt DH<sub>2</sub>R, bob day and nyȝte H<sub>1</sub>. 135 oþere] þe oþer DH<sub>2</sub>, haue] here H<sub>1</sub>. nemþt] neuuen H<sub>1</sub>. 136 he wole] þai wil R. be demþt] idemþt D, be demened R. 136 reads in H<sub>1</sub>: If ȝe wil come to je blisse of heuen. 137 sarmoun] lessounne H<sub>2</sub>. 138 wole] shall A<sub>2</sub>, telle] say A<sub>2</sub>, þe tell D, rede þe H<sub>2</sub>, in my lesczoun] be resounne H<sub>2</sub>. After 138 one line is interpolated in H<sub>2</sub>: *Inicium sapientie timor domini.* (Cp. H<sub>2</sub> after l. 4 and A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub> after l. 882.) 140 which] suehe H<sub>1</sub>. þat] om. D. erere] here D, eere of H<sub>2</sub>, bifore R. 140 reads in A<sub>2</sub>: Vse wele þat be my rede. (l. 82. Cp. A<sub>2</sub> in variants.) 141 it] I DH<sub>2</sub>. 142 reche] Areeche H<sub>2</sub>. 143 þat] And þat A<sub>2</sub>, lat] leue A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. þi] om. DR. 144 rod] þe rode D. 145 Ac] And A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>, om. H<sub>2</sub>. But for R. late] leue A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>, loue R. þi] om. DR. sinne] om. R. al] om. A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. (sikerlich has been crossed out before onliche in A<sub>2</sub>) onliche] onely R. 146 Nis] Es DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. sikerliche] sikerly R. 148 and] or H<sub>1</sub>. griþ] greyþe D.

<sup>1</sup> Read sede.<sup>2</sup> Read þerwid.

¶ þis wonder of many sinful men, þat þinkeþ it were mucþe <sup>1</sup> for hem To haue gret worldes honour As londes, rentes, halle, and bouri Riche vessel of siluer and gold And grete tresor and faire bold, ¶ Riche mete and riche drink[e], And litel þerfore for to swink[e], Hele of bodi in bon and huide, And gret los of pompe and pride. A murie lyf hem þinkeþ þis were, But eft hit worþ ibouht [ful] <sup>2</sup> dere, <b>Quia nihil<sup>3</sup> in=felicius, quam felicitas peccatoris.</b>	The wicked 152 value worldly possessions 156 and fleeting glory, but 160 earth's joy is bought dear.
¶ Maþeles hit may falle wel, þat, þouh man haue mucþe kateþ As londes, rentes, and oþer god, Bit <sup>4</sup> he may be pore of <sup>5</sup> mod And low of herte, ful iwis, And halt þerof ful litel prys.	164
¶ Ac nu i wole speke and rede Of hem, þat i erere seide, <sup>6</sup>	Such sinful ones 168

149 þis] þis is A<sub>2</sub>, It es D, Thys ys a H<sub>2</sub>. of many] is of mony R. sinful] om. DH<sub>2</sub>, a synful R. men] man DR. 150 it were] om. A<sub>2</sub>. 152 As] As in D. om. H<sub>2</sub>. 154 gretel] oþer H<sub>1</sub>. and faire bold] faire and bold A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>, manyfolde H<sub>1</sub>. 155 2d riche] goode H<sub>1</sub>. 156 litell] leþe D. 157 Hele] Helthe H<sub>2</sub>. in] om. A<sub>2</sub>, and R. huide] hede H<sub>1</sub>. 158 And] om. H<sub>2</sub>AR. of] also of H<sub>2</sub>. 159 þis] ytte H<sub>2</sub>R. 160 eft] om. D, after H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. worþ] shal be H<sub>1</sub>, wylle be H<sub>2</sub>, mot be R. ibouht] abouted A<sub>2</sub>D, boȝte H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. After 160 are the following two lines in H<sub>2</sub>:

Where be thoo þat thynkyþe þere vpon  
I cane nott telle be seynþe John

*Latin: The Latin text is inserted between 158 and 159 in R. Quia nihil] Qui R. in=felicius] infelicitas A<sub>2</sub>, felicius R. felicitas A<sub>2</sub>, ritu R. 161 Naþeles] Neuer þe lese A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>, but no þo lesse R. falle] be fall H<sub>2</sub>, bisalle R. 162 þat] om. H<sub>2</sub>R. (Space is left for one word in H<sub>2</sub>.) man] a man A<sub>2</sub>DR, men H<sub>1</sub>, summan H<sub>2</sub>. miche] ryȝt mochill H<sub>2</sub>. 163 As londes] Londes londes (The second londes is marked for erasure.) D. 165 low] ful lowe DR, ful] om. DR, fully H<sub>1</sub>, and fulle H<sub>2</sub>. iwis] wyse H<sub>2</sub>. 166 halt] haue H<sub>2</sub>, ful] om. A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. (lytill is over erasure in H<sub>2</sub>.) 167 and 168 are transposed in D. 167 Ac] And also A<sub>2</sub>, and DH<sub>2</sub>. But H<sub>1</sub>R. nu i wole] now I sal D, I wil now H<sub>1</sub>, and rede] om. A<sub>2</sub>. 168 hem] whum D. erere] are A<sub>2</sub>D, bifore H<sub>1</sub>R, eere of H<sub>2</sub>.*

<sup>1</sup> muchel is in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> has wel.

<sup>3</sup> The MSS. have nichil. <sup>4</sup> bit is on the margin before he in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>5</sup> of is above the line in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>6</sup> Read sede.

þat þurw here pride and here wil  
þeih fallen ofte in gret peril.

Seint Austin halt þer-mide noht  
And seiþ, it shal ben dere bouht,  
And skilfulliche it mot be so,  
For, whan a man haþ sinne do,  
Oþer he mot hit beten here  
Or suffre pine elles where.

172

and they  
must atone.

The gracious  
love of God

¶ Wole ȝe here, what louerede  
God kudde to<sup>1</sup> hem þat wole<sup>2</sup> him drede?  
[He wyll hem here hold[e] lowe,  
For þei schold hym þe better knawe<sup>3</sup> ;]

176

He wole hem chasten wid smale pining  
And maken hem lese þat hote brenning;  
And many anguisse he wole hem ȝiue  
To suffre here, whiles þeih liue,

180

¶ As hunger and þurst and trauail strong;  
Hij sholen hane euere among  
Lore of catel and seknesse,<sup>4</sup>  
And al is to echen here blisse,

184

Man, if þu (me) leuest noht me,

188

169 here] hyȝe H<sub>1</sub>. wil yll (There is an erasure before y.) D. 170 þeih] om. R. 171 halt þer-mide] þare with holdeth (Two letters have been crossed out before holdeth.) A<sub>2</sub>, halde þer with DH<sub>1</sub>, holte þere with ryȝt H<sub>2</sub>R. 172 And] He DH<sub>2</sub>. bouȝt] abouȝt A<sub>2</sub>. 173 And] For H<sub>2</sub>, skilfulliche] wilful-lyehe H<sub>1</sub>. mot] moȝt H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. 174 For] om. H<sub>2</sub>, a man] man A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. siune do] synn ido DR, mysdo H<sub>1</sub>. A synne doo H<sub>2</sub>. 175 mot hit beten] mot beten D, he motte be beten (One letter has been erased before h.) H<sub>1</sub>, he myste be betyn H<sub>2</sub>. 176 Or] Oþer D, Or ellis R. pine] paynes A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. 177 ȝe here] þou here now R. louerede] I rede R. 178 kudde] kyþeþ H<sub>1</sub>R, shewythe H<sub>2</sub>. to] om. R. hem] man D, him H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. wole him] wold hyme A<sub>2</sub>, hym wyll H<sub>2</sub>. 179 and 180 are omitted in A<sub>1</sub>. 179 hem] om. R. here hold] holde here D, hold meke & H<sub>1</sub>, holdyn here full H<sub>2</sub>, holde hom here R. 180 þe] om. H<sub>1</sub>. 180 has the following readings in D and in H<sub>2</sub>:

þe better for he sull hym knowe D.

The bettyr for þey shulde hym knowe H<sub>2</sub>.

181 and 182 are omitted in A<sub>2</sub>. 181 He wole] om. H<sub>2</sub>. hem] hym DH<sub>1</sub>, om. H<sub>2</sub>R. chasten] kast H<sub>1</sub>, Chastyse hem H<sub>2</sub>R. 182 hem] hym D, hom to R. þat] þe DH<sub>2</sub>. 183 And many] A man D, Many an H<sub>2</sub>. hem] hym D. 185 As] om. DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>, and R. (And is crossed out before As in A<sub>2</sub>.) 186 Hij] þei A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R, he D. hauel] suffri DH<sub>2</sub>. 187 Lore] Losse A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. seknesse] stronge syknysse H<sub>2</sub>. 188 And] om. H<sub>2</sub>. al is] all it is A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>, all D. here] þaire ioy and D, þeire H<sub>1</sub>. 189 ne] om. A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. leuest] be leue H<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> to is above the line in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Before w one letter has been erased in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> Read knowe.

<sup>4</sup> Read seknesse.

þu sek aboute, and þu miht se

þise holi men alle bidene,

How þeih liuede in wo and tene.

192

And, if my tale nis noht forȝete,<sup>1</sup>

þanne maitou wel iwite,

þat þe worldes blisse is noht,

Whan þu hast abouten souht;

for the  
world's bliss  
is naught.  
196

¶ For, ȝif<sup>2</sup> a man haþ her his wille,  
Wel lihtliche he may spille.

Her i wole nouþe blinne.

Anoþer þing i wole biginne

200 Believe in

To speke, man, of þi bileue,

For hit is god, it<sup>3</sup> wole noht greue.

Man, þi bileue shal be so:

þat o god is and no mo,

204 one God,

þat o god is in vnite,

a God in  
unity and in  
trinity,

þre persones in trinite.

¶ þu shalt, [man], bileue also

And treuliche in þin herte do,

208

þat god had neuere beginning

without be-  
ginning,  
without end-  
ing,

Ne neuere (ne) shal haue ending,

¶ And shappere<sup>4</sup> is of alle shaftes,

41 a

Creator of all.

And ȝeuþ wit in alle craftes,

212

190 þu sek] Seek H<sub>1</sub>R.    þu miht se] by þe se A<sub>2</sub>, bi se D, þou maist see H<sub>1</sub>R, þe besye H<sub>2</sub>.    192 liuede] lybbeþe D, wo] sorowe H<sub>2</sub>.    193 if] if þou R, nis] es DH<sub>1</sub>, þou H<sub>2</sub>, om. R.    194 þamme] Now H<sub>1</sub>, maitou] þou myȝt ful D. wel] þo better R.    iwite] þerof I wyte H<sub>1</sub>, wete H<sub>2</sub>, witt R.    195 þe] þys H<sub>2</sub>, blisse] wele DH<sub>2</sub>, is] nys A<sub>2</sub>.    196 abouten] all abouten DH<sub>2</sub>, hit thorou R. souht] I soȝte H<sub>1</sub>.    197 and 198 are omitted in H<sub>2</sub>.    197 his] all hys D.    198 Well] Ful DH<sub>1</sub>R.    lihtliche] lyȝtly H<sub>1</sub>R.    spille] hys saule spyll D, hymself spylle H<sub>1</sub>.    199 Her i wole nouþe] Here I wyll not A<sub>2</sub>, Now I wil here of H<sub>1</sub>, Of thys now I wolle H<sub>2</sub>, Here I wil a while R.    blinne] be kenne (*The k is imperfectly formed.*) D, belynne H<sub>2</sub>.    200 Anoþer] And oþere A<sub>2</sub>, And anoþer D, And of oþyre H<sub>2</sub>, wole] sal D.    201 and 202 are transposed in D.    201 man] more R.    202 it] and DH<sub>1</sub>R.    wole] nyl H<sub>1</sub>.    204 is] ther ys H<sub>2</sub>.    204 —206 read in H<sub>1</sub>:

þat þer is oo god & no moo

þe whiche is in personnes þree

And oo god in trimitee

206 þre] And þre D.    207 man] om. A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub>R, al so H<sub>1</sub>, also] here to H<sub>1</sub>.    208 treuliche] trewly A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R, do] þenk so H<sub>1</sub>, yt doo H<sub>2</sub>R.    209 had] ne hadde H<sub>2</sub>.    210 Ne] Nor A<sub>2</sub>, ne] om. A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R, hane] hane noon H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>.    211 shaftes] shappes A<sub>2</sub>.    (schaftes is over erasure in D.)    212 ȝeuþ] ȝif þe D, ȝifere of H<sub>1</sub>, gaffe H<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> Read forȝite.    <sup>2</sup> One letter has been erased before ȝ in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> One letter is erased after it in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> re is above the line in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.



- ¶ Noht one he, bute alle þo  
þat of him comen for enere mo. 240  
Ac for hit was þurw gile don,  
God ȝaf his pite þer-vpon,  
And eke for loue þat he hade  
To man, þat he himselue made,  
To sauue man, man he bicam,  
And pine for hem to him he nam,  
And ȝaf for hem his herte blod,  
And deide for hem on þe rod.  
244  
God's pity  
and love  
saved man-  
kind.
- ¶ Ibiried he was, <sup>in<sup>1</sup></sup> tounbe he lay,  
Til hit com þe þridde day ;  
Vp he ros þe þridde day  
From deþ to line wid-oute nay ;  
To heuene he steih þurw his mihte,  
Riht in-to his faderes sihte,  
And sit on his faderes riht[e] side,  
þe grete dom for to abide.  
þider he wole come on domesday,  
Cruwel and sterne wid-oute nay,  
248  
God became  
man,  
and shed His  
heart's blood  
on the cross,  
died, was  
buried,
- ¶ He þat was woned to be  
Meke as a lomb, ful of pite :  
þeder he wole lihten adoun  
Wraþful and sterne as a lioun.  
Merci nele he shewe non,  
252  
rose the third  
day,  
ascended into  
heaven,
- 256  
sits at His  
Father's  
right hand.  
On Dooms-  
day
- ¶ He will come  
to earth to  
judge with-  
out mercy.

239 one] only A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>2</sub>R, oonlyche H<sub>1</sub>. alle] also al H<sub>1</sub>. 240 for enere] euer  
A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>2</sub>. 241 Ac] And A<sub>2</sub>D, But H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. þurw] for R. don] idon D. 242  
God ȝaf] Almyȝty god had H<sub>1</sub>, God had R. his] hym D, om. H<sub>1</sub>R. 243 eke] also H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. for] for þe A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. 244 man] monkynde R. he] hem D. him-  
selue] om. R. 245 To sauue man] To sauue hym þan H<sub>1</sub>, Man to sauue H<sub>2</sub>,  
man he] he man H<sub>2</sub>. 246 pine] peyne & passion H<sub>1</sub>, grete peyne H<sub>2</sub>, pyne  
grete R. hem] man A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub> hym R. to him] om. A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. 247 And] He  
H<sub>2</sub>. hem] man H<sub>2</sub>, hym R. 248 And] And þus H<sub>1</sub>, om. R. deide] with  
harde deth R. for hem] om. H<sub>1</sub>R, for man H<sub>2</sub>. on] opon A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. 249  
Ibiried] Biryed H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. 250 Til hit com] Tyll it came to A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>, Forto com D.  
251 and 252 are omitted in H<sub>2</sub>. 251 reads in A<sub>2</sub>: And rose for soth als I ȝow  
say. 254 Riht] Ful ryȝt H<sub>1</sub>, om. H<sub>2</sub>. in-to] to D. faderes] awne fader D,  
ffadryrys ryche H<sub>2</sub>. 255 And sit] þere he sittiȝ H<sub>1</sub>. 256 for] om. R. 257  
þider] Hedere A<sub>2</sub>, And hedyr H<sub>2</sub>, om. R. he wole] shall H<sub>2</sub>. on] at DH<sub>2</sub>,  
sithen on R. 258 wid-oute nay] for soþe too saye H<sub>2</sub>. 259 þat] þat afore H<sub>2</sub>,  
woned] woned merciful H<sub>1</sub>. 260 a] om. H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. 261 and 262 are omitted  
in A<sub>2</sub>. 261 þeder] þer DH<sub>1</sub>, Hedyr H<sub>2</sub>, þere þen R. lihten] pane lyȝte H<sub>2</sub>,  
adoun] downe H<sub>2</sub>. 262 and] om. R. a] ony H<sub>2</sub>. 263 nele] þan wyll H<sub>2</sub>,  
wil R.

<sup>1</sup> There is an erasure after in in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

	¶ Ac, riht after þat man haþ don,	264
	He shal fonge his iugement To ioye or to strong turment.	41 c
	¶ Allas! what sholen hij onne take,	
Those who forsook God	þat wolden [here] her god forsake <sup>1</sup> þurw sinne of fles[c]h[ly] <sup>2</sup> liking, And wolde hit bete wid no pining?	268
shall be driven	þer-fore þeih sholen in-to helle, Wheiþer þeih wolen, or þeih nelle, And þere bileue[n] euere mo,	272
to hell.	In [as] strong pine as men may do. Seint Austin spekeþ of alle swiche <i>And seiþ wordes [ful] reuliche :</i>	276
The wicked in hell	<b>M</b> abant mortem sine morte et finem mortis sine fine.	
shall suffer death without dying,	¶ Hij sholen hauē deþ wid-oute deiing And point of deþ wid-outen ending ; Here deþ hij sholen wilnen euere,	
divers ago- nies,	Ac to ende of deþ comen hij neuere ;	280
sharp pain of fire;	Hij sholen euere more duire In stronge pine of hote fire. Her i wole nouþe dwelle, And of mur[y]ere <sup>3</sup> þinge [i wole] ȝou telle.	284

264 Ac] Bot A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R, And D. þat] om. A<sub>2</sub>. man haþ] men hauē H<sub>2</sub>.  
 265 He shal] They shalle þan H<sub>2</sub>, þai shal R. fonge] a fonge D, take H<sub>2</sub>R.  
 his] om. A<sub>2</sub>, here H<sub>2</sub>R. iugement] verament (MS. indistinct) A<sub>2</sub>. 266 or to  
 or els H<sub>1</sub>. turment] tournement DH<sub>2</sub>. 267 what] how A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. hij  
 þei A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. onne] þan on H<sub>2</sub>. 268 here her god] her god A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub>DR. here  
 god here H<sub>1</sub>. here here lorde H<sub>2</sub>. 269 of] of here H<sub>1</sub>. 271 sholen] shulle go  
 H<sub>1</sub>, shul wende R. into] til R. 272 or þeih] or A<sub>2</sub>. 272 is omitted in R.  
*In its place is the following line:* nyl þai wil þai þere to dwelle. 273 bileuen]  
 be leynu H<sub>2</sub>, euere] for euer H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. 274 as] also A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub>, om. DR, als H<sub>1</sub>,  
 strong] stronger H<sub>1</sub>. as] om. R. men] man A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>, fend H<sub>1</sub>, om. R. may  
 do] and eke in woo R. 275 Austin] poul A<sub>2</sub>, austyn he H<sub>2</sub>. 276 ful reuliche]  
 reuliche A<sub>1</sub>D, rewefullich A<sub>2</sub>. *Latin: Through defacement of the page 'fine'*  
*is wanting in A<sub>2</sub>.* et] om. D. fine] morte H<sub>1</sub>. 277 Hij] þei A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R.  
 278 point] apoynt D, ende R. 279 Here] þare A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>, hij] þei A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R.  
 wiluen] wyll A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R, welny D, feel H<sub>1</sub>. 280 Ac] For A<sub>2</sub>, And DH<sub>2</sub>. But H<sub>1</sub>R.  
 ende] þe ende H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>, hij] þei A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. 281 Hij] þei A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. duire]  
 þere endure H<sub>2</sub>. 282 In] In fe H<sub>2</sub>, hote] hell A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. 283 Her] Herof H<sub>1</sub>.  
 i wole] sal I D. nouþe] a whill A<sub>2</sub> (*before I wil*) R, now D. 283 reads in H<sub>2</sub>:  
 [N]ow of þis tale I wylle dwelle. (*A blank space has been left for a large N.*)  
 284 myryere] a myrrier R. i wole ȝou] ȝou A<sub>1</sub>R, om. D. I wil H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> 268 is written twice in MS. A<sub>1</sub>. The second time it is crossed out.

<sup>2</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> has fleshes.

<sup>3</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> murszere.

- ¶ Tellen i wole ful iwis  
 Off þe ioyes of paradys,  
 Whiche godes children, þat gode be,  
 Sholen haue *and* ise ; but God's  
children  
 Ac, þouh i hadde in my bayli[e]  
 þe wit of alle clergy[e],  
 ¶ Mihte hit neuere so bifalle,  
 þat i mihte telle[n] alle. 41 d  
 Ac, also god ȝif me grace,  
 I shal ȝou shewe in þis place,  
 What ioie þeih sholen han ifere,  
 þat seruen god on eorþe here. 292  
 Whan þeih sholen parten henne,  
 Ful wel þeih sholen here weie kenne  
 Riht to þe blisse of paradys,  
 þat god haþ ȝarked to alle his. shall know  
their way  
to paradise,  
 ¶ þere is euere ioye inouh  
 And euere riht widouten wouh,  
 Wit and kunning and kointise,  
 And trewe loue widou[t]<sup>1</sup> feintise, 300  
 Streinþe inouh and fairnesse,  
 And liht wid-oute þisternesse.  
 þere sholen þeih noht ben agilt,  
 [For] al here wille shal ben fulfilt : there to dwell  
in joy amid  
justice,  
 Hij sholen haue, mid iwissee,

285 Tellen] Telle ȝow H<sub>2</sub>. wole] sal D. ful] ryȝt now A<sub>2</sub>, om. D, su[m]-what H<sub>1</sub>, some H<sub>2</sub>, now forthe R. 287 Whiche] þo whiche R. 288 haue] þat joye hane H<sub>2</sub>. ise] eke see H<sub>1</sub>, ytt see H<sub>2</sub>, al so sene R. 289 Ac] For A<sub>2</sub>, And DR, But H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. þouh] and H<sub>1</sub>, of R. hadde] haue D. 290 aHe] al maner H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. 291 Mihte hit] sit myȝt it H<sub>1</sub>, Ne myȝt ytt H<sub>2</sub>, hit might R. neu're] not H<sub>1</sub>. 292 tellen] telle ȝow halffe ne H<sub>2</sub>, thorouly telle hom R. 293 Ac] And A<sub>2</sub>, om. D, Bat ȝit H<sub>1</sub>, Butt H<sub>2</sub>R. also] as H<sub>1</sub>R. ȝif] wol ȝyf DH<sub>1</sub>R. 294 shal] wylle H<sub>2</sub>. 295—300 *are omitted in H<sub>2</sub>*. 295 ifere] in fere DH<sub>1</sub>R. 296 on] in A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>. 297 Whan] When þat R. parten] departen A<sub>2</sub>, perty D. henne] hethen R. 298 here] þair D. 299 to þe] in to A<sub>2</sub>, to D. 300 þat] Whiche H<sub>1</sub>. ȝarked] made A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>. 301 encre ioye] joye encrue H<sub>2</sub>. 302 wouh] vow (*possibly for wowe of DH<sub>2</sub>*) H<sub>1</sub>. 303 and 304 *are transposed in D.* 303 kointise] qweyntise A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>2</sub>. 304 And] om. H<sub>2</sub>. 305 and 306 *are omitted in H<sub>2</sub>*. 305 Streinþe] þere is strenkje H<sub>1</sub>. 306 ȝisternesse] dirkenese A<sub>2</sub>D, ony derknes H<sub>1</sub>, merkenes R. 307 noht ben] fynde no A<sub>2</sub>, haue no R. agilt] gylt A<sub>2</sub>R, I guilde D. 308 For al] al A<sub>1</sub>, For DH<sub>2</sub>. here] faire DH<sub>2</sub>. 309 and 310 *are omitted in H<sub>2</sub>*. 309 Hij] þei A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>R. mid] mende D, with a H<sub>1</sub>, þer with R. iwissee] Wisshe H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> ou.

- Fulle ioye and fulle blisse, ;
- T** Boþe þe pore and þe riche,  
Ac, wete þu wel, noht alle iliche. 312  
Euerich shal haue his woniȝ[i]ng  
Riht after his owen deseruing ;  
Ac lat hit noht come in þi þouht,  
þat any of hem shal wanten ouht,  
For he þat haþ lest in þat woniȝing<sup>1</sup>  
Haþ fulle ioye ouer alle þing.
- T** þerfore, man, in al þi miht,  
þu loue wel god bi day and niht : 42 a 320
- T** þe inwardlichere þu louest him her,  
þe more shal ben þi ioye þer.  
Herkne nu alle to me,  
For i wole speken of charite. 324 *De uera Caritate.*
- Love  
is well pleasing to God.
- Then love  
God well,  
and  
love thy fellow-man,
- T** Man, wolton make a god prouing,

310 Fulle] Ful of D, Al maner H<sub>1</sub>. fulle] ful of D, al maner H<sub>1</sub>. 311 Boþe þe] Boþe A<sub>2</sub>. þe] eke A<sub>2</sub>, eke the H<sub>2</sub>. 312 Ac] For A<sub>2</sub>, and DH<sub>1</sub>, But H<sub>2</sub>R. þu] it D, þou it H<sub>1</sub>. wel noht] wel and nauȝt D, wil noȝ H<sub>1</sub>, wil not R. alle] om. A<sub>2</sub>. iliche] elich A<sub>2</sub>, in lyche H<sub>2</sub>. 313 Euerich] Euere he A<sub>2</sub>. For eueryche H<sub>2</sub>, Ilkone R. 314 owen] om. H<sub>2</sub>. 315 Ac] And A<sub>2</sub>D, But H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. lat hit noht come] trow þou wel R. 316 any] non R. 317 he pat] who so R. 318 Haþ] He hathe H<sub>2</sub>R. ouer] of A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R, in DH<sub>2</sub>. 319 in] with A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. 320 þu] om. DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. wel god] god wel R. bij] om. D. 321 þe] he more A<sub>2</sub>. For so D, For the more þat H<sub>2</sub>. inwardlichere] inwordelich A<sub>2</sub>D, om. H<sub>2</sub>. Between 322 and 323 is interpolated in H<sub>2</sub>: ‘*Deleccio es proximi.*’ 323 alle] om. A<sub>2</sub>. 323 reads in H<sub>2</sub>: Herken now my ffrende so free. 324 wole] sal now D. of] om. D. 325 hext] þo hext R. 326 godes wille] at goddys wyll þane (*The page is worn, so that the line is nearly erased.*) A<sub>2</sub>. 327 wite] om. DH<sub>2</sub>. what] hu A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub>. be] may be R. 328 wole] sal D. 328 reads in H<sub>2</sub>: Sytte nowe stye & herken me. 329 Hit is loue] Loue welle H<sub>2</sub>. 330 in dede] & dede H<sub>1</sub>R. and] om. A<sub>2</sub>D. 331 euer] om. A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. 332 Anoþer] Ane oþer D. þing] om. H<sub>2</sub>. þu] þe R. most] mvste nedys H<sub>2</sub>. 334 emeristene] euene crystenn A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R, enemy H<sub>1</sub>. forþ] ryȝt euen H<sub>1</sub>. 335 Man] þau D. god] om. H<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> woniȝing in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

Wher þu loue þe heuene king?  
If þu louest god ful iwis,  
þu [wolt] louen alle his.

336

so that

*Si non diligis proximum tuum,  
quem uides, deum quem non  
uides, quomodo potes diligere?*<sup>1</sup>

For men seiþ soþ, bi wit[te] myne:

'Whoso loueþ me, he loueþ myne.'

'But þu loue [þyn em]<sup>2</sup> cristene þat bi þe be,  
þat alday [þou]<sup>3</sup> mait hem ise,  
Hou maitou loue god, i ne can deuise,  
Whom þu miht sen on none wyse!'

340 thou mayst  
see God.

344

¶ þis seiþ sein Powel and bereþ witnesse,  
As he may wel in soþ[e]nesse.

42 b

Abraham him sauh, ac þu [nosc] nocht hou!  
Herkne, i wole þe telle nowh:

Abraham saw  
God

348

¶ þe fourme of þre children he mette,  
þre he sauh, and (as) on he (hem) grette;  
In tokne it was, i telle þe,  
Off þe holi trinite.

in the person  
of three  
angels,betokening  
the Holy  
Trinity.

352

336 Wher] Wheþere A<sub>2</sub>D, If H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. þe] om. A<sub>2</sub>. 337 If] For yſſe H<sub>2</sub>.  
ful] filly H<sub>1</sub>, om. H<sub>2</sub>, wel R. 338 wolt] most A<sub>1</sub>, myste nedys H<sub>2</sub>. his] þat  
is hisse R. Latin: *The passage is omitted here and is inserted between 345  
and 346 in D.* diliges A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>. uides] tu uides H<sub>2</sub>, deum] om. H<sub>2</sub>,  
'quem non uides' is inserted after 'diligere' in H<sub>2</sub>. quomodo] commodo A<sub>1</sub>,  
quoniam A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. potes diligere] diligere potes D, potes diligere A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>. 339  
For men] Man H<sub>1</sub>, Mea R. soþ] and soþ D, soþ for H<sub>1</sub>. 339 reads in H<sub>2</sub>:  
In the gospelle I seye ȝow be ryme. 340 Whoso] He þat H<sub>2</sub>. myne] alle  
myne H<sub>2</sub>, my hyne R. 341 But] But yſſe H<sub>2</sub>. emeristene] cristene A<sub>1</sub>,  
encene crysten A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R, neȝtbore H<sub>1</sub>. þat bi þe beȝ þat by be þe D, þet dewillip  
þe by H<sub>1</sub>, be þe H<sub>2</sub>, þat is by þe R. 342 is omitted in D. 342 alday] om.  
R. þou] om. A<sub>1</sub>R. mait] mast A<sub>2</sub>. hem] al day with eghen R. ise] se A<sub>2</sub>R.  
342 has the following readings in H<sub>1</sub> and in H<sub>2</sub>:

Whom þou maiste see eche day wiþ yeȝe H<sub>1</sub>.That aldaye wythe hem mayste speke & see H<sub>2</sub>.

343 maitou] mast þou A<sub>2</sub>, schuldest D, myxte þou H<sub>1</sub>, þou R. ne can] can  
nowȝt A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. 344 Whom] That H<sub>1</sub>. miht] may not A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>, mait DR.  
on] in A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. 345 þis] Thus H<sub>2</sub>. seiþ sein Powel] saint poul saiþ H<sub>1</sub>,  
seyþe poule H<sub>2</sub>R. 346 As] Also A<sub>2</sub>, Soo H<sub>2</sub>. wel] om. D. in] in þe boke  
of H<sub>2</sub>. 347 hanȝ] om. R. ae] for A<sub>2</sub>, om. D, but H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. þu] he R. nost]  
om. A<sub>1</sub>, ne wost A<sub>2</sub>, woste H<sub>2</sub>, not wist R. noht] om. A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>R. 348 i wole]  
I sal D, and I wil H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. þe telle] tell þe A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. 349 þe] In A<sub>2</sub>,  
þre] om. R. 350 and as] and A<sub>2</sub>D, but H<sub>1</sub>. he] om. R. hem] om. A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>.  
351 tokne] tokenyng A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. telle] telle it D. 352 þe holi] god þat is in A<sub>2</sub>,  
þe soþfast holy H<sub>1</sub>, alle the hole H<sub>2</sub>, þo heghe holi R.

<sup>1</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> has diligere.<sup>2</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> has þe.<sup>3</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> omits þou.

Moses saw  
Godin the bush,  
burning but  
not con-  
sumed,symbol of the  
pure maiden-  
hood of Mary.Others have  
seen God,but no man  
hath seen  
Him in His  
Divinity

¶ Holliche as<sup>1</sup> on he grette hem þere  
In tokne of<sup>2</sup> o god, þat hij were.

Hu Moyses him sauh, wolcou here,  
In fourme of a bush al on fire,<sup>3</sup>  
At þe mount of Synay bi olde dawe,  
þar god him ȝaf þe firste lawe?

¶ Al on fire þe bush was,  
And ibrent noþing it nas :  
þere shewede god his grete milt  
And himself in þat ilke sihte.

¶ þat bush bitokneþ vre leuedi,  
Hire clene maiden-hed witerli ;  
For hit was euere iliche clene,  
[Ne]<sup>4</sup> miltte hit noht be wemmed ene.  
Hete of flesh ne mihte hire wemme,  
No more þan þe bush mihte brenne.

And many anoþer him iseih  
And wid [him] spak, þat was him neih,

¶ But noht alone in his godhede,  
Ac i-meind wid þe manhede ;  
For, sikerliche i telle þe,  
Man ne sauh neuere his deite

356

360

364

368

372

353 as on] om. A<sub>2</sub>, as D, all oon H<sub>2</sub>. grette] sawe A<sub>2</sub>. hem] hym D, om. H<sub>2</sub>. 354 tokne] tokenyng A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. o] om. A<sub>2</sub>. hiij] þei A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. 355 him sauh] says now D, sawe hym H<sub>2</sub>R. here] now lere R. 356 of] al of D. on] of D, on a R. 357 and 358 are omitted in H<sub>2</sub>. 357 At] And in H<sub>1</sub>. 358 him ȝaf] ȝaf hym A<sub>2</sub>, ȝaf H<sub>1</sub>. 359 on] of D. was] ytt was H<sub>2</sub>. 360 And] but R. ibrent] ebrunde A<sub>2</sub>, brente H<sub>2</sub>R. it nas] nas D, for soþe yt nas H<sub>2</sub>, þo buske nas R. 361 gretel] meche H<sub>2</sub>. 362 And] In D: þat ilke] þulke D, þat H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. 363 þat] þe A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. bush] boys D. bitokneþ] be tokenes of D, bi tokened H<sub>1</sub>, tokend R. vrel] one R. 364 Hire clene] In here H<sub>2</sub>, with hir clene R. witerli] sykerly DR. 365 euere iliche elene] iliche elene euere H<sub>2</sub>. 366 hit] þer H<sub>1</sub>. noht] om. A<sub>2</sub>. be wemmed ene] ony wemme bene H<sub>1</sub>, be wemmyd neuere H<sub>2</sub>. I nemed bene R (wemedene in A<sub>2</sub>). 367 Hete of] he D. nej] om. R. hire] yt H<sub>2</sub>, hir not R. wemme] warme H<sub>1</sub>. 368 No] Ne D. þan] might R. mihte] did H<sub>1</sub>, om. R. brenne] burne H<sub>1</sub>. 369 anoþer] oþer H<sub>1</sub>. him] that hym H<sub>2</sub>. iseih] saiþe A<sub>2</sub>, say DH<sub>2</sub>, did sey H<sub>1</sub>, seghe R. 370 wid him spak] wid spak A<sub>1</sub>, speake with hym A<sub>2</sub>, speake hym with R. þat] and D. 371 But noht] and D. alone] al on H<sub>1</sub>, onely R. 372 Ac] Bot A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. i-meind] I menged A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>, imed D, it was mayned H<sub>1</sub>, mynged R. þe] his H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. 373 For sikerliche] Skeyrly as H<sub>2</sub>. tell] tell it D, now telle ytt H<sub>2</sub>. 374 Man ne sauh] Man sawe DH<sub>2</sub> R, þou mayst se H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> liche a is over erasure in MS. A<sub>1</sub>. <sup>2</sup> ne o is over erasure in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> Read fere. <sup>4</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> omits Ne.

- ¶ Bodiliche on eorþe her,  
He mihte noht, it is so cler.                          42 c                  here on earth.  
And, if þu wolt witen hou,  
Herkne, i wole þe telle now;  
For so heih a þing is þe god-hede,  
þer-of to speke it is drede.                          376  
God is so elene and so cler a þing,  
þat heuene and erþe he<sup>1</sup> ȝeneþ shining,  
And sunne and mone and sterren breme,  
Off him ȝeih han al here leme.                          380  
¶ þu sext, man, wel aperteliche,  
þat þe sunne haþ brihtnesse muche,<sup>2</sup>  
And, þouh he sitte so wonder heie,  
Hit greueþ euere mannes eȝe,  
Inwardliche on hire to se                          384  
For hire grete clerte.  
Nu, for-soþe i telle þe—  
And sikerliche lef þu me—  
þat god, þat ȝaf þe sumne his liht,  
Is swich an hundred [siþe] so briht.                          392  
¶ Man, mihte hit euere þanne be,  
þat bodilich eȝe mihte him se  
Here on eorþe,—þe godhede?                          396

375 Bodiliche] With bodily eyȝe H<sub>1</sub>, Godlyche H<sub>2</sub>, Bodily R. on] in R. eorþe herth D. 376 He mihte noht] Whilst þou art on lyue H<sub>1</sub>, men might not R. 376 reads in D: No may noman haue þat power. 377 witen] I wytte D. hou] now R. 378 Herkne] Herken and H<sub>1</sub>R. wole] sal D. ȝe telle] telle þe H<sub>1</sub>, telle ȝow R. now] om. R. 378 reads in H<sub>2</sub>: Sytte nowe styll & herkenyȝe nowe. 379 For] And D, om. H<sub>1</sub>. a þing] ys H<sub>2</sub>, þing R. þe] his A<sub>2</sub>. 380 þer-of to speke] þat to speke þer of D. drede] no drede H<sub>1</sub>, grete drede H<sub>2</sub>R. 381 elene and so] om. A<sub>2</sub>, cler and D, clere and so H<sub>2</sub>, clere] elene DH<sub>2</sub>. 382 he] it D, om. H<sub>2</sub>. 383 And] om. H<sub>2</sub>. breme] beme DR. 384 here] haire D. 385 man wel] wele man D, man here H<sub>1</sub>, man H<sub>2</sub> R. 387 And] om. A<sub>2</sub>. þouh] om. R. he] it A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>. sitte] schyne D, is sett R. so] neuer so A<sub>2</sub>, om. DH<sub>1</sub>. 388 Hit] ȝit it A<sub>2</sub>. euere] om. A<sub>2</sub>R, euereche D, euere a H<sub>1</sub>. mannes] bodyly D. 389 Inwardliche] Inwardly H<sub>2</sub>R. on] vppe to H<sub>2</sub>. hire] om. A<sub>2</sub>, hit R. 390 hire] his R. grete] moche H<sub>2</sub>. clerte] charite R. 391 telle] tell it DH<sub>2</sub>. 392 sikerliche] sekylry H<sub>2</sub>R. lef þu] þou mayste leue H<sub>1</sub>, be leue H<sub>2</sub>. 393 þat] om. A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. ȝaf] om. A<sub>2</sub>. sunne his] sonnes A<sub>2</sub>, sonn here DH<sub>2</sub>. 394 swich an] seche a D, an H<sub>1</sub>R. hundred] hundredth A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>. siþe] om. A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub>D, tyme H<sub>2</sub>. 395 Man] Man how D, þerfor man H<sub>1</sub>, how pen R. euere þanne] euer so A<sub>2</sub>, euer DH<sub>1</sub>R, þane euere H<sub>2</sub>. 396 bodilich] bodelich with A<sub>2</sub>, boldlyche H<sub>2</sub>, bodily R. eȝe] om. H<sub>2</sub>. him] euer D, hym euer H<sub>1</sub>, om. H<sub>2</sub>. 397 on] in H<sub>2</sub>. þe] in his H<sub>1</sub>.

388 We may not  
gaze on the  
sun.

God, its  
source, hath  
hundred-fold  
its brilliancy.  
Can human  
eye  
behold that  
glory?

<sup>1</sup> One letter has been erased after he in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.                  <sup>2</sup> Read miche.

- Nay, noman mihte don þat dede :  
 þat is preued and ishewed  
 Boþe to lered and to lewed. 400
- þanne maitou þenke : ‘ Hu mai þis be ?  
 Ne shal no man god ise ?’
- Yes, yes, ¶ 3us, 3us, bi my leaute !  
 Herkne, and i wole telle þe : 404
- þif þu wolt sen in þi siht  
 God of heuene, þat is so briht,— 42 d
- ¶ Vnderstond nu what i mene—  
 ‘ þu most ben of herte clene,’ 408
- In word, in dede, and in þouhlt,  
 þat þu ne be isiled noht ;  
 For god self seide in soþ[e]nesse—  
 þe godspel þerof bereþ<sup>1</sup> witnesse : 412
- B**eatū mundō<sup>2</sup> corde, quoniam ipsi deum  
 uidebunt.
- þis is to seic, i telle þe :  
 ‘ þe clene of herte, blessed þeih be ;’  
 For, at þe heie dom sikerliche  
 ‘ þeih sholen se god’ aperteliche, 416
- In his godhede and in his blisse,  
 Off which þeih sholen neuere misse.
- ¶ þonne sholen þeih here, herkne nouþe,  
 A blisful word of godes mouþe, 420

398 Nay] om. DH<sub>2</sub>. 399 þat] and þat R. preued] I proued A<sub>2</sub>, proued wele DH<sub>2</sub>. ishewed] schewed DH<sub>2</sub>R, wel shewede H<sub>1</sub>. 400 lered and] lerned and eke H<sub>1</sub>. 401 þanne] How D. (How is crossed out before þane in A<sub>2</sub>. þane is above the line.) maitou] maste þou A<sub>2</sub>, myȝte þou H<sub>2</sub>. hu] om. DH<sub>1</sub>. mai þis] sal þis D, þis may not H<sub>1</sub>, maye yt H<sub>2</sub>. 402 Ne shal no man] þat noman sal D, þat any man here shul euer H<sub>1</sub>. Shalle ther noman H<sub>2</sub>, ne may no mon R. ise] see A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R, here se H<sub>2</sub>. 403 and 404 read in H<sub>1</sub>:

þis for soþ wiþ outen ney  
 Herken & here what I wil say

404 wole] sal D. 407—475 are omitted in D. 407 nu] wel H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. 408 þu] For þou H<sub>1</sub>. of] in H<sub>1</sub>. 409 reads in H<sub>1</sub>: Of worde of dede & of þoþe. 410 þat] So þat H<sub>1</sub>. ne] om. H<sub>1</sub>R. isiled] fyled A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>, fyled right R. 411 self] hym A<sub>2</sub>, him self H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub> (following said) R. seide] saiþe A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. 412 þe] and jo R. 413 þis] þat A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. telle] telle yt H<sub>2</sub>. 414 þe] Al H<sub>1</sub>R. peih] om. H<sub>2</sub>. 415 heiel daye of H<sub>2</sub>, grete R. sikerliche] sekyrly H<sub>2</sub>. 416 aperteliche] apertely H<sub>2</sub>. 418 Off] þo R. 419 þanne sholen þeih] That shulle ȝe H<sub>2</sub>. here] om. A<sub>2</sub>. herkne nouþe] wiþ here ere H<sub>1</sub>, þat bene couthe R. 420 godes mouþe] god fere H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> has bereþ þerof.

<sup>2</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> mondo.

[Which shal not be to hem vncowþe,

For god shal sey it with his mowþe :

**Venite, benedicti<sup>1</sup> patris mei.]**

'Comeþ, mine blessedde fere,  
þat my fader beþ leue and dere !  
In-to my blisse þe sholen wende,  
þat lasteþ euere wid-outen ende,  
And euere more þer to wone  
Wid þe fader, and wid þe sone,  
And wid þe holi gost in vnite,  
þat is þe holi trinite.'

'Come, be-  
loved,  
dear to my  
Father !  
In my bliss  
dwell ever-  
more.'

428

The doomed  
souls,

432

¶ ' And [þe].<sup>2</sup> cursedle gostes, goþ anon,  
þat sholen ben dampned euerichon !'

þere hij sholen him sen also,

Ae al shal ben for here wo ;

For toward hem he wole turne

¶ Boþe wraþful and eke sterne,  
And namlich to þat eumpaignye

43 a

þat slowen him þurw enuie,

And kene nailes driuen ek

þurw his honden and his fet,

who slew  
Him with  
eruel nails  
through  
hands and  
feet,  
shall see the  
ghastly  
wounds they  
made.

¶ And þere þeih sholen se soþliche,  
His grisli wounden openliche,  
þat þeih deden hemselue make.

444

For drede hij sholen þanne quake ;

þanne wole god to hem seie

His angry  
voice will  
command :

Wid sterne voiz and wid heie :

421 and 422 are omitted in A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. The Latin is omitted in A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R.  
 423 Comeþ] Comes now R. fere] children in fere H<sub>1</sub>, alle in ffere H<sub>2</sub>, in fere  
 R. 424 þat] þat to H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R, leue and] ful H<sub>1</sub>. 426 lasteþ euere] euir shalle  
 laste H<sub>2</sub>. 428 and wid] and H<sub>2</sub>. 429 And] om. H<sub>1</sub>. 430 þat] whichie H<sub>1</sub>.  
 431 And] om. H<sub>1</sub>. goþ] þere H<sub>1</sub>, om. H<sub>2</sub>. 432 þat] þei A<sub>2</sub>, om. H<sub>1</sub>, þe H<sub>2</sub>R.  
 433 hij] þei A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. him sen] se hym R. 434 Ae] For A<sub>2</sub>. But H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R.  
 al] yt H<sub>2</sub>, þat R. for] to A<sub>2</sub>, al for R. 435 turne] hym turne R. 435—444  
 are omitted in H<sub>2</sub>. 438 þurw] þorowþ here A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>. 439 driuen] þey drynen  
 H<sub>1</sub>. 440 and] and þorow H<sub>1</sub>. his fet] fete did hom to seke (þai is on the  
 margin.) R. 441 And] om. A<sub>2</sub>. soþliche] opauylche H<sub>1</sub>, soþly R. 442  
 openliche] opauyl R. 442 reads in H<sub>1</sub>: Al his woundis sicurliche. 443  
 hemselue] hym self A<sub>2</sub>. 444 hij] þei A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R. (shul þai follow þen in R.)  
 445 god] he H<sub>2</sub>. 446 and wid heie] and with eye A<sub>2</sub>, withoute neye H<sub>1</sub>,  
 and angry eye H<sub>2</sub>, & grete aie R.

\*Accursed  
spirits, go!  
Depart into  
the tortures  
of hell!

Burn eter-  
nally!

For evermore

thou art  
judged!\*

Hope in God;  
do good.

- De Spe.
- ‘Corsede gostes, þe beþ me loþe !  
Goþ anon, goþ nu,<sup>1</sup> goþ      448
- ¶ In-to þe stronge fyr of helle,  
Euere more þer to dwelle,  
And brenne þer in hote fyr!<sup>2</sup>      452
- þe seruede non oþer her :  
Merci is al fro ȝou gon,  
For whij on me hadde ȝe non!<sup>3</sup>  
He þat nele no merci haue  
Off him þat doþ him merci crane,  
He shal ben iuged, witerli,  
Rihtfulliche wid-oute merci.      456
- ¶ Sein Daui seiþ, if þu wolt loke  
In a vers of þe<sup>3</sup> sauter boke :      460
- Spera in domino, et fac bonitatem.**
- ‘Hope to god, and do god,’  
Riht so i hit vnderstod ;  
Ac ydel hope man mai habbe—  
I sey þe soþ wid-outen gabbe—  
For alone to hope, widoute goddede,      464
- ¶ Is ydel hope, so god me rede.  
Ac i ne seie noht forþi,      468 b

447 and 448 have the following readings in H<sub>1</sub> and in H<sub>2</sub>:

ȝe cursyd gostis fro me goþ  
For to my fadire & me ȝe beþ ful lop H<sub>1</sub>.  
Waryed gostys ȝe are me lothe  
Gothie in to sorowe & care bothe H<sub>2</sub>.

449 In-to þe] In to A<sub>2</sub>R, And evene in to H<sub>2</sub>. stronge] stynkyng H<sub>1</sub>, om.  
H<sub>2</sub>. fyr] Payne A<sub>2</sub>, pytte H<sub>2</sub>. 450 Euere more] And euere more A<sub>1</sub>H<sub>1</sub>.  
Withowtyn ende H<sub>2</sub>, for euer more R. þer] þeire In A<sub>2</sub>, þere for to H<sub>1</sub>. 451  
and 452 are omitted in H<sub>2</sub>. 452 ȝe] for ȝe han R. seruede] haue a seruid  
H<sub>1</sub>, her] hyere A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>. 453 al fro ȝou] now alle H<sub>2</sub>, gon] I gone H<sub>2</sub>. 454  
whij on] on A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>. hadde ȝe] ne hadde ȝe D, ȝe haden R. Between 454 and  
455 are the following two lines in H<sub>2</sub>:

Whan ȝowre power was full welle  
I sente I nowe of ennyr dele

455 nele] wil H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. no] om. A<sub>2</sub>. 456 Off] On R. him þat] hem H<sub>1</sub>. doþ  
him] doþ A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>, wolde hym R. 457 witerli] viturly H<sub>1</sub>. 458 Rihtfulliche]  
Skylfulliche H<sub>2</sub>. 459 Sein] For seynt R. 459—814 and the Latin text fol-  
lowing are omitted in H<sub>2</sub>. 462 hit] om. R. 463 Ae] For A<sub>2</sub>, But H<sub>1</sub>R. man]  
a mon R. 464 þe] om. H<sub>1</sub>. wid-onten] and not H<sub>1</sub>. 465 and 466 are in-  
serted between 470 and 471 in A<sub>2</sub>. 465 alone to] all on to A<sub>2</sub>, om. H<sub>1</sub>, al onely  
R. goddede] ony good dede H<sub>1</sub>. 466 rede] spedē H<sub>1</sub>R. 467 Ac i ne] For ȝe  
A<sub>2</sub>, But ȝit I H<sub>1</sub>, But I ne R.

<sup>1</sup> nu is above the line in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Read fer.

<sup>3</sup> þe is above the line in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

þouh man be charged, sikerli		
¶ Wid grete sinnes heuie and <sup>1</sup> sore,	468	Though grievous the burden,
He ne shal despeire nemere þe more, Ac soþfast hope hane, to winne		be not in despair. Be steadfast.
Godes merei of his sinne	472	
þurw shrifte of mouþe and repentaunce, And redi þefore to don penaunce.		
¶ ȝif þu dost þus, bi day and niht, Put al <sup>2</sup> þin hope in god almiht, And tristi hope to him þu hauie, þat he þe wole helpe and saue.	476	Daily in con- fession and tears, hope for mercy.
Herkne, what i wole seie nouþe, For hit com out of godes mouþe :	480	
<b>Vbi te in=venio, ibi<sup>3</sup> te iudicabo.</b>		
'Man, riht þere as i þe finde, Riht þere i wole þe inge and binde.'		Delay not to do good.
Allas, what sholen hij þanne do, þat beþ ifounde in sorwe and wo, þat wolde noht hemselue shriue, <sup>4</sup>	484	
While þeih mihte in here liue !		
þefore, man, i warne þe : Loke, þat þu þe bise,	488	
þat þu be euere redi and ȝare		Be ready.
Out of þis world for to fare ; For siker noman wite ne may,		
Whanne shal ben his ending day.	492	
¶ þefore þenk ofte in drede		

468 þouh man] þou may R. 470 He] ȝit R. ne] om. A<sub>2</sub>DR, shal] shalt þou R. 471 Ac] And A<sub>2</sub>, But H<sub>1</sub>R. soþfast] stedfast R. hane] om. A<sub>2</sub>, hane þou R. 472 Godes] And cry god H<sub>1</sub>. his] þi R. *The MS. continues with 476 in D. 476 in] to D. almiht] of might R. 478 þat] And H<sub>1</sub>. helpe] helpe help H<sub>1</sub>. 479 what] þat D. wole] sal D. seie] say þe D, om. R. nonþe] nowe D. 479 reads in H<sub>1</sub>: Loke þis be not to ȝow ynkworþe. (Cp. l. 421.) 480 out] om. A<sub>2</sub>D. Latin: *iudicabo iudicio* A<sub>2</sub>R. 482 þere] so D H<sub>1</sub>. wole] sal D. 483 what] how A<sub>2</sub>. hij] þei A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>R. 484 ifounde] I bounde A<sub>2</sub>, for D, eorfoundid H<sub>1</sub>, founden R. sorwe] synne D. 485 wolde] nold D. hemselue] hem A<sub>2</sub>. 486 While] þe whyle D. in here] in þeire A<sub>2</sub>, and were on H<sub>1</sub>. 488 bise] by þe se A<sub>2</sub>, be se D. 488 reads in H<sub>1</sub> and R: Whilst þou maiste goo & see. þou] þat þou R. 489 þat] Loke H<sub>1</sub>. enre] om. R. 490 þis] om. D. for] forþe D. 491 siker] sikurliche H<sub>1</sub>, sikernes R. ne] om. H<sub>1</sub>R. 493 þenk] hauie it H<sub>1</sub>. in drede] I þe reide R.*

<sup>1</sup> and is above the line in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> al is above the line in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> One letter has been erased before ibi in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> 484 and 485 are over erasure in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

God said : ' Where I find, I bind.'	Off þis word, <sup>1</sup> þat god seide : <sup>2</sup> ' þere i þe finde, i wole þe binde :'	494
Remember !	Lat ofte þat word ben in þi mynde !	496
Pray often.	¶ Man, if þu wolt þe world forsake, And Iesu Crist to þe take,	43 c
Read.	þu most ben ofte in orisoun And in reding of lesezoun.	500 <i>De Scriptura- rum Lecture.</i>
In reading, God speaks with us ;	Wid us god spekeþ, whan we rede Off him and of his goddede,	
in prayer,	And we wid him, ful iwis, Whan we him bisekeþ þat riht is.	504
we speak with God. Holy Writ is our mirror, where is re- vealed	¶ Holi writ is oure myronr, In whom we sen al vre soeour, And, if we hit wolen vnderstonde,	
knowledge of God.	þer we muwen sen and fonge, To haue of god þe knowelache, <sup>3</sup> Boþe in þoult[e] and in speche.	508
Seek peace.	¶ And, if þu wolt haue þe loue Off god, þat is in heuen aboue, þu most ben euere in god acord,	512
God hath proclaimed a blessing to the peace- maker.	In pes and loue, and hate descord, And ben aboue wid al þi miht, To make pes bi day and niht ;	
	¶ For Iesu Crist hit seiþ ful wel, As we hit finden in godspel :	516
	<b>Beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei uo- caþuntur.</b>	

494 Off þis] þe H<sub>1</sub>. word] world D. seide] bi fore saide H<sub>1</sub>. 495 wole] sal D. 496 þat] þis H<sub>1</sub>R. 497 wolt þe] wylt þen þe (þen blurred) A<sub>2</sub>, om. D. wilt þis H<sub>1</sub>R. 498 And] And to DH<sub>1</sub>. to þe] holy þe D. þe H<sub>1</sub>. take] bi take H<sub>1</sub>. 500 And] And eke H<sub>1</sub>. lesezoun] gods lessone R. 501 god spekeþ] to speke D. 502 goddede] godhede A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>, blissted dede R. 503 we wil him full] he wiþ vs spekiþ H<sub>1</sub>, we wiþ hym R. 504 we] he D. him bisekeþ] him bysche A<sub>2</sub>, hym bedes D. bi seche him H<sub>1</sub>R. riht] riȝtful H<sub>1</sub>. 508 sen] seken H<sub>1</sub>. 507 hit wol-n] willen it A<sub>2</sub>D. 507 and 508 read in H<sub>1</sub>:

If we vndirstond it welle  
þere may we se eury delle.

508 we mnwen] may we R. fonge] fonde D. vnderfonde R. 509 knowelache] knowleching R. 510 speche] speking R. 512 god] Iesu R. is in heuen] in heuen sittes R. 513 acord] wille H<sub>1</sub>. 514 and loue] loue D. 514 reads in H<sub>1</sub>: to hate synne boþ loule & stille. 516 bi] boþ H<sub>1</sub>. 518 hit finden] fynde D. in] in þe A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>. Latin: *The text is inserted between 522 and 523 in H<sub>1</sub>.*

<sup>1</sup> word is corrected from world in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>2</sup> Read sede.

<sup>3</sup> Read knoweleche.

A soþ word hit is and no les :

‘ Iblessed be þat makeþ pes :’

520

Hij ouhten to ben honured alle,

For ‘godes children men shal hem calle.’

¶ Man, if þu wolt to me herkny,

Nu i wole speken of merci.

524

¶ Soþ[e]liche, wid-oute fable,

Man, þu most ben merciable.

43 d

Be merciful.

On Iesu Crist þenk witerli,

Hou he deiede for merci,

528 Christ hath  
died

¶ And al for he wolde merci haue

Off hem þat wolde merci craue ;

For, ar he deiede in flesh and bon,

Merci was þer neuere non.

532

¶ Bi þis ensaumple ȝe muwen se,

Merciable for to be.

for our sake,  
example of  
mercy.

ȝif þi neilheboure misdoþ þe,

More or lasse wheiþer hit be,

536

Or in dede, or in vbbreid,

Or wid word þe haþ misseid,

Misdeeds  
against thee,

And he þer-after of-þinkeþ sore

And þer-of erieþ merci and ore,

540

For-ȝif hit him for godes loue,

þat us alle sit aboue !

forgive for  
God's love.

¶ And, if þu wolt no merci haue

Off him þat doþ þe merci craue,

544

Merci getestu neuere non

Off trespass, þat þu hast idon ;

519 hit is] is it H<sub>1</sub>, no] not R. 520 Iblessed] Blessed H<sub>1</sub>R, be] be þei A<sub>2</sub>R, be he H<sub>1</sub>. 521 Hij] þei A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>, hom R. oulhten to ben] owte be D, shul be H<sub>1</sub>, oow to be R. 523 to me] come A<sub>2</sub> (*transposed after herken in R*). 524 Nu] om. H<sub>1</sub>R, wole] sal D, speken] speke su[m]what H<sub>1</sub>, merci] mercie to þe R. 525 fable] ony fable H<sub>1</sub>. 527 witerli] entereli H<sub>1</sub>. 528 for] onoly for H<sub>1</sub>. 529 al for] for D. 530 Off] On H<sub>1</sub>R, wolde merci] wyl itmekelyche D, wolde hym mercy R. 533 ȝe muwen] þou mast A<sub>2</sub>. 534 and 535 are omitted in D. 534 Merciable] Ful merciable H<sub>1</sub>. 535 ȝi] ony H<sub>1</sub>, misdoþ] haue misdone to R. 536 lasse] lesse lasse H<sub>1</sub>, hit] so hit R. 537 Or] Ouþer A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>R, or] ouþer D, in] with H<sub>1</sub>, om. R, vbbreid] vnbroid D. 538 Or wid] Ouþer with A<sub>2</sub>, Ouþer in D, Or els with H<sub>1</sub>. þe] þet he H<sub>1</sub> (*after has in R*), misseid] sayde H<sub>1</sub>. 539 of-þinkeþ] for þynkkip A<sub>2</sub>, a penke it D, aþynkeþ H<sub>1</sub>, forthinkus hit R. 540 erieþ] þe ery D. 541 For-ȝif] Forȝeuð D, hit] om. A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>. 543 if] om. R, wolt] nylt D, no] not A<sub>2</sub>. 544 Off] On H<sub>1</sub>R, him] hom R. 545 getestu] gestow DH<sub>1</sub>. 546 Off] Of þe A<sub>2</sub>, þu] þi selfe H<sub>1</sub>, idon] done A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>R.

For god it seiþ in his godspel—  
þere men may finde it ful wel—

548

¶ ‘Alswich met as þu metest me,  
Alswich i wole mete to þe.’

[For-ȝeue, þou man, for þe loue of me,  
And I wyll for þe loue of þe.]

*De Indul-*  
*gentia.*

552

Nym god ȝeme, man. þu sist  
In þi paternoster, what þu bist:

**Et dimittte nobis debita nostra, sicut  
et nos etc.**

Pray: ‘Sweet  
God, forgive  
my guilt,  
as I forgive.’

þu seist: ‘Swete lord, forȝiue þu me,  
þat i haue gilt aȝeines þe,’

44a

556

Riht as i do alle þo,  
þat me hauen ouht misdo.’

To the cruel

¶ And þu, þat art so cruwel in þouhlt

And wolt to merci herkne noht,  
What wole hit [þe] helpe in eny stede

the pater-  
noster avail-  
eth nothing.

þe holi paternoster bede?

Noht, if i dar it seie,

For aȝein þiself[e] þu dost preie,

564

¶ And þe holi bok of soþ[e]nesse

þer-of bereþ god witnesse

And seiþ: ‘He þat wole no merci haue,

On ydel doþ he merci craue.’

568

547 For] om. D. it seiþ] seiþ it D. his] þe D. 548 men] om. H<sub>1</sub>, mony mon R. ful] om. R. *The following text is introduced in R: ‘Eadem mensura quo missi fueritis remetetur vobis.’* 549 Alswich] Also soch A<sub>2</sub>, Sweche DR, met] mesure H<sub>1</sub>. me] to me D. 550 Alswich] Also soch A<sub>2</sub>, Soche H<sub>1</sub>, right siche R. wole] sal D. to þe] þe A<sub>2</sub>, vnto þe D. aȝen to þe H<sub>1</sub>. 551 and 552 are omitted in A<sub>1</sub>. 551 þou man] om. D, man H<sub>1</sub>R. 552 wyl] sal D. for þe] for D, for ȝif for H<sub>1</sub>. 553 Nym] Take A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>, Take moþ R. god ȝeme] now gone D. gode lede H<sub>1</sub>. man] þer R. þu sist] þat þou sest A<sub>2</sub>, þere þou sittest H<sub>1</sub>, þou saiest R. 554 þi] þo R. what] þare A<sub>2</sub>, whan H<sub>1</sub>. bilst] bedlest A<sub>2</sub>, biddest H<sub>1</sub>, prayest R. Latin: etc.] *dimitit animus etc.* A<sub>2</sub>, *di-*  
*mittimus debitoribus nostris* DH<sub>1</sub>R. 555 þu] om. R. 556 gilt] trespassed H<sub>1</sub>, mysdone R. þe] om. A<sub>2</sub>. 557 as] als D. do] do to DH<sub>1</sub>R. 558 me] to me R. oulkt] ony ȝinge H<sub>1</sub>. 559 And] O D. þat] om. A<sub>2</sub>. in þouhlt] in þy þouȝt A<sub>2</sub>, and touȝt D. 560 wolt] nylt D. 561 þe helpe] helpe A<sub>2</sub>, helpe þe A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>, stonde R. stede] way H<sub>1</sub>. 562 þe] ji D. bede] for to say H<sub>1</sub>, þof þou hit bilde R. 563 Noht if] Nouȝt A<sub>2</sub>, Ryȝt noȝt H<sub>1</sub>, dar it] dare wele A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>, doist (for dorst) D. seiþ] say and nay A<sub>2</sub>, say for soþ H<sub>1</sub>. 564 aȝein] aȝenste H<sub>1</sub>, dost preie] preyst wiþ moþ H<sub>1</sub>. 565 And] As A<sub>2</sub>. 566 god] om. A<sub>2</sub>R. 567 wole no] nelt D. 568 On] In D, ful R. doþ he] he doth A<sub>2</sub>, may he R.

**In patientia<sup>1</sup> vestra possidebitis<sup>2</sup>**  
**animas vestras.**

Houre swete lord in his speche Hise deciples began to teche And bad hem ben of god suffraunce In alle manere destourbaunce.  <b>¶</b> 3if þu art sek in flesh and blod, þu most ben meke and þolemod And þenk[e] þat god it þe sende, þi seli soule to amende.  <b>¶</b> 3if þu hast lore of þi catel, Biþenk þe þanne swiþe wel, þat of þi-self[e] haddestu noht, But as hit was þurw god iwroulht; <sup>3</sup> And, if god it wole from þe take, þu ne shalt þerfore no gruching make,  <b>¶</b> Ae suffre al godes wille Boþe lude and eke stille.  <b>¶</b> And, ȝif þe falleþ traueil on honde, Or pine of bodi, or shame in londe, Off al þis þu most suffraunt be, þouh þe þinke, hit greue þe.  þenk hou Iesu in-to erþe cam, And þolede pine and shame for man, And foule was þerto misscid,	Our sweet Lord taught his disciples patience.  572  In sickness, be meek and content.  576  Know that it is to help thy poor soul.  580  Mourn not loss of pos- sessions.  584  Of thyself hadst thou nothing : all is God's gift. What God hath ordered, must be right.  588  Be not re- gretful, God's will is best. In distress, pain, dis- grace, be still.  592  Remember the agony, the vile words,
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570 began to] he gan to A<sub>2</sub>, he con R. 571 and 572 are transposed in R. 571 And] he R. bad] om. D. 572 alle] evry D. destourbaunce] of disturbance D. dissece or chaunce H<sub>1</sub>. 573 and] or D. 574 most] salt D. and] om. R. þolemod] pole mod A<sub>2</sub>, pole þi mode D, and lowe of mode H<sub>1</sub>, in al þi mode R. 575 it þe] þe it A<sub>2</sub>. 576 to] for to H<sub>1</sub>. 577 lore] lose A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R, hire D. þi] om. A<sub>2</sub>. 578 Biþenk] Loke & vñthink R. þanne] man H<sub>1</sub>, om. R. 579 haddestu] hast þon (or Last in A<sub>2</sub>) A<sub>2</sub>D, þou haddest hit R. 580 iwroulht] ibouȝt D, wrought R. 581 it wole from þe] wyll it fro þe A<sub>2</sub>R, wil fro þe it H<sub>1</sub>. 582 ne] om. H<sub>1</sub>R. þerfore] it þer of D. 583 Ae] Bot A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R, And D. 584 Boþe] What ever he do boþ H<sub>1</sub>, eke] om. H<sub>1</sub>. 587 Off al þis þu most] Of þis þou most D, þou muste in al þis H<sub>1</sub>, suffraunt] suffrand A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub> (before most) R. 588 þouh þe] ȝe þoȝ þou H<sub>1</sub>, þof þou R. 589 Iesu] Iesu Cr̄ste D. 590 þolede] suffred H<sub>1</sub>, for mon he tholyd R. for man] om. R. 591 was þerto] þere was R. 591 and 592 are omitted in H<sub>1</sub>. In their place are the following two lines:

And many a fowle worde sufferd he þere  
Boþ scornyngis and lesinngis on hym þey bere

<sup>1</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> reads pacienta.

<sup>2</sup> bitis is written below the line in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>3</sup> The line is punctuated here with a period in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

the scorn laid on Christ. He was silent.	And many a skorn on him leid, Wid-oute gruching he held him stille, And þolede hit al wid milde wille,	592
	¶ And al <sup>1</sup> he dede for vre sake, For we sholde ensaumple take To be suffraunt in eueri stede, Riht as vre lord himselue dede.	596
If man wrong thee, be not sad.	And, ȝif a man þurw his power Doþ þe wrong on eorþe her, þenk in þin herte, i preie þe, Off þe wrong and þe vilte, þat men to Iesu Crist dede Here on eorþe in many stede,	600
	¶ And hou he þolede hit middeliche, Al sfor þi loue, sikerliche. On ensaumple of him þu nim, To suffre wrong for þe loue of him ;	604
For love of Christ feel not ill will.	For, i dar seie soþ[e]liche, He may be martyr, treweliche, Wid-oute sheding of mannes blod, þat may ben here þolemod,	608
He may be martyr with- out sword or flame, who is patient for the love of	¶ To suffre wrong and vnriht For þe loue of god almiht : Ac swich a fliht is vnmeþ,	612
God Al- mighty. The fight is hard, contra- ry to nature.	For aȝen þe kinde hit geþ.	616

592 on him] upon R. leid] was leid (*nearly erased*) A<sub>2</sub>, Heide D. 593 he] om. R. held him] was ful H<sub>1</sub>. 594 þolede] suffered H<sub>1</sub>. hit al] it A<sub>2</sub>, milde] good H<sub>1</sub>. 595 al he dede] died D. 596 ensaumple] ensample of him H<sub>1</sub>, at him ensaumpel R. 597 suffraunt] suffrande A<sub>2</sub>DR, sufferynge H<sub>1</sub>, eueri] ilk a R. 598 vre lord] criste H<sub>1</sub>, himselue hym D, for vs H<sub>1</sub>. 599 a] ony R. 600 þe] ony H<sub>1</sub>. 601 in] þus in D. þin] om. D. 602 Off þe] And of þe A<sub>2</sub>, How myche H<sub>1</sub>, and þe] and of þe A<sub>2</sub>R, and H<sub>1</sub>, vilte] wyte A<sub>2</sub>, vilante (*perhaps for vilanie*) D. 603 þat men] Mankynde H<sub>1</sub>. 604 on] in DH<sub>1</sub>R, many] many a DH<sub>1</sub>R. 605 þolede hit] it þoled A<sub>2</sub>, þoled D, sufferid mekelych and H<sub>1</sub>, middeliche] mykelich A<sub>2</sub>, stille H<sub>1</sub>, myldely R. 606 sikerliche] sikerly R. 606 reads in H<sub>1</sub>: For Inf of man with good wille, 607 On ensaumple] onsample D. þul now þou D. nim] take H<sub>1</sub>. 608 þe] om. DH<sub>1</sub>, lone of him] godlis sake H<sub>1</sub>. 609 dar] dar wel H<sub>1</sub>. soþeliche] soþly R. 610 He] þut a man H<sub>1</sub>, martyr treweliche] martrid treuly R. 611 of mannes] of his D, here of his H<sub>1</sub>. 612 may ben] wele may here D, is R. þolemod] þole (verb) mode (substantive) D, of meke mode H<sub>1</sub>, of thole mode R. 615 Ac] For A<sub>2</sub>, And D, But H<sub>1</sub>R. vnmeþ] vnneþe A<sub>2</sub>, wele vnneþ D, vn eþ H<sub>1</sub>. 615 reads in R: But vnneth siche a faithe is þere. 616 þe] om. R. geþ] seþe D, were R.

<sup>1</sup> 1 is above the line in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

- ¶ Whij? for þe kinde of þi manhede  
 Wolde haue wreche of wrongful dede;  
 Ac of Iesu tak þi minde,  
 And fift aȝein þin owen kinde, 620  
 And þu shalt haue for þi goddede  
 Off martyrdom þe heie mede.  
 In crown of  
 martyrdom  
 have mede.
- Ac þu, fersse man, þat art so stout,  
 And leih of mod, and herte proud<sup>1</sup>— 624 God honoreth  
 He wole bowe for noþing  
 To man, ne to heuene king—  
 God honoreth  
 lowliness.
- ¶ And he þat wole him heinen here, 628 The high He  
 þat nele be meke in none manere,  
 In litel while he shal hit knowe  
 And falle þerfore swiþe lowe. draweth low:
- Qui se exaltat, humiliabitur, et qui  
 se humiliat, exaltabitur.**
- þe milde þurw [her]<sup>2</sup> humilite  
 Ful heire honoured þeih sholen be; 632 the low He  
 For þeih<sup>3</sup> sholen be drawnen on heih  
 And wonye<sup>4</sup> god swiþe neih. lifeth high.
- ¶ And pride, it is so foul a last,  
 þat out of heuene he was cast. 636 The fairest  
 þu shalt wel wite, þat i ne liȝe,  
 For Lucifer [with] his cumpaignye,  
 [Out of heuen, þat was so bryȝte,  
 In-to helle for pride he toke his flyȝte.] 640  
 angel was  
 hurled from  
 heaven

617 Whij? om. H<sub>1</sub>. þe] þi D. þi] fe D. om. H<sub>1</sub>R. manhede] mon R.  
 618 wreche of wrongful dede] vengaunce a nou R. of] for A<sub>2</sub>. 619 Ac] Bot  
 A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R. And D. Iesu] Iesu criste D. tak] take þou H<sub>1</sub>. 623 Ac] For A<sub>2</sub>,  
 But H<sub>1</sub>R. þu fersse] þe ferfe (or ferye) D. þou H<sub>1</sub>. art so stout] so proude  
 art R. 624 And] om. A<sub>2</sub>D. heih of] of hyȝe H<sub>1</sub>. and herte] of herte A<sub>2</sub>D. &  
 stoute of hert R. prouf] om. R. 625 He wole] He nyll A<sub>2</sub>D. þou nyit H<sub>1</sub>,  
 he wil not R. 626 To] Nephre to H<sub>1</sub>. 627 he] þat] þat D. wole] wold A<sub>2</sub>.  
 him heine] hym hye A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>, heym hym D. heghe hym R. 628 þat nele]  
 And wil H<sub>1</sub>, and wol not R. be meke] bowe R. in none] in no A<sub>2</sub>D, on  
 noo H<sub>1</sub>R. 630 þerfore swiþe] boþ fowle and H<sub>1</sub>. Latin: *exaltat humiliabitur*  
*humiliat exaltabitur* A<sub>2</sub>R. et] om. A<sub>2</sub>R. humiliat exaltabitur] exaltat hu-  
 miliabitur A<sub>2</sub>R. 632 lieie] Wele A<sub>2</sub>, lely R. þeih sholen] shall he A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R,  
 he sal D. 633 þeih] he D<sub>1</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R. 634 wonye] wonne with H<sub>1</sub>. 635 And]  
 For A<sub>2</sub>D, But H<sub>1</sub>. it is] is D<sub>1</sub>H<sub>1</sub>. a] at A<sub>2</sub>, boþ firste and H<sub>1</sub>. 636 þat] om.  
 D. heuene] paradys A<sub>2</sub>. 637 ne] not R. 638 with] and A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub>DR. his] al  
 his H<sub>1</sub>. 639 and 640 are omitted in A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub>DR.

<sup>1</sup> Read prout. <sup>2</sup> MSS. his.

<sup>3</sup> i in þeih is in red ink above the line in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>4</sup> e is above the line in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

through  
pride.

þurw þe pride þat hem gan folewe,  
þe pine of helle hem gan to swolewe,

¶ And so he wole don alle and some,  
þat in pride be inome. 644

Beware,  
proud man!

[Nowe be þou were, þou proude gome,  
þat þou ne be in pryd enome:]

Cast hit awey, i wole þe rede, 44a  
Er of strong pine þe may drede; 648

¶ For siker, and þu be nomen þerinne,  
Heuene maitou neuere winne,

And oþer weye is þer non,  
Bute to heuene or to helle gon.

Pride drags  
to hell.

þanne do bi consail and bi red,<sup>1</sup>  
And ouercome þe foule qued,

þat fondeþ þe on vch a side,  
þe to holde in þi pride.

652

656

¶ Ac, if þu couþest knowe and se  
þe uertu of humilitie,

For noþing þu noldest shone,  
Ac hit sholde enere wid þe wone:

Have con-  
tempt for  
vanities.

Off alle uertuz it is hext,  
And godes wille it is next.

Sein Gregory þerof bereþ witnes,  
þat muehel spekeþ of soþ[e]nes:

660

664

**Qui sine humilitate uirtutes ceteras  
congregat, est quasi, qui in vento  
pulucrem portat.**

Without hu-  
mility holy  
works are

641 and 642 are omitted in H<sub>1</sub>. 641 gan] dyde D, con R. 642 pine] pytt D, hem] þeyme A<sub>2</sub>, to] om. A<sub>2</sub>R. 643 And so] So R. he] þei A<sub>2</sub>, om. H<sub>1</sub>, wole don] shalle do boþ H<sub>1</sub>, and some] men R. 644 inome] taken R. 645 and 646 are omitted in A<sub>1</sub>D. 645 Nowe be þou] pen he H<sub>1</sub>, Now be R. gome] grome R. 646 ne be] be not H<sub>1</sub>, om. R. enome] I nome H<sub>1</sub>, be not nome R. 647 wole] sal D, om. H<sub>1</sub>. 648–653 are omitted in A<sub>2</sub>. 648 Er of strong] Or of stronger H<sub>1</sub>, Or ellis of strong R. þe] þou DH<sub>1</sub>R. 649 siker] sikerly R. nouen] founde H<sub>1</sub>, tane R. 650 maitou] myȝt þou D. 651 þer] þer neuere H<sub>1</sub>. 652 to helle] helle þou must H<sub>1</sub>, helle R. 653 þanne] Man D. bi] be my D, and bi] and be my D. 654 þe] þat A<sub>2</sub>. 655 on] in A<sub>2</sub>, vch] ilk R. a side] syde DH<sub>1</sub>. 656 þe to holde] For to holdene A<sub>2</sub>. Tho holde þe D, For to hold þe H<sub>1</sub>R. þi] om. R. 657 Ac] For A<sub>2</sub>, And DH<sub>1</sub>, But R. couþest] kowdest H<sub>1</sub>, and] or R. 659 þu noldest] noldest þou A<sub>2</sub>, þou noȝt it D, woltest it H<sub>1</sub>, þou woldist hit R. 660 Ac] For A<sub>2</sub>, And D, But H<sub>1</sub>R. 661 hext] þo hext R. 662 And] And at A<sub>2</sub>. 663 þerof bereþ] bereþ þerof A<sub>1</sub>, bereþ D. 664 soþenes] mekenesse D. Latin: est] et D, om. H<sub>1</sub>R. qui] om. A<sub>2</sub>R, quem D. in vento pulucrem] pulucrem in vento R.

<sup>1</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> bired.

- Man, þou[h] þu do muchel god,  
But þou be meke and þolemod,  
Sein Gregory seiþ, þat holi clerk,  
þat muchel on ydel is þat werk. 668
- Hit fareþ bi swiche, as we finde,  
As who-so bereþ poudre in grete windē ;  
For, bere he neuere so muche,<sup>1</sup> like dust in  
Hit fleþ awēy ful lihtliche. 672  
Off man hit fareþ riht so,  
For, gode dedes þouh he do, 45 a  
Many and fele in vch a side,  
þer may non wid him abide : 676  
Bute he haue humilite,  
Awey þeih wolen fro him fle. Away they  
¶ A god þing is humilite : fly.  
Off him comeþ verray charite, 680 From humili-  
And penaunce, and eke shrift— ty springeth  
þis is of god a wel fair ȝift— penitence, of  
And of him forȝif[e]nesse of sinne. which  
Wel is him þat hit may wiinne ! 684 forgiveness  
¶ Who-so is aferd of his trespaz, is won,  
He shal haue comfort and solaz  
Off þe holi gost, witerli,  
þat wole [his] soule comforti, 688 the soul's  
And make men haue, mid iwissee, comfort,  
Tristi hope to heuene blisse. and everlasting-  
Sein Daui þer-of spak and seide<sup>2</sup> ing delights.

665 do] om. D. muchel] ful meche D, nencr so mikel R. 666 meke and] lowe & meke of H<sub>1</sub>, polemod] þole (*verb*) mod (*substantive*) D, mode H<sub>1</sub>, of thole mode R. 667 þat] þe A<sub>2</sub>, clerk] chirche A<sub>2</sub>D. 668 on] in A<sub>2</sub>DR. þat] þi H<sub>1</sub>, his R. 670 who-so] he þat H<sub>1</sub>. grete] þe H<sub>1</sub>. 671 bere he] þoȝ he here H<sub>1</sub>, of he here R. 672 fleþ] falleþe D, flyeþ H<sub>1</sub>R. ful] om. A<sub>2</sub>. 673 and 674 are transposed in A<sub>1</sub>, H<sub>1</sub>, and R. 673 Off] Ryȝt be D. riht so] also A<sub>2</sub>. 674 þouh] of R. 675 and] aue D. in] on H<sub>1</sub>R. a side] syde A<sub>2</sub>D. 676 him] ofer R. 677 Bute] But if H<sub>1</sub>. humilite] verray humylite R. 678 and 679 are omitted in A<sub>2</sub>. 678 Awey] Alle R. þeih wolen fro him] fro hym þay wyl D, þei wil al fro him H<sub>1</sub>. fleþ] flye H<sub>1</sub>. 679 is omitted in D. 680 him] him þat H<sub>1</sub>. 681 And] In D. 682 þis] þat D. we] om. A<sub>2</sub>. ful R. 683 of him] of hem D, om. R. sinne] hys synne A<sub>2</sub>. 684 hit may] þat may A<sub>2</sub>D, may it H<sub>1</sub>. 685 Who-so] For who so A<sub>2</sub>, He þat H<sub>1</sub>. aferd] affred D. 687 witerli] vtterly H<sub>1</sub>. 688 his] þi A<sub>1</sub>R, man H<sub>1</sub>. comforti] confort in hye R. 689 men] here D, men to R. mid] mynde A<sub>2</sub>D, þer myd H<sub>1</sub>, þer with R. iwissee] wysse D. 690 Tristi] Of tresty D. 691 þer-of] om.

<sup>1</sup> Read miche.

<sup>2</sup> Read sede.

	In þe <sup>1</sup> sauter, as men rede :	692
	<b>Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo, consolationes tue letificauerunt<sup>2</sup> animam meam.</b>	
Fear sin!	'[þe] <sup>3</sup> more man douteþ here sinne, þe more ioye he shal wime ;' For, who-so haþ of sinne <sup>4</sup> drede And nel noht don þat <sup>5</sup> foule dede, Hit semeþ, þat he haþ trewe loue To Iesu Crist, þat is aboue.	696
	¶ O þing is comen in my þou[h]t, To shewe hit wole i spare noht :	700
The godly	¶ ȝif any þat is in holy lyf, Man, maiden, oþer wif, In any time, þurw any eas, Doþ a litel trespass, þat be aȝein godes wille, Oþer loud[e] oþer stille, He wole hane more sorwe and drede For þat litel sinful dede,	45b
for a little trespass	þan many on wole in eny stounde, þat lyþ in dedli sinne bounde. ȝif ȝe wolen wite herof þe skile, Herkne, and i ȝou telle wole : <sup>6</sup>	704
grieveth more	þat man þat lyþ in dedli sinne, And to singy wole noht bliue,	708
than doth for his sin		
the man lying in guilt.		712

692 as men] boke men may D. rede] do rede H<sub>1</sub>. *Latia : mororum* om. R. *meō*] om. D. *consolationes tua*] om. R. 693 man] a mon R. here] his A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R. here of D. 694 he shal] shal he H<sub>1</sub>. 695 sinne] his sinne A<sub>1</sub>R. 696 And] He D. nel] wil H<sub>1</sub>R. noht] no more R. þat foule dede] þe feude reed H<sub>1</sub>. hit in dede R. 698 is] sittipe A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R. 699 comen] comyn now D. in] to R. 700 hit wole] it nyl A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>, nil D. hit I wil R. ij om. R. 701 þat is] man be H<sub>1</sub>, is R. 702 Man maiden] Man or childe made H<sub>1</sub>. oþer] or A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>, wydow oþer D. childe or R. 703 any] one R. þurw] for D. any] a R. 704 Doþ] and dos R. a litel] gret or smale H<sub>1</sub>. 705 be] is H<sub>1</sub>R. 706 Oþer] Erly or late H<sub>1</sub>. be hit R. oþer] or H<sub>1</sub>, be hit R. 708 litel] on H<sub>1</sub>. 709 on] om. DH<sub>1</sub>. 710 lyþ] es D. bounde] I bounde A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R. ibounde D. 711 ȝe wolen wite] þou wylt A<sub>2</sub>R. þou wolt nyt D. ȝe wil H<sub>1</sub>. þe skile] skyll D. ony þinge wite H<sub>1</sub>. 712 i ȝou telle] I þe telle A<sub>2</sub>R. tell þe I D. I wil tel ȝow H<sub>1</sub>. wole] ȝitte H<sub>1</sub>. 713 þat] þe A<sub>2</sub>DR. 714 And to singy] Fro day to day and H<sub>1</sub>, and þo synne he R. wole] wyll he A<sub>2</sub>, nele DH<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> þe is above the line in MS. A<sub>1</sub>. <sup>2</sup> MS. tue letificaueront.

<sup>3</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> has so. <sup>4</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> has his sinne.

<sup>5</sup> One letter has been erased after þat in MS. A<sub>1</sub>. <sup>6</sup> Read wille.

- ¶ Gostli wit he haþ ilore.  
Whi, i wole telle, [and] wharfore ;  
For gostli siht, witerliche,  
Man, is þi resoun, sikerliche,  
Wher-þur[w] þu miht in þi mod  
Knowe boþe yuel and god,  
And shed to make in eueri dede  
Bitwene soþnesse and falshede.
- ¶ Anl, whan mannes soule, ful iwis,  
þurw dedli sinne ifiled is,  
His knowelaching is al gon ;  
For wit ne siht haþ [he]<sup>1</sup> non,  
Wherfore þe sinful man  
Noþer he ne may ne he ne can  
His owen stat [a]riht ise,
- ¶ Ne knowe in what lyf he be  
For þisternes, þat he is inne  
þurw þe filþe of dedli sinne.
- ¶ Ac he þat liueþ in holy lyf,  
Man, mayden, oþer wyf,  
And serueþ god on eorþe her,  
His gostli siht is swiþe cler ;  
For þerwid he may knowe and se—  
In what lyf[e] þat he be—  
God and yuel, lasse and more,

715 wit] syȝt D. ilore] for lore A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>. 716 wole] sal D. telle] þe tell A<sub>2</sub>. and] om. A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub>, how and D. 716 reads in H<sub>1</sub> and R : I wil ȝow telle whi & wharfore. ȝow] þe R. 717 gostli] þi gostly D. siht] witte H<sub>1</sub>. witerliche] sikerliche] soþelyche D. 718 Man is þi reson] Is þi reson man H<sub>1</sub>. sikerliche] soþelyche D. 719 Wher-þurw] wher'e A<sub>2</sub>R. 720 boþe] om. A<sub>2</sub>. boþe þe DR, þer bi H<sub>1</sub>. and] and eke þe D, and þo R. 721 shed] partye H<sub>1</sub>. to] om. DH<sub>1</sub>. eueri] alle þi R. dede] stede A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>. 722 Bitwene] Hyt wene D, bytwyx R. 723 And whau] When A<sub>2</sub>. mannes soule] man is A<sub>2</sub>. ful iwis] foule es D, fylid is H<sub>1</sub>. I wis R. 724 þurw dedli] And ȝorouȝ A<sub>2</sub>. þorow þe fende and H<sub>1</sub>. ifiled is] fouled es D, I wisse H<sub>1</sub>, fyled is R. 725 His knowelaching] Here knawlagyng D, gostly knowyng H<sub>1</sub>, his knowing R. al gon] agone A<sub>2</sub>, al agone D. 726 ne] nor A<sub>2</sub>. 727 Wherfore þe] þerfor þe sorri H<sub>1</sub>. 728 ne may] maye H<sub>1</sub>R. ne he ne] nouȝere he ne A<sub>2</sub>, ne noþer he H<sub>1</sub>, ne he R. 729 ariht] riht A<sub>1</sub>R, ryȝt wel H<sub>1</sub>. ise] see A<sub>2</sub>R. 730 he] þat he R. 731 þisternes] derkenes A<sub>2</sub>, þe derknesse D, þe sternesse H<sub>1</sub>, merkenes R. 732 filþe] fylng R. 733 Ac] Bot A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R. And D. he] þoo R. 734 oþer] childe or R. 734 reads in H<sub>1</sub> : Be he man mayde or wyfe. 735 serueþ] serued D. ou eorþe] euer A<sub>2</sub>, in erþe H<sub>1</sub>. 736 is] om. D. swiþe] ful H<sub>1</sub>R. 737—740 are omitted in H<sub>1</sub> and R. 737 se] scene D. 738 is omitted in D. 739 and] oþer D. and] oþer D.

<sup>1</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> has here.

The Al-  
mighty  
guideth him

to fear the  
day of  
eternity.

Needful is  
desire after  
righteous-  
ness,  
therefore

at once

proceed to  
confess.

- Al he knoweþ þurw godes lore ; 740  
**¶** For widinne him is god almiht  
 And ȝeueþ him grace of gostly siht  
 To sen and knowe in his mod  
 þe longe lyff, þat is so god, 744  
 And þe drede of domes-day,  
 And þe pine þat lasteþ ay,  
 Wher-þurw hij sholen þe more drede  
 And flen sinne in al here dede. 748
- ¶** Here ȝe muwen se þe wrong  
 And knowe, wher-on [hit]<sup>1</sup> is long,  
 þat sinful man may noht se  
 Hise giltes, þou[h] þeih<sup>2</sup> grete be. 752
- ¶** Listneþ nouþe to my speche,  
 And of nedful þing i wole ȝou teche.  
 Off holi churche it is þe lore,  
 þat spekeþ to alle, lasse and more, 756  
 And seiþ : ‘Man, while þu miht liue,  
 Loke þat þu be ofte shriue.’
- ¶** Anon, so þu hast sinne wrouht,  
 While it is newe in þi<sup>3</sup> þoult, 760  
 Anon to shrifte þat þu gange,<sup>4</sup>  
 Ne dwelle þu noht þerwid to longe ; 45 d  
 For, if þu dost, þu miht wel wite,  
 þat sumwhat shal be forȝete,<sup>5</sup> 764  
 Wher-þurw þu miht be blamed,  
 And at þe dom sore ashamed.
- ¶** þerfore, man, while þu miht liue,

*De Con-  
fessione.*

742 And ȝeueþ him] þat is R. 743 sen and knowe] know ande to se D.  
 747 hij sholen] þei scholen A<sub>2</sub>R, he sal D. þei haue H<sub>1</sub>. 748 And] to R.  
 flen] flye H<sub>1</sub>. i[n] and A<sub>2</sub>] bi H<sub>1</sub>. here] his [nede has been crossed out after  
 his.] D, maner H<sub>1</sub>. dede] rede H<sub>1</sub>. 749 ȝe muwen se] we now sene D. þe] bōþ ryȝt and H<sub>1</sub>. 750 knowe] se R. long] alange A<sub>2</sub>. 751 þat] And D, þe  
 H<sub>1</sub>. may] om. D. 753 nouþe] now H<sub>1</sub>R. 754 of nedful] mede H<sub>1</sub>. nedeful  
 R. wole ȝou] sal þe D, wil þe R. 755 churche] clerge D. 756 lasse] bōþ  
 lasse H<sub>1</sub>. 757 miht] may DR. 758 ofte] clene R. shriue] Iscryne A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>. 759  
 Anon so] als sone as R. wrouht] I wrought A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>. 760 While] þe whyle  
 D. 761 Anon] On on D. þat] loke þat H<sub>1</sub>. 762 þu] om. A<sub>2</sub>. noht þerwid]  
 þerwith nauȝt D. 763 miht] maist A<sub>2</sub>. may DR. 764 sumwhat] som gylt D.  
 shal be] þu myȝte H<sub>1</sub>. forȝete] for ȝete of hit R. 765 miht] maiste DR. 766  
 sore] þerof D, ful sore R. 767 miht] mayȝt DR.

<sup>1</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> has his. <sup>2</sup> MS. D has þay þay. <sup>3</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> reads þi þi.

<sup>4</sup> Read gonge. <sup>5</sup> Read forȝite.

- Loke, þat þu be [clene]<sup>1</sup> shriue, 768  
 Wid sorwe of herte and repentaunce,  
 And of þe prest tak þi penaunce.  
 þis is a riche medicine,  
 Hit shildeþ man fro helle pine. 772  
 A betre þing was neuere founde,—  
 For hit may hele dedli wounde—  
 And, who-so euere wole hit craue,  
 Wid-outen cost he may hit haue. 776  
 ¶ Man, ne lat hit for no shame,  
 Last þu falle þerfore in blame.  
 If þu nilt for shame [shewe] hit her,  
 Hit shal ben shewed elle[s]wher<sup>2</sup> 780  
 To alle þe shaftes þat euere were,  
 And alle þeili sholen sen and here.  
**Nihil absconditum,<sup>3</sup> quod non scietur,**  
**necc occultum, quod non reueletur,<sup>4</sup>**  
 And þer-of þu shalt haue shame  
 And þer-to wel muche blame. 784  
 Tweye manere shame men fint in boke,  
 Who-so wole þerafter loke :  
 þat on goþ to dampnacioun ;  
 þat oþer, to sauuacioun. 788  
 ¶ 3if ȝe wole wite hou hit be,  
 Sitteþ stille, and herkneþ me :

768 shriue] I schryue A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>. 769 of] at þyne A<sub>2</sub>. 770 þe] by A<sub>2</sub>. 771  
 riche] aryȝt D, a good & ryche H<sub>1</sub>, rightful R. 772 man] Je right wys man  
 D, helle] om. D. 773 was] nas A<sub>2</sub>. founde] ifounde A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>. 774 may hele]  
 makes holle R. 775 who-so] he þat H<sub>1</sub>. 777 ne] no D. lat] late þou A<sub>2</sub>,  
 leue H<sub>1</sub>. hit] þou R. 778 falle þerfore] þerfore falle R. blame] gret blame  
 D. 779 nilt] lette H<sub>1</sub>, wilt not R. shewe] om. A<sub>1</sub>, to shew H<sub>1</sub>. hit] hem  
 H<sub>1</sub>R. 780 Hit] þei H<sub>1</sub>R. elles] als H<sub>1</sub>. 781 shaftes] creatures D, folke H<sub>1</sub>,  
 men R. 782 And] om. D. sen] hom se R. and here] it per D. Latin :  
*absconditum*] *occultum* D, *optatum* H<sub>1</sub>. *scietur*] *reueletur* H<sub>1</sub>R. *occultum*]  
*absconditum* H<sub>1</sub>. *reueletur*] *sciatur* H<sub>1</sub>R. 783 þer-of] þeire A<sub>2</sub>. 784] wel]  
 ful R. 785 manere] maner of DR. 787 þat on] þe tone D. 788 þat oþer]  
 þe toþer D. to] vnto D, goþ to H<sub>1</sub>. 789 ȝe wole wite] he wytt D, þu wilt  
 wite H<sub>1</sub>R. hou] what H<sub>1</sub>. hit] þis may R. 790 me] to me A<sub>2</sub>. 790 has  
 the following readings in D and in H<sub>1</sub>R (l. 328) :

Harkeneþ alle now to me D.  
 Herken & I wil telle þe H<sub>1</sub>R. (l. 328)

<sup>1</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> has ofte. <sup>2</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> eller wher.  
<sup>3</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> Nichil absconditum. <sup>4</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> releuetur.

Penance from  
the priest is  
healing

for deadly  
wound.

In shame  
delay confes-  
sion,

and all the  
creatures  
that ever  
were shall  
see and hear.

True shame,	¶ Man, þouh þu haue sinne wrought	46 a
in regret and sorrow,	In word, in dede, and in þouht,	792
craves pardon.	If þu art þiself þeroft ashamed, And at þin herte sore agramed,	
Forgiveness wins	¶ And ne sparest for shame ne for eize, þat þu hit nilt in shrifte seie,	796
eternal heaven.	Off god þu miht wel lihtliche Forȝifnesse haue, sikerliche.	
False shame	þis ilke shame, be my croun, Draweþ al to sauuacioun.	800
fears to show guilt.	¶ þat oþer shame so is þis : ȝif a man haþ don amis	
This wicked shame brings death.	And foule sinne[s] <sup>1</sup> haþ iwrouht, And wole for shame shewe hem noht In his shrifte to þe prest, He wraþþeþ sore Iesu Crist. Forȝifnes, iwis, ne tit him neuere, But in helle to brennen euere.	804
	¶ Whi artu more ashamed to speke A word, þan godes heste to breke ? þis is foule, wicked shame, þat bringeþ sinful man in blame.	808
	þe lore þat comeþ out of godes mouþ, To alle men hit sholde be couþ :	
	<b>Lauamini, et mundi estote.</b>	<i>De Prenitentia.</i>
	Iesu spak and seide ene :	

791 þouh] ȝef A<sub>2</sub>DR. sinne] foule synne A<sub>2</sub>D. wrought] Iwrouȝt A<sub>2</sub>D, don H<sub>1</sub>R. 792 and] ouþere A<sub>2</sub>, or D. 792 reads in H<sub>1</sub> and R : Loþly & fele manyoon, fele] foule R. (Cp. l. 838 in A<sub>1</sub>.) 793 þisself þeroft] þyself A<sub>2</sub>, þeroft H<sub>1</sub>. 794 at] in D. sore] þeroft D. 795 ne] om. R. for] ne for D, not for R. shame ne for eize] loue ne ay R. 796 þat] But þat H<sub>1</sub>, hit nilt] nylt it A<sub>2</sub>D, wilt H<sub>1</sub>, hom wilt R. 797 þu] þat H<sub>1</sub>, om. R. miht] may D, þen may þou R. wel lihtliche] lightly R. 798 sikerliche] wele sykerlyche A<sub>2</sub>, sikerly R. 800 all] þe R. 801 þat] þe D. so is þis] soch it is A<sub>2</sub>, for soþ is þis H<sub>1</sub>, for soþe hit is R. 802 ȝif] ȝif þat D. 803 foule] many fowle H<sub>1</sub>. iwrouȝt] wroȝt DH<sub>1</sub>R. 804 wole] nyl A<sub>2</sub>D. hem] it D. 807 iwis] om. D. ne tit him] tydeþ hym A<sub>2</sub>R, ne tydile D. tidde hym H<sub>1</sub>. 808 to brennen] to brynnne for A<sub>2</sub>, to wou D, fyre burne for H<sub>1</sub>, fire brenne R. 809 more] nere D. to speke] a word to speke A<sub>2</sub>. 810 A word þan] þane þou art A<sub>2</sub>. to] for to D. 811 is] is þe A<sub>2</sub>D, ilke H<sub>1</sub>R. 812 þat] om. H<sub>1</sub>R. sinful] a synful H<sub>1</sub>, man] men A<sub>2</sub>D. in] in gret D, to H<sub>1</sub>, in milke] R. 813 ont] om. A<sub>2</sub>. The manuscript continues with the Latin following 814 in H<sub>2</sub>. 815 lesu] Iesu Criste D, Thus Iesu H<sub>2</sub>. and seide] to hem al DH<sub>1</sub>. ene] euene A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>, bidene DH<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> sinneþ.

- 'Wassheþ ou, and beþ clene.' 816 Wash therefrom.  
 Kindeliche ofte men seþ,  
 Wid water men wassheþ, þat foule beþ,
- ¶ And<sup>1</sup> hot water, be þu bold,  
 Makeþ clannere þan doþ cold. 820  
 Al þis i seie sikerliche,  
 For to speken openliche,  
 ¶ What hit is for to mene :  
 ' Wassheþ ou, and beþ clene.' 824  
 Summe wassheþ, ac noht arilht,  
 For þe clannere beþ hij no wiht.  
 þe hote teres of mannes eiȝe<sup>2</sup> Weep, and  
 Makeþ clannere þan any liȝe. 828  
 Many on wepeþ for his misdele,  
 Ae to do sinne noht hij ne drede : leave sin.  
 ¶ He weneþ, wasshe him wid þat water,  
 And he is foul neuere þe later. 832

816 beþ] be ȝe made H<sub>1</sub>. 817 Kindeliche] Kendely H<sub>2</sub>R. ofte men] often-tyme men H<sub>1</sub>, menne ofte tyme H<sub>2</sub>, of men R. 818 wassheþ] wasshe hem H<sub>1</sub>. 819 and 820 are inserted between 828 and 829 in H<sub>2</sub>. 819 And] For H<sub>2</sub>. 820 Makeþ] wasshis R. doþ] þe A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>2</sub>, dos þo R. 821 Al] And al H<sub>1</sub>. ȝis ij] I hyte H<sub>2</sub>, sikerliche] sekerlye H<sub>2</sub>. 822 speken] schew D. openliche] openlye H<sub>2</sub>. 823—826 are omitted in H<sub>2</sub>. 823 hit is] is hit R. 824 beþ] beþ made H<sub>1</sub>. 825 wassheþ] wasshen hom R. ac] bot A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R, and D. 826 For] Neuere A<sub>2</sub>. hijl] þei A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>R. no] ne A<sub>2</sub>, nauȝt DR. wiht] white A<sub>2</sub>, ryȝt D, whiȝt H<sub>1</sub>, dight R. 827 mannes] a mannes D. 828 Makeþ] þay makeþ D, washeþ H<sub>1</sub>. 829—840 read on fol. 53 a in H<sub>2</sub>:

Sorowe of herte and repentaunce (*Cp. I. 769 in A<sub>1</sub>.*)  
 And for ȝowre synnys doo penawnce (*Cp. I. 474 in A<sub>1</sub>.*)  
 Shalle graunte ȝewe myghte & space

- 832 Iesu cryste too seue hys flace 4  
 Lady crownyd, heuene qwene  
 Preye for vs alle be dene  
 To thy sone, kynge of heuene  
 836 For hys holy namys senene 8  
 That he vs grauante, hys ryche blysse  
 That we therof nott ne mysse  
 And that hit soo mote bee  
 840 Amen. Amen for seynte charyte 12

EXPLICIT SPECULUM GY DE WAREWYKE]  
 SECUNDUM ALQUINUM HEREMITE ]

841—1034 are omitted in H<sub>2</sub>. The manuscript ends with 840. For colophon, see the Introduction. 829 Many on] Many A<sub>2</sub>R, And noman D. his] here A<sub>2</sub>R. 830 Ac] Bot A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R, And D. noht] om. A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R, he nyȝ nouȝt D. hij ne] þei no A<sub>2</sub>, om. D. he hav no H<sub>1</sub>, fai han no R. 831 He weneþ] þei wene H<sub>1</sub>R. wasshe him] þay wassh hym D, to wasshe hem H<sub>1</sub>R. 832 he is] es D, ȝit þei beþ H<sub>1</sub>, þai ben R. foule] foulid R.

<sup>1</sup> In MS. A<sub>1</sub>, d is in red ink above the line.

<sup>2</sup> Read iȝe.

Whij? For ȝit wole he noht sinne fle :  
Iwys, vnclene he shal be.

Ac anoþer manere wasshing  
Makeþ clene of alle þing : 836

Man, þouh þon hauie sinne don,  
Lodlich and foule many on,

¶ ȝif þu hast wille to leue þi sinne,  
þat þu no more ne come þerinne, 840

Of þin eijen þe hote teres,  
þat goþ adoun bi þine leres,

Hij wolen make god acord

Bitwene þi soule and oure lord 844  
And make þe clene of þi sinne,  
Wherþurw þu miht heuene wiinne.

¶ Nu ȝe muwe witen, what it is to mene :  
'Wassheþ ou, and beþ clene ;' 848

Ac he þat wole clene be,

Certes [synne] he mot fle.

¶ Wole ȝe here ȝit eft sone  
Off þing þat nedful is to done ; 46c 852

Hit is godes owen lore,

þat spekeþ to alle, lasse and more :

**Ambulate, dum lucem habetis, ne  
tenebrae vos<sup>1</sup> comprehendant.**

*De non Tar-  
dando Con-  
verti ad Do-  
minum.*

Haste, lest

night sur-  
prise.

Life is day :  
death is  
night.

'Go, man, while þat þu hast liht,

Lest þe of-take þe derke niht.' 856

þi lyf, man, is cleped liht,

And þi deþ þe derke niht.

833 Whij] om. R. ȝit wole he] ȝit he nyl D. þei wil H<sub>1</sub>, if þai wil R. fle] and fle A<sub>2</sub>, flye H<sub>1</sub>. 834 he shall] salle he D. þei shulle H<sub>1</sub>R. 834 reads in A<sub>2</sub>: He was vnelene so schall he be. 835 Ac] Bot A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R. And eke D. 836 Makeþ Clense D. 837 þoul] if R. don] idone D. 838 Lodlich] Dedelyche (Cp. l. 792 in H<sub>1</sub>R.) D. lodely R. (*The last word of line 838 is lost through a hole in the parchment in D.*) 839 leue] lete D. 840—845 are omitted in A<sub>2</sub>. 840 no more] more D. ne] oin. H<sub>1</sub>R. come] falle R. 843 Hij] bay DH<sub>1</sub>R. god] a good H<sub>1</sub>. 846 miht] salt D. 847 ȝe muwe] may þou R. it is] is R. 848 beþ] be ȝe made H<sub>1</sub>. 849 Ac] Bot A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R. And D. he] ȝe R. 850 synne] sum what A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub>R. deedly synne H<sub>1</sub>. he] ȝe R. mot] mooste A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R. fle] flye H<sub>1</sub>. 851 eft] after R. 852 Off] One R. nedfull] medeful D. to] to be H<sub>1</sub>. 853 godes owen] Iesu Criste D. 854 þat] om. D. alle] al men H<sub>1</sub>. 855 þat] om. A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R. 856 of-take] ouere take A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R. 857 is eleped] I clepe þi D. is cald þi R. 858 þe] is þe A<sub>2</sub>, þi D.

<sup>1</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> te tenebre nos.

While þu art on liue, þu miht worche Godes werkes of holi churche, <sup>1</sup> And, certes, whan þat þu art ded, þanne maitou don noþer god ne qued.		860	While it is day, do works of love.
¶ þerfore, man, i warne þe, While þu miht gon and se, In gode weyes sped þe faste ! Lef, þe niht þe wole agaste, And sikerliche widoute nay, At þi dei[i]ng <sup>2</sup> shal ben þi domesday, For þere shal ben irekened al þat euere distu, gret and smal. þere þu shalt knowe and se God or yuel, wheiþer it be, <sup>3</sup> And þanne, par auinter, wo[ld]stu fain Biginne to worche and turne aȝein ;		864	Speed fast. The dark night brings terror.
¶ Ae, certes, þu ne shalt noht go, Ae riht after þu <sup>4</sup> hast do, þu shalt fonge verreement þare þi rihte iugement.		868	Then shall be counted all thy deeds.
¶ Et ideo ambulate, dum lucem habetis.	46 d	872	
Deþ is gilour swiþe strong And gileþ many on euere among, þerfore worch, while þu mait,		876	As thy deeds, shall be thy judgment.
880	Death is a deceiver, and deceives many, therefore		

859 þu miht] *and* may D, þow maiste H<sub>1</sub>R. 860 Godes werkes] To don warkes D, Good warkis *and* lawful H<sub>1</sub>. 861 þat] *om.* A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>R. 862 þanne maitou] þou mayȝt D, don noþer] nouȝtere do A<sub>2</sub>DR. ne] nor A<sub>2</sub>. 864 While] þe while A<sub>2</sub>, þat while D, whil þat R. þu miht] mayȝt þou D, þow maiste H<sub>1</sub>R. 866 Lef] Les A<sub>2</sub>, Laste DR, Els H<sub>1</sub>. þe wole] wil þe R. 867 And] For D. 869 irekened] rekenyde A<sub>2</sub>R, rekene D, rekkend H<sub>1</sub>. 870 distu] dedest þou A<sub>2</sub>, þou diste H<sub>1</sub>, þou didist R. *aw]* or A<sub>2</sub>D. 872 or] and A<sub>2</sub>, oþer D. it be] þay benn D. 873 And þaune] þen H<sub>1</sub>, woldestu] þou woldest A<sub>2</sub>, noldest þou D. 874 Beginne] By D. 875 Ae] Bot A<sub>3</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R, And D. ne] *om.* DH<sub>1</sub>R. noht go] so A<sub>2</sub>, not so H<sub>1</sub>R. 876 Ae] Bot A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>R. þu] þat þu A<sub>1</sub>R. 877 shalt fonge] schalt A<sub>2</sub>, afong D, shalt fynde þere it, iȝe]  
shalt take R. 878 þare] Fong þeire A<sub>2</sub>, For soþ H<sub>1</sub>, rihte] *om.* A<sub>2</sub>, oweȝ H<sub>1</sub>, rightwis R. 879 gilour] a gylour A<sub>2</sub>, swiþe] *om.* A<sub>2</sub>. 880 gileþ] be gyle D, bigiles R. many on] man A<sub>2</sub>D (D has an erasure of m before man.), many men (*The e in men is defective through a small hole in the parchment.*) H<sub>1</sub>. 881 worch] man wirch A<sub>2</sub>, *om.* D. while þu mait] while mayt D, with out ccessyngis H<sub>1</sub>, whil þou maght R.

<sup>1</sup> Read wirche : chirche. <sup>2</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> dejng.

<sup>3</sup> wheiþer it be is written on erasure in MS. A<sub>1</sub>. <sup>4</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> þat þu.

For soleyneliche þu milt be caitht.

**E**nitiū sapientiæ<sup>1</sup> timor domini: *De Timore Domini.*

fear God,

'Drede of god in alle<sup>2</sup> þing

884

but not in  
dread,

Off wisdom is þe biginnig;

And many hauen of god drede,

Ac noht for lone of his godhede,

But last þeih sholde for here gilt

In-to strong pine ben ipult.<sup>3</sup>

888

¶ Hit fareþ bi swiche, i vnderstonde,

As hit doþ here bi þe bonde:

þe bonde nele noþer loude ne stille

892

Don noht aȝein his lordes wille—

Ac þat nis for lone ne for acord,

þat he haþ toward his lord—

For, if he dede, he wot wel,

896

He sholde lese of his eatel;

And ȝit hit fareþ bi man also,

þat spareþ more sinne to [do]<sup>4</sup>

Fear the

For þe doute of gret pining,

900

þan for þe lone of heuen king.

King of  
Heaven,  
so that

¶ It is noht euel so to biginne,

For drede of pine to late þi sime,

For sone after he may kacche grace

904

To biȝenke him on godes face,

Hu murrie hit were, to haue þe siht

47a

Off godes face, þat is so briht!

882 For] Wyrche gude for D. milt be] may be A<sub>2</sub>R, mayt D. miȝt han þyn  
H<sub>1</sub>. caitht] endyng/s H<sub>1</sub>. 884 is þe] þis is þe first A<sub>2</sub>. 885 And many hauen  
of] And many on hape of DR. Man haue euer H<sub>1</sub>. drede] in drede H<sub>1</sub>. 886  
Ac] Bot A<sub>2</sub>R, And D, For H<sub>1</sub>. noht for lone] lesingis of H<sub>1</sub>. 887 But] And  
H<sub>1</sub>. last] lat A<sub>2</sub>, þat R. þeih sholde] þei shullen D. þat þou shalt H<sub>1</sub>. here]  
faire D, þi H<sub>1</sub>. 888 strong] om. A<sub>2</sub>. ipult] pute D, þlyte H<sub>1</sub>, pilt R. 890  
As] Also A<sub>2</sub>. þe] a H<sub>1</sub>. 891 nele] wil H<sub>1</sub>R. noþer] neuere A<sub>2</sub>. 892 noht]  
om. H<sub>1</sub>, oghit R. *The manuscript ends with 892 in A<sub>2</sub>.* 893 Ac] and D, But  
H<sub>1</sub>R. nis] es DR, nowþer H<sub>1</sub>. for] for no DR. ne for] no for no D, ne for  
non R. 894 toward] to R. 895 wot] wote ful D, wist hit R. 896 sholde  
lese] lese suld D. 897 ȝit] riȝt D. 898 þat] om. D. spareþ] lettes R. to]  
for to D. 899 þe] om. R. 900 þan] om. H<sub>1</sub>. þe lone] lone DR. 901 biginne]  
gyne DH<sub>1</sub>. 902 late] ȝite D, lew<sup>ȝ</sup> H<sub>1</sub>, leene his R. 903 sone after he  
may] he may sonn aftyr D, soon after þou myȝt H<sub>1</sub>. 904 biȝenke] be þenke  
DR. him on] hym of DR, þe in H<sub>1</sub>. 905 þe] a D, þat H<sub>1</sub>. 906 godes] þat  
D, his H<sub>1</sub>. so briht] bryȝt so H<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Inicium sapientie. <sup>2</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> al alle.

<sup>3</sup> Probably read ipilt. See l. 239. <sup>4</sup> MSS. A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub> have go.

- ¶ And so he shal casten his loue  
To Iesu Crist, þat is aboue,  
And leten and flen sinful dede,  
Boþe for loue and eke for drede.  
Ac, who-so wole don be my lore,  
Iwis he shal spare more, 908  
To flen simme day and niht,  
For drede to lese þat faire siht  
to flee the  
evil world,
- ¶ Off goðes face, þat is so cler,  
Off whom we han al oure power,  
þan for drede of any wo,  
þat any þing milhte hem do.
- ¶ Leue frend, herkne to me,  
And more i wole speke to þe ;  
For in þe godspel i wole rede  
Off þe uertu of almesdede.
- þin almesse þu shalt forþ puite,  
And spare hit noht, þouh hit be luite :  
[In þe godspel it es write,  
I sal, man, þut þou it wite.]
- God seiþ þus in his lore :
- ' Man, if þu miht ȝeue no more  
¶ But a dishful of cold water,  
þu shalt hit ȝeue neuere þe later  
Wid gode wille and wid charite,  
And ful wel it worþ ȝolden þe.' 47 b  
And, whan þu shalt hane þank and mede  
For so litel an almesdede,
- ¶ Siker maitou þanne be,  
If þu ȝenest muche in charite  
To god, þu miht þe betre spedē,

907 so] þus D. he] om. R. shal] may þen H<sub>1</sub>, þen shal he R. 908 is] syttes DR. 909 leten and flen] lette flene D, leue and flye H<sub>1</sub>, leene & fle alle R. 910 eke] om. H<sub>1</sub>R. *The manuscript ends with 910 in H<sub>1</sub>.* 911 Ac] and D, But R. 912 spare] lett R. 913 dav] bothe day R. 915 Off] And of D, 916 Off] And of D. 917 any] oure R. 918 milhte hem] hym myȝt (*over* *crusure*) D, vs might R. 919 herkne] herken now D. 920 more i wole] meche I sal D. 921 þe godspel i wole] þis boke I sal D, þo gospel as we R. 922 almesse] almes dede R. puite] pitte R. 924 1st hit] om. D. luite] little R. 925 and 926 are omitted in A<sub>1</sub>R. 930 shalt hit ȝeue] putt hit forth R. 931 wid charite] in pyte D, charite R. 932 worþ] wroþ D, bes R. ȝolden] ȝisoldle D. 933 whan] hon D. hause þank and] be penke for þat D. 935 maitou þanne] þen may þou R. 937 To] Tho D. miht] salt D.

In almsdeed  
is double  
good.

This learn of  
old law.

Christ sent  
Elijah to a  
widow to  
impart to her  
this twofold  
virtue.

Elijah

met the  
widow, and  
asked for

water and  
bread,  
to help him  
to live.

And þe more shal ben þi mede.

Enes i it vnderstod,

þat in almesdede is double god :

940

¶ It forðoþ sinne, wite it wel,

And hit wole eche þi catel.

And, if þu art her-of in dredē,

Hu hit milhte so be in dede,

944

A god witnesse i wole drawe,

On ensaumple of þe olde lawe.

¶ Holi writ, þat wole noht liȝe,

Spekeþ of þe profete Eliȝe,

948

Hou Iesu Crist, houre lo[ue]rd swete,

Spak to Eliȝe þe profete.

To a pore widewe he him sende,

Here beyþere lyf [for]<sup>1</sup> to amende.

952

He seide : ‘ Eliȝe, þu shalt fare

In-to Sarepte and wone þare.

¶ þer is a widewe, þat shal þe fede,

And i wole ȝelde wel hire mede.’

956

¶ þe profete Helie began anon

47 c

Forþ in his weie for to gon.

At þe ȝate of þe cite þe widewe he mette,

And faire anon he hire grette.

960

He bad hire for godes loue,

þat us alle sit aboue,

A di[sh]ful<sup>2</sup> water she sholde him ȝiue,

For to helpen him to liue.

964

¶ þe widewe seide, she wolde fain,

And to serue him she turne aȝe[i]n.

After hire he gan to crie,

And bad hire þat she sholde hie.

968

‘ Do,’ he seide, ‘ be my red,

938 more] more hym D. 939 i it] hit I R. 939 reads in D: Twys. I understand. 940 þat in] In R. 944 so be] be so DR. 945 A] I R. wole] sal D. 946 On ensaumple of þe] In þe sample in D. 947 þat] om. R. wole] nyl D. liȝe] be leis R. 948 Spekeþ] It telleþe D, þat spekes R. 951 To] And to D. he] om. D. 952 beyþere] pore D, bothus R. for to] to A<sub>1</sub>R. 954 wone] lye D. 955 shal þe] þou sal D, wil þe R. 956 i wole] sal D. wel] her ful wel R. 958 in] on R. 959 þe] þat R. 962 alle sit] sittes alle R. 963 dishful] disful of DR. she] he R. 964 2<sup>nd</sup> to] vnto D, for to R. 967 he gan] began D, he bygan R. 969 be] aftyr D.

<sup>1</sup> for is supplied from D.

<sup>2</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> has difful.

Bring me wid þe a shiue bred !'		
þe widewe him answerē[de] <sup>1</sup> anon :		
'Siker,' she seide, 'bred haue i non, Ne noht, þat i mihte þe ȝiue, For to helpe þe to liue,	972	The widow had nothing
¶ But an handful mele in o picher And a litel oyle, þat is cler, þat i mot make of mete here To me and to my children ifere ; And seþþe we moten deic in sore, For mete haue we no more.'	976	but a handful of meal and some oil.
¶ þe profete hire answerēd þo : 'Abid,' he seide, 'er þu go ! First, þer-of mak me mete, And, whan þat i hit haue iete, Off þat bileyueþ, þu shalt make For þe and for þi children sake.'	47 a	Elijah said : 'Give me first.'
¶ þis seli widewe þo wel sone Grauntede <sup>2</sup> wel al his bone : For his loue, þat him þider sende, Hire litel mete she wolde spende.	984	What re- mains, use for thyself.'
þo þe profete þis iseih, His eȝen he kest to god on heilh : To him he made an orysoun, And anon god putte his fuisoun Vp-on hire mele in hire picher And on hire oyle, þat is cler.	988	The good woman
¶ þo seide anon þe profete To þe widewe wordes swete : <sup>3</sup>	992	brought him food.
970 Bring] And brynge D. me] om. R. shiue] schyne D, shyuer of R. 971 him] þo D. om. R. 973 noht] nauȝt elles D. Je ȝiue] ȝene D. 974 2nd to] for to D. 975 mele in o] of mele in a R. 977 of] in D, on R. here] now here D. 978 to] om. R. ifere] in fere DR. 979 deic in] die R. 980 hane we] ne hane D. 981 hire answerēd þo] vnswerid hyr so R. 982 Abid] And badde her D, I bid þe R. 983 þer-of] he said D. 984 i hit] hit I R. iete] hete D, ete R. 985 bileyueþ] þat leenes R. 987 þis] þe DR. 986 þo wel] pen ful R. 988 al] to do R. 989 him þider sende] Judas solde R. 990 she] he ( <i>perhaps for ho of</i> 7. 963) D. she wolle spende] shewe ho wolde R. 991 þo] When R. iseih] hym seghe R. 992 he kest to god] to god he kast R. 993 made an] mende his D. 995 hire] þe D. 996 on] in R. is] was so D, was R. 997 þo] pen R.	996	Then the prophet turned his eyes to God.
1 MS. D reads answerēd. 2 MS. A <sub>1</sub> has an erasure after t. 3 998 and 999 are over erasure in MS. A <sub>1</sub> .		Abundance came upon the meal and the oil.
		He said sweet words :

970 Bring] And brynge D. me] om. R. shiue] schyne D, shyuer of R. 971  
him] þo D. om. R. 973 noht] nauȝt elles D. Je ȝiue] ȝene D. 974 2nd to] for  
to D. 975 mele in o] of mele in a R. 977 of] in D, on R. here] now here D.  
978 to] om. R. ifere] in fere DR. 979 deic in] die R. 980 hane we] ne hane  
D. 981 hire answerēd þo] vnswerid hyr so R. 982 Abid] And badde her D,  
I bid þe R. 983 þer-of] he said D. 984 i hit] hit I R. iete] hete D, ete R.  
985 bileyueþ] þat leenes R. 987 þis] þe DR. 986 þo wel] pen ful R. 988 al] to  
do R. 989 him þider sende] Judas solde R. 990 she] he (*perhaps for ho of*  
7. 963) D. she wolle spende] shewe ho wolde R. 991 þo] When R. iseih]  
hym seghe R. 992 he kest to god] to god he kast R. 993 made an] mende  
his D. 995 hire] þe D. 996 on] in R. is] was so D, was R. 997 þo] pen R.

<sup>1</sup> MS. D reads answerēd. <sup>2</sup> MS. A<sub>1</sub> has an erasure after t.

<sup>3</sup> 998 and 999 are over erasure in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

'Fear not:  
thy meal  
shall not  
diminish;  
thy oil shall  
increase.'

This proves,  
that in alms-  
deed lies two-  
told good.  
It removes  
sin, so that  
thou mayst  
win heaven.  
It adds to  
earthly  
goods.

God says :  
'Give, and  
men shall  
give to thee.'

Be glad in  
thy gift :  
thou  
takest it to  
God with thy  
hand.

Thon art not  
too vile to  
feed Christ.

Eternal joy  
will be thine.

- ' Ne dred þe noht, womman, in þi þouht !  
þi mele ne shal wante noht, 1000  
And þin oyle shal waxen : sikerli  
þi lome shal noht ben empti.'
- ¶ Gret plente hadde þe widewe þo,  
While she liuede euere mo. 1004  
Now þu miht knowe in þi mod,  
þat in almesse dede is double god :  
Almesdede for[doþe þi synne], 48 a  
And þer-þur[w] [men may heuen wyn[ne]] ; 1008  
And þi god sh[al multiply],  
So seiþ þe bok, [þat nyl nauȝt lye].
- ¶ þe godspel sei[þe to þe and me] :  
' ȝif and men sha[1 ȝefe þe].' 1012  
In anoþer stede, [I haue wytnesse],  
þat god self se[ide] [in soþenesse] :  
' Al þat þu dost [for loue of me]  
To þe leste of m[yn meyne],  
Riht to my-sel[fe, wete it wele],  
þu dost þi pres[ent every dele].'
- ¶ Glad maitou [be þan in þi þouȝt],  
Also ofte as þ[ou] mayȝ ȝeue ouȝt], 1016  
For, þu miht [wele vnderstande],  
þu takest hit [gode with þi honde];  
For godes w[orde in soþenesse]  
þer-of bereþ [guile wyttnes] : 1020  
' A man [may]<sup>2</sup> h[e nouȝt to quede],  
Iesu Crist for to [fede];'  
For þer-wid þu [myȝt wele spede]  
And heuene h[au]e vnto þi mede]. 1024  
1028

999 Ne] no D. ȝi] om. D. 1000 ne] om. DR. wante] wane D. want right R. 1001 waxen] wereyn D. 1002 þi] and þi R. 1004 While she] And þe while ho D. whil þat ho R. 1005 miht knowe] knowest R. in] wele in D. 1006 þat] om. R. 1007—1031 are defective in A<sub>1</sub>. The page has been cut through the middle of folio 48 a. Folio 48 b is wanting. The lines have been completed from MS. D. 1007 þi] om. R. 1008 men] þou R. 1010 nyl] wil R. 1011 þe] For þe D. 1014 self] hym selfe D. hym R. seide] saies R. 1015 for] for þo R. 1018 every] ilk a R. 1019 be þan] be R. 1020 Also] Als DR. 1021 miht] mayȝt D. may nowe R. 1022 with þi] in his R. 1024 þer-of bereþ] Berþe þer of D. 1025 A] þer fore R. may] om. R. quede] gnede R. 1027 þer-wid þu myȝt] þou may þer with R. 1028 hane vnto] blis geþe to R.

<sup>1</sup> Read vnderstonde.

<sup>2</sup> man man is in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

To þa[t] blisse [he] [vs bryng],  
þat is king [ouer all[e] þyng],  
¶ And ȝeue us [grace, while we be here],  
[To serue hym *and* hys moder dere] 48 b 1032  
In trowþe, loue, *and* in charite.

Amen. Amen. So mot it be.]

Almighty  
King,  
show grace  
to us,  
that we may  
serve Him!

Amen. Amen.

1029 he] *om.* A<sub>1</sub>D. 1030 king] lord R. 1031 ȝene] he gefe D. 1032—1034,  
*through loss of fol. 48 b, are not found in A<sub>1</sub>. The text follows fol. 179 b in D.*  
1032 *and* hys moder dere] þat vs boght dere R. 1033 trowþe] trewe R. *in*  
*om.* R. *The colophon reads in R:* EXPLICIT HIC SPECULUM Vtile istius  
MUNDI.



## CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES TO THE SPECULUM GY DE WAREWYKE.

**Page 3.** Lines 1—26: Introductory lines follow Romance models, conveying in a few words the purpose of the whole poem: *La moralité de tout un poème . . . exprimée dans ses premiers vers*; Gautier, *Les Epopées Françaises*, ed. 1865, vol. i., p. 233. See Hausknecht, *The Soicdone of Babylone*, note to l. 14.

Line 1. *alle*: i. e. *gode men*, according to *Harelok*, l. 1, *Pard. T.*, l. 904, and *A Lutil Soth Sermun*, l. 1; the hearers ordinarily addressed, *lordinges* of the M.E. romance, as annotated by Kölbing, *Sir Benes*, l. 1; Lüdtke, *The Erl of Tolous*, l. 7; Kaluza, *Libeaus Desconus*, l. 461. See *Gamelyn*, l. 343; *The Faerie Queene*, iii., ix., l. 3; the old play, *Mundus et Infans*, l. 236; and Chaucer in many of the *Tales*. Compare lines 1 and 2 with lines 1 and 2 of *The Harrowing of Hell*:

‘Alle herkneþ to me nou,  
A strif wille I tellen ou.’

l. 2. *hele of soule*: a Kentish Charter of 806?, *Cot. MS. Aug. II.* 79, l. 5: ‘fore uncerra *saula hela* . . . þæt wit moten bion on þem gemanon, ðe ðær godes *siancas siondan*’; *Arthour and Merlin*, l. 30: ‘God ous sende *soule hele*’; *Aneren Riele*, p. 300: ‘*soule hele* is forloren vor eni deadlich sunne’; Langl., *Piers the Plowman*, text B, v., l. 270: ‘bi my *soule hele*'; A, vi., l. 22: ‘for my *soule hele*'; *Homily*, ed. Small, p. 134, l. 66: ‘*savel hel*'; but ‘*Hele of soule*’, *Speculum Vita*, l. 12. Compare *Gedicht aus der Hölle*, ed. Leonard, p. 51, l. 6, also cited by Halliwell, *Dict.*, p. 775:

‘. . . *soule hele* Y wyll yow teche.’

*Orrm.*, l. 10.194, preserves *savle bote*: ‘To sekenn *savle bote*'; *Proverbs of Hendyng*, MS. Harl. 2253, l. 300: ‘Secheþ ore *soule bote*'; *The Life of Saint Werburge*, Bk. I., l. 992: ‘*soule helthe*’.

*may on*: *wyll* you on basis of MSS. A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. Later texts fail of the beauty and seriousness of the verse in the loss of *may*, *am able*: ‘I am able to teach you of salvation.’

l. 3. *no fable*: Compare Dr. Leonard's *Ged. Aus d. H.*, B note, l. 6: *to fabille* I will you nought (with reference to Einenkel, *Streifzüge*, p. 232 f.). For litotes in the *Speculum*, the following lines may be cited, l. 102: *beþ noht gode*, i. e. very bad; l. 193: *nis noht forȝete*, is remembered; l. 875: *þu ne shalt noht go*, thou must go; l. 892: *Don noht aȝein*, carry out; l. 1000: *ne shal wante noht*, shall increase; l. 1002: *noht ben empti*, be full; l. 947 and l. 1010: *þat wole noht liȝe*, and l. 637: *i ne liȝe*, tell the truth; l. 132: *he ne . . . no ioye winne*, he shall be condemned; l. 360: *noȝing it nas*; l. 628: *meke in none manere*, prond; l. 651: *oþer weye is þer non*, this is the only way; l. 659: *For noȝing þu noldest shone*, should seek to obtain it at all costs; l. 891: *nele noþer*, will. Litotes strengthens a previous affirmation: l. 464: *soþ*,

*widouten gabbe*; l. 519: *soþ word . . . no les*; l. 867: *sikerliche, widoute nay*. The *Speculum* thus testifies to the popularity of litotes in the M.E. period, as stylistic reaction from the French. See Tobler, *Beiträge* 165; Strohmeyer, *Stil d. me. Reimch. R. v. Gl.*, pp. 54 ff. and *Rbt.*, l. 1271: *he ne leuede noȝt bihindē*, he hastened, 4075, 6494, 11937; l. 1909: *he ne gan noȝt muche winne*, lost all, even life, 1488, 5015; l. 8081: *ne þoȝte noȝt be þe laste*, would be the first; l. 1718: *þer nas noȝt wel gret lone*, great hate, etc. See *Piers Pl.*, among many illustrations, A, l., l. 116: *his peyne haþ non ende*; *On g. Ureisun of Ure Lefli*, l. 95: *urom þine lune ne schal me no þing todealen*, love will continue, etc.

l. 5. *hetene winne*: See lines 650, 846, and 1008; *grace . . . winne* 78; *ioye winne* 132, 694; *merci . . . winne* 471, 472; *forȝifenesse . . . winne* 683, 684. Compare *Orrm.* (ed. White), 971: ‘*winnenn eche blissewinnenn Godess are*?’ *to win* is still in use in Scotland; see Jamieson, *Scotch Dict.*, under *win*.

l. 5 is to be classified under type D, giving emphasis to *þu*. Scansion according to type C, with emphasis on *if*, is not justified.

l. 6. *to god*: *to god* is to be retained, as in l. 21, on authority of MSS. A<sub>1</sub>R, the two oldest texts of group Z, in opposition to *of god*, extant in MSS. A<sub>2</sub>D of group Y. It presents the true meaning of the passage.

l. 7. *biginning*: Type A and type D both have claims to this verse on account of the variable accent ascribable to *biginning*. The scansion could be:

‘þus shal bén ȝi bīginníng’ D.  
‘þus shál ben ȝi bīgín’ níng’ A.

The metrical and logical purpose of the author seems to be satisfied by the first reading, *biginning*, as in lines 209 and 884.

l. 9. *emristene*: see note to line 334.

l. 10. *ȝiselfe*: Meter and inflection require the trisyllable authorized by MSS. H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R; read *ȝiselfe*, l. 564, 579; *himselfe*, l. 14; *hinseluē*, l. 244, 598. L. 362 proves nothing. Final -e (*himselfe*) is lost through elision. See ten Br., *Ch. Sprachkunst*, § 255. The sounding of the final -e removes the line 10 from type C, where it is to be classified according to MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

l. 11. *biginne and ende*: suggested perhaps by ‘*qui perseveraverit in bono, hic salvus erit . . . bonum ergo perfecisse, virtus est*,’ Alcuin’s *Liber, Caput xxvi.*: ‘*De perseverantia in bonis operibus*,’ based possibly on *Matt. x. 22*: ‘*he that endureth firm to the end . . .*’ *Heb. iii. 6, 14*; ‘*be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life*,’ *Rer. ii. 10*. See *Poema Morale*:

l. 119: ‘*Ac drilte ne demð nanne man . . . æfter his bi ginninge,  
ac al his lif seal beo swich’ se buð his endinge.*’

l. 12. *to heuene wende*: The infinitive employed without the introductory *to*, to avoid doubling the particle, see *to helle gon* 652; *paternoster bede* 562; and *Harrowing of Hell*, l. 244:

‘*And ȝif ous grace to liue and ende  
In ȝi seruice and to heuene wende.*’

l. 13. *worldes*: The article is to be expected before *worldes*. Its omission called forth various scribal errors; see variants.

l. 14. *himselfe*: read *hinseluē*. See note to l. 10.

l. 15. *plaine*: O.E. *plagna*, companion form M.E. *pleye*, *pleie* < O.E. *plega*. But one instance of *plagian* is recorded according to Bosworth-Toller, *A. S. Dict.* under *plagian*; cf. Sievers, § 391, Ann. 1; Pabst, § 42; Langl. A. Passus, xii., l. 295, ascribes to *play* the meaning pleasure: ‘*That thi play be plentevous*.’ *plaine* is not very frequent in M.E. texts, but see *Das Lied von King Horn* (ed. Wissmann), MS. II, l. 1112:

'þat trewe was in uch plawe'; *Harelok*, l. 950: *plawe*: (*knaue*) and *pleye*: (*weie*), l. 953; *R. of Gl.* 5906; *Trist.* 3101. See *Steenstrup*, pp. 15 and 190; *Svenska Språketslagar*, II. 99; Brate, *Beiträge*, vol. x., p. 48. Ettmüller, *Lexicon Anglosaxonicum*, pp. 274, 275, illustrates derivatives of \**þlēyan*. See also *Speculum*, 'Introduction' under *au*, chapter xiii on Phonology.

l. 16. *dep of soule*: completing the antithesis begun with *hele of soule*, line 2: destruction of soul . . . health of soul; condemnation . . salvation. The personification of the soul as a separate and independent being, thus ascribing to the living creature a sort of a dual existence, is a favourite conceit of the poet; see line 844.

l. 17. *þe world*: The account of the crafty fisherman *world* with his *pawnter* for his victim, the soul, begins abruptly, l. 13, but the slender thread of the allegory is to be traced nearly to the end of the poem: lines 13—24, 33, 61—64, 99, 103, 151, 195, 222, 650—651, etc. See l. 882: *sodeyneliche þu miht be eaiht*, and possibly *hevene blisse* 690, *helle pine* 642, and other references to heaven's glories and hell's torments.

*ikauht*: with *ikazte*, *H*, is to be retained. *caught A<sub>2</sub>* (*cauzt D*, *cawzze H<sub>2</sub>*, *kaght R*) is contrary to the dialect of the poet; see *Inflection*. The metre and the language of the poet require the prefix *i-*. *icauht* and *cayt* are both employed by Chaucer and Wyclif. *Poema Morale* has *keht(c)*, *keiht*.

l. 18. *and*: *and* is to be expunged. It does not occur in *D H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R*, MSS. preserving at times the best text.

*pawnter*: *pawnter*, as employed by the poet, is perhaps defined by a metaphor of F. G. Fleay, *Engl. Studien*, vol. vii., p. 87, 'Neglected Facts on Hamlet': 'inclosed in its *dragnet* this miraculous *draught* . . . of fish,' and in *The Simonie* (Auch. MS.), l. 457:

'Pride hath in his *pawnter* kauht the heie and the lowe,  
So that unmeth can eny man God Almighty knowe.'

The *pawnter*, *pantire*, is in its ordinary acceptance *a snare* or *net* for birds rather than for fish, as is made clear by Richard the Redeles, by Chaucer, and by Lydgate.

*Richard the Redeless*, II. 183, see Skeat :

'And ffell with her ffletheris fflat vpon the erthe,  
As madde of her mynde and mercy be sonȝte.  
They myȝte not aschowne the sorowe they had serued,  
So lyned leues were leyde all aboute,  
And *pantir*is preuyliche pight vpon the grounde.'

*Leg. of G. W.*, l. 130: 'The smale foules, of the seson fayn,  
That from the *pantir* and the net ben seaped.'

*T. of Glas*, l. 604: 'But lich a brid, þat fleith at hir desire,  
Til sodeinli within þe *pantire*,  
She is Ieaȝt . . . . .'

See *Ancren Riwle*, p. 134 of the bird: 'heo beo ikeiht þurh summe of þe deofles gronen.' In this usage of *pawnter* the reader is referred to Schick's note to the *T. of G.*, l. 604, with its comprehensive list of examples of *pantire*, and its reference to Skeat, note to *Leg. of G. W.*, *Prol.*, l. 130, and *Dict.* under *painter*, and to *Prompt. Parv.*, note to *pantire*.

**Page 4.** l. 21. *for loue . . . for eize*: a typeal antithesis popular in M.E. See *Sir Beues*, text A, l. 1852: 'Wiȝ loue or eize'; *Sawles Ward*, ll. 25, 26: 'wiȝ eie ant wiȝ loue'; *Gamelyn*, l. 129: 'for Gamelynes loue . . for his eyȝe'; *Wulfstan*, 'Address to the English,' Hatton MS. Jun. 99, ll. 168, 169: 'þa ðe riȝt lufiað and Godes ege habbað' . . . Compare with

*loune-eie*, *Aner. Riele*, p. 420: Skeat translates *his eize*, 'for awe of him,' note to *Gamelyn*, l. 129, in harmony with *Gamelynes*, the genitive limiting *loune*, and in keeping with Stürzen-Becker, *Notes on Characteristics of E. E. Dialects*, p. 43; see *of god*, MSS. A.D H., and note to l. 6.

*R* on its own authority alters the rime to introduce the more Northern form *ave* for *eize* : *ave* ; *lare*.

I. 23. *þer*: demanded by the context and supplied by MSS. H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub> and A<sub>2</sub>, if *þei* be a scribal error for *þer*. Evidence of texts A<sub>1</sub>DR would ascribe the anacoluthon of text A<sub>1</sub> to the poet.

l. 24. *worlde*: Hiatus is not justified before *and*. *worlde* is monosyllabic: *wórlde and*; see *world*, ll. 33, 64, 99, etc. The verse illustrates type C: *be wórld and his fóule lóre*.

1. 26. *hem*: *hem*, extant in MSS. A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>, and probably in the archetype of *D* is to be inserted to improve the metre. The added syllable was regarded necessary by *R*; see variants. Read *rode* on authority of the riming couplet: *rod* : *blod*, l. 248. *dere bouthē*: see note to l. 160.

Il. 27, 28. *wole*: copyist's form throughout  $A_1$  for *wyll(e)*, *wil*, in MSS.  $A_2D$  H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R; cf. rime *skile : wole*, l. 712, 'Introduction,' chap. III, § 1 and § 5, and *wole* in Langland, A. vii. 144, 208; II. 86; III. 265; V. 36; VI. 152, 193, 300, etc.

l. 28. *tale telle*: Compare Zupitza's note to *Athelston*, l. 153, and Chaucer, *Prol.* 731, 792, 831, 847; *D. L. Prol.* 22, 23, 48; *Pers. Prol.* 21, 25, 46, 66; *Duch.* 709, 1033, etc.

*Reliquiae Antiquae*, p. 241 (II.): 'ichow wol telle  
Of Crist ane litel tale.'

I. 29. *of gode fame*: Cf. Zupitz's note to *of gret renoun*, Athelstan, II. 19, 45; Leonard, *Ged. aus d. Hölle*, B I. 63; and *Spec.*, I. 40, where the *holy man* and the knight are described in the same class. Cf. as follows:

*Spec. Vit.*, l. 43: 'Ne of Beus of Hamtoun,  
Pat was a knyght of uret renown.'

*Erl. of T.*, 1, 178: 'Syr Tralabas of Turkey.'

A man of *acute* *genius*.

l. 31. *bouht*: The sorrowful meditation of the love-poetry of the century, illustrated by Schick, *T. of Gl.*, note to l. 1. This meaning seems justified by the corresponding passages in the various *Guy of Warwick* MSS.

1. 35. Type C is confirmed by l. 35. It would be impossible to read *godē*, l. 35. See *Tundale*, l. 19. *all* of *A<sub>2</sub>R*, or *eke* of *D*, are emendations of the scribe. Cf. *and his—lōre*.

l. 41. *pe ordre he hadde*: For the history of the brotherhood, see Skeat, note to *Peces the Pfarman's Crede*, l. 153.

<sup>1</sup> See, note to *Ælred the Flamborough's Credo*, p. 153.

1. 43. *Wit of clergie*: the understanding of books, book-learning, referring not merely to scholarship as an essential attribute of mediæval piety, but to Aleuin's ambition for an educated priesthood. See also *Hawlet*, I. i. 42.

1. 44. *to godnesse . . . drouh*: *Life of St. Dunst.*, l. 29. Cf. *R. of Gl.*, l. 252: *to . . . proresse he drouh*; *toward be depe drouh*, l. 1159; *to worse . . . he drouh*, l. 9242. See Strohmeyer, pp. 48, 49.

I. 46. *he : he* is to be supplied before *tok*. It is extant in *D H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>*, two MSS. from one group, one from a second, in opposition to two MSS., *A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub>*, one of each group. Grammatically and metrically the sentence is strengthened by the introduction of the pronoun, though its omission as subject of the sentence is characteristic of the period; see Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 10.

**Page 5, l. 47.** *tok . . red*: explained by *consail take*, l. 63, ordinary M.E. phraseology illustrated *Rbt. of Gl.*, *nime his rede* (or similar arrangement), as follows: ll. 609, 1685, 2137, 3562, 3846, 5280, 5853, 6263, 6422, 8215, 8230; text B: 11,850, 11,198; *nime . . conseil* 1111, 1245, 2170, 2187, 3040, 3139, 3470, 3516, 3528; B 11,004, 10,467, 10,493, 11,328, 11,837; *take hire to rede*, *Wm. of Paderne*, l. 133; *nime hom to rede*, *Rbt. of Gl.*<sup>1</sup> ll. 348, 6749, 7910; B 9758, 11,428; and *Gumelyn*, l. 683: *into conseil nome*; *O. Kent. Sermon*, ed. Skeat, l. 8: *nomen conseil*.

l. 48. *þe qued*: ‘the evil,’ ‘the evil one,’ ‘the devil.’ The etymology of *qued* is uncertain, O.E. *cwēd*? or *creād*? Dutch *kwaad*; Fris. *qued*; G. *qcāt*, *kāt*, *kōt*. See Mätzner, *Sprachproben*, I. p. 82; Grimm, *Gr.*, III. p. 606; Mall, *H. of H.*, note to l. 36; Pabst, *Lautlehre*, § 15 b; and the following illustrations:

- Speculum*, l. 654: ‘. . . ouercome þe foule qued.’  
*Rel. Ant.*, p. 16: ‘Thus overcam . . . the qued.’  
*H. of Hell*, l. 36: ‘For to lesen ous fram þe qued.’  
*Hand. Synne*, l. 5605: ‘. . . . . bode þe quede.’

For *qued* used in an adjective sense, refer to note, l. 1025.

l. 49. *i understande*: also l. 889 (see 507 and 1021), a popular construction to fill out the verse, *fällformet*, Lüdtke, *The Erl of Tolous*, l. 631 and l. 913, referring to Koch, II, § 399.

l. 49 illustrates type D on proof of five MSS. *H*<sub>2</sub> substitutes *Vpon* for *On*, restoring the line to type A:

‘Vpon a dāye, · I vndyrstónde.’

l. 50. *sente his sonde*: an alliterating form profusely illustrated in M.E. See *Die Alliteration in Lazarus*, *Germ. Stud.*, vol. i. p. 182; Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 10,477; Breul, note to *Sir Gowther*, l. 87; Schmigel, ‘Typical Expressions in Sir Beues’; *Sir Beves*, p. liv., referring to *Reinbroun*, str. 14, l. 7; *Arthour and Merlin*, l. 6733. Compare *Sir Beves*, text A, 3305; S 1277; M 2928, 4200; *Wm. of Paderne*, l. 64; *Lazarus*, *Brut*, l. 14,200; *Gen. and Ex.*, ll. 2312-13; *King Horn*, l. 265; *Amis and Amiloun*, l. 625; *Man of Law’s Tale*, l. 388; *Rbt. of Gl.*, ll. 363, 1835, 3273, 3291, 3727, 5958, 7860, 8037; B 10,211, 10,325, 11,354; C 223, 224.

*sonde*: explained by Zupitza’s note as existing with two meanings, *the messenger* and *the message*. i. e. *what is sent*; cf. M.H.G. *santbote*, ‘messenger’; see *Ancr. R.*, p. 190: ‘was þes sondes mon’; p. 256: ‘þes deofles sondesmon’; p. 190: ‘Euerich worlich wo is Godes sonde’; *Guy of W.* text A: ll. 1929, 3751; text C, 3913, etc.

l. 52. ‘*I grete þe wel*’: stereotyped expression in the sense of ‘I send a salutation to.’ See *Gumelyn*, l. 713: ‘*greteth hem wel*'; *Wm. of Paderne*, ll. 359, 360: ‘*gretēþ wel . . . alle my freyliche felawes*’; also *King Horn*, ll. 144, 145: ‘*Gret þu wel*'; *Gen. and Ex.*, l. 2382; Schmigel, p. xlviij. with illustrations from *Sir Beves*, ll. 89, 117, 131, 164; *Guy of W.*, str. 289, l. 10; *Iponedon*, B l. 1376; *Seven Sages*, A l. 3838; *Ywain and Garain*, l. 1598; *Isumbras*, 532. See also *faire grette*, *Speculum*, l. 960; occurring also, *Wm. of Paderne*, ll. 369, 370; *Lazarus*, 14,973; and Chaucer, *M. of L. T.*, l. 1051; but ‘mekely grette,’ *Pard. Tale*, l. 714; ‘reuerently and wysly . . . grette,’ *Clerkes Tale*, l. 952. See *Ancr. R.*, p. 430: ‘*gretēþ þe lefli mid one Aue Marie*'; Orrm 2805, 2806: ‘þu gann to *gretenn* wiþ þine milde icordess.’

<sup>1</sup> For arrangement of references to *Rbt. of Gl.* indebtedness is due throughout the notes to Dr. Hans Strohmeyer’s *Der Stil d. me. Reimchronik d. Rbt. v. Gl.*, Berlin, 1889.

Omission of *I* in *A*<sub>1</sub> is a scribal error. *I* is extant in five MSS., but compare with the Swiss salutation, *gräetze* used always without a pronoun: see Otfrid *grauen*. *H*<sub>2</sub> attempts to restore the reading of type A by the omission of *wel*, reading:

‘And séyd I gréte þe · fádyr mynnë.’

l. 53. *for godes lone*: For this form of invocation to the deity see note to *Sir Beues*, text M, l. 344, with reference to Lange, *Die Versicherungen bei Chaucer*, p. 18; *for goddes lone*, *Gamelyn*, ll. 31, 55; *for Godlys lone*, *Handlyng Synne*, l. 5661; *Rbt. of Gl.*: *vor Godes lone*, ll. 428, 1886, 5006, 5801, 8890, 8968; B 9241, 11.355; also 828, 2610.

l. 54. Also lines 542, 962; cf. ll. 698 and 908. *H*<sub>2</sub> removes the verse from type D, placing it under type A, through the substitution of *ouyr us for us*:

‘That óuyr vs álle · sýtte abóne.’

*lone*: *abone*: also ll. 54, 512, 542, 698, 908, 962. See Kölbing's note to *Sir Beues*, text A, l. 1837, and to *Ipomedon*, text A l. 5.

l. 55. *par charite*: commented on by Zupitza, *Guy of Warwick*, l. 471; *Athelston*, l. 540; in Halliwell's *Dictionary* under *charity*; and *Speculum*, note to l. 840. See:

*Langl.*, A. ix, 11: ‘And preicle hem, par charite.’

*Spec. Vite*, l. 15: ‘preȝeth alle now, par charyte.’

*Proc. of Hend*, 2, 12: ‘Amen, par charité!’

God beginning makeþ god endyng;

Quoþ Hendyng.’

ll. 56, 57. Cf. *Langl.* C. iv, 121, 122; B. III, 93:

‘Salamon the sage, a *sermon he made*  
*In amendement of meyres.*’

l. 57. *a god saroun*: Compare Mützner, *Spachproben*, vol. i, p. 115; *Moralités et Sermones joyeux*, *Romania*, Tom. xv, pp. 414—416; *Life of Charlemagne*, pp. 85, 86, with reference to homilies prepared by Warnefried for Charlemagne; Werner, *Alcnin et Charlemagne*, p. 252; Schick, *T. of G.*, l. 691; and, of course, Morley and ten Brink. See also *Ancre. Riwle*, p. 312: ‘in Uitas Patrum, þo me hefde longe iȝeildon him efter sarmin’; *Langl.*, C. vi, 201: ‘That suweth my *sermon*'; and *Hand. Syn.* l. 6936:

‘Seynt Ihoun to Troyle bygan to sermun  
Wyþ ensamples of gode resun.’

l. 58. *in lescoun*: *Speculum Vite*, l. 92: ‘And swyche a *lesson* I schal ȝow ȝeue.’ For *don write*, see *Old Song*, quoted by Robertson, *Glossary of Dialect Words in the County of Gloucester*, p. 37.

*D* and *R* alter the line, removing for their texts any question as to the value of *-e* at the cæsura.

ll. 61, 62. *gile*: *while*: a favourite rime of the author of *Gamelyn*, see ll. 370, 562, 580. *while* in the sense of ‘a period of time’ is used by Spenser in *Prothalamion*, l. 83.

l. 63. *consail take*: see note to l. 47.

l. 64. *forsake*: *take*: The rime occurs also in lines 72, 100, 268, 498. Line 64 is repeated in substance lines 99 and 497.

l. 65. See note to line 981.

l. 68. *His . . . i . . . do*: Four MSS. attempt to remove the anacoluthon. *A*<sub>2</sub> and *H*<sub>2</sub> alter the sentence so that it reads more logically in direct discourse through the rendering *þi* for *His*. *D* and *R* change the clause to indirect discourse by the substitution of *he* for *i*. The punctuation offered by the text seems to be in harmony with the reading of

three good MSS., two of the best texts, and representatives of both groups of texts. *preie*: ordinarily in M.E. the prayer to the divinity: *Guy of W.*, B. l. 10,068; *Octavian*, l. 1089; *Sir Beues*, A, ll. 803, 2635: see Schmigel, p. xlviij. *preie . . . do*: This rendering in the sense of 'grant a request,' the editor has not yet discovered in other texts.

l. 69. *sethen i shal be*: On ground of four MSS. *A*<sub>1</sub> alone reads *whan*. Four MSS. remove *nu* of text *A*<sub>1</sub>. For *leche* see Introduction, 'Relation to the Guy of Warwick Romances, chap. vi.; *Fuerie Queene*, I. x. 23, ll. 7 ff, and Chaucer:

*The Pard. T.*, l. 916: 'And Iesu Crist, that is *our soules leche*.'

*Somp. T.*, l. 184: 'With highe God, that is *our lives leche*.'

*Bok of D.*, l. 920: ' . . . that swete, *my lyves leche*.'

*A. B. C.*, l. 134: 'Beth ye (*Mary*) . . . *my soules leche*.'

2 *N. T.*, l. 56: 'Thou (*Mary*) . . . art *her lyves leche*.'

l. 70. *Aller(furst)*: *Al]perē* in MSS. *A*<sub>2</sub> *H*<sub>1</sub> *H*<sub>2</sub> < O.E. *ealra*, 'of all'; see Skeat, *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 298 and Schick, *T. of Gl.*, note to l. 70.

l. 71. *Faire uertuz*: the moral graces, literally Alcuin's *virtutes*, the subject of the sermon of the *Speculum*.

l. 72. *foule* *peices*: *De ritiis* of Alcuin, properly the seven deadly sins of the mediæval period; ordinarily *peices* includes the virtues, or is limited to them, as in line 97, 2 *N. T.*, l. 101, and *Conf. Amant.*, Bk. vii., l. 43. See *well-thewed*, Spenser, *Shep. Cd.* Feb., l. 96, annotated by E. K.: 'Bene morat̄e, full of moral wiseness.'

*foule*: translated *letheare* by *H*<sub>2</sub>, a form popular with *Rbt. of Gl.*; see numerous examples: *luþer brod* 1595; *luþer duc* 4974, 5994, 6330; *luþer emperour* 1873, 1922, 1828; *luþer fole* 2689, 2693, 4637, 6086; *luþer gade-ling* 6356; *luþer King* 2984, 6653; *luþer quene* 759, 5825, 5862, 5886, and many other examples. *H*<sub>2</sub> translates *foule*, l. 61, with *false*.

l. 73. *lene broþer*: nominally one of the brotherhood through Christ, in distinction from *lene broþyr*, an expression of good fellowship, as in *The Erl of Tolous*, l. 605.

l. 74. *Bote*: *Bote* *ȝyfē* of MS. *H*<sub>2</sub> improves the verse metrically, adding to the illustrations of type A.

on . . . *oþer*: i. e. *both*, quite common; see *Gamelyn*, l. 39.

**Page 6**, l. 79. The verse has been tampered with by the scribes of group Y, probably to restore the measure to the more evenly accentuated system of the classic verse.

l. 80. *on rewe*: *rewe* is, of course, O.E. *rāw*, to be distinguished from Hampole's *ronce* < O.E. *rāw*. See *in rewe*, *Gamelyn*, l. 867; *arewe*, *Sowdone of B.*, l. 390; *on a rewe*, Prol. to *Leg. of G. W.*, A, l. 285; *Kn. Tale*, l. 2008; *H. of F.*, l. 1692; *rewis* in Pecock's *The Repressor*, II. Chap. xi, l. 103; *on rair*, Douglas, Prol. to *Encados*, l. 177; Minot, *Political Song*, l. 79: *a long rare* : (*alane*) *King*, *Qduhair*, str. 154, l. 3: *arowe*, *Hous of Fame*, l. 1835; *rowe* : (*loze*), *King Horn*, l. 1092. Line 80 recalls *Ancre. Ricle*, p. 198: 'Her beoð nu *areace* itold,' etc.; p. 336: *adunewardes bi reave & bi reave*; Langl. C. II. 22: And rekene hem *by rewe*. *rowe*, *Spec. MS. R.* is the scribe's form for *rewe*, and is not to be referred to O.E. *rāw*.

l. 81, also l. 139. The list of the virtues follows, as based on the classification of Alcuin's *Liber*. They are *uertuz*, ll. 71, 79.

l. 82. *be rede*: The suggestion of MS. R as to the syntax of the line in the construction, *is my rede*, is not to be accepted. *rede* cannot be in the nominative case, but must be a dative, object of the preposition *be*.

l. 83. *bileue*: O.E. *gelyifa*, N.E. *belief* through M.E. *bilēne*. Compare

with the verb l. 84, *bilene*, to remain, < *be-lifan*, M.E. *belēne*, and Skeat's note to *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 10; *Gen. and Ex.*, l. 1332: 'Ysaac bileaf unslagen.'

l. 85. *mieknesse*: The spelling with *ie* in MS. A<sub>1</sub> is due, as in the case of N.E. *beliere*, to Norman-French influence through analogy with such words as N.E. *grief*. The spelling *mieknesse* occurs in *Political Songs of England*, p. 335: 'So is *mieknesse* driven adoun, and pride is risen on heih.' In the later MSS. inorganic *e* unites the suffix with the root. The metrical quality of the verse is improved by the reading *mekēnesse*.

l. 88. The verse describing true humility is to be read as follows:

‘pat is verráy · humilité.’

l. 89. *And*: also l. 649, regular M.E. form for *if*. It is used by Lydgate, *T. of Gl.*, ll. 1002, 1289; Spenser, and of course by Chaucer; *Pearl*, str. 47, l. 8; *Tit. And.* II. i. 69; Bacon, *Essay* 23, l. 38. Cf. *an't*, *Macbeth*, III. vi. 19.

The rime *ore* : (*more*) occurs in *The Erl of Tolous*, ll. 586, 587: 'Y ask mercy for goddyns *ore*' : (*more*). Compare *Speculum*, l. 540: 'erieþ merci and *ore*' : (*sore*). See Zupitza, *Guy of W.*, note to l. 8280.

l. 92. Line 92 is repeated l. 474. The rime *repentunce* : *penaunce* occurs lines 474, 770, and l. 830 in *H<sub>2</sub>*. Read l. 92 as follows:

‘And rédi þerfóre · to dón penaunce.’

*redi*: vb. *prepare*? *sb.* *readiness*? or supplying *be* : *be ready*?

l. 94. *shrifte of mouþe*: also l. 473, a typical M.E. expression. See Zupitza, note to *Athelston*, v. l. 688; Leonard, note to the poem *Aus der Hölle*, l. 51; *Pers. T.*, l. 29; *Rel. Ant.*, p. 243, II.; and Skeat's note to *cordis contritione*, O.E. *Homily*, *Hie dic est*, l. 58, where the second step in contrition is described as 'confession of mouth,' *Oris confessione* of l. 56 of the same homily. See Skeat's illustrations and his annotation to the lines 55 ff.: 'he (i. e. god-almitin) haneð genen us to beon mið freo, þet we mægen mid ure miðe bringen us ut of þisse putte' . . . 'þurh miðes openinge.'

l. 97. *þewes*: i. e. *god therwys*. *Ipotis*, l. 179: *heaued þeawes*, *Sawles Warde*, ll. 40, 41; *-clere*, 2 *N. T.*, l. 101; *Prov. of Hendyng*, ll. 4, 5:

‘. . . . monie þewes  
Forte teche fele shrewes.’

**Page 7**, l. 101. *þe wicke þewes* : *foule þewes*, l. 72, and *gode þewes*, l. 97, make up the *þewes*, the mental qualities, discussed by Skeat, note to *Leg. of G. Women*, l. 2577. *wikked thewes* are described in *The Hous of Fame*, l. 1834, and, on ground of Aleuin's *Liber*, are limited to the vices as defined by the *Ancren Ricle*, p. 198: '*þe seouen heaued sunnen*,' popular everywhere in literature of the Middle Ages. See for the *seven deadly sins*, *MS. Cot. Ap. 45*; Stürzinger *Le Pelerinage de Vie humaine*, p. 332, 'the final assault of the seven deadly sins': *Aner. Ricle*, p. 198 ff.: 'Her beoð mi areawe itold þe seouen heaued sunnen': 1. *þe Liun of Prude*; 2. *þe Neddre of attri Onde*; 3. *þe Unicorne of Wreððe*; 4. *þe Bore of hei Slouhðe*; 5. *þe Vox of ȝicoung*; 6. *þe Suwe of ȝiuernesse*; 7. *þe Scorpian of Lecherie*.

*nempne* : *nempnē* probably with double thesis at the cæsura, or *nempne* with apocope of *-e*, caused confusion with the copyist, as is proved by the variants. *nempne* was transcribed in various ways in l. 108.

l. 102. *muchē shrewes*: very bad qualities. The *Speculum* employs the substantive *shrewes*, where the adjective is expected. This construction is not uncommon in M.E. See *A Poem on the Times of Edward II.*, l. 406, and *moþe schreve*, *The Tale of Gamelyn*, ll. 6, 230.

*moche*: Skeat discusses the use of *moche* as applied to size, *Gamelyn*, note to l. 230.

*þewes*: *shrewes*: The same rhyme occurs, *Prov. of Hend.*, ll. 4, 5, *Conf. Amant*, Bk. vii., l. 44, and *Hous of Fame*, ll. 1834 ff. Compare line 102 with Chaucer's verses, ll. 1830 ff.:

‘We ben shrewes, every wight,  
And han delyte in wikkednes,  
As gode folk had in goodnes;  
And Ioye to be knownen *shrewes*,  
And fulle of vice and wikked *thewes*.’

MS. R of the *Speculum* purifies the diction of the line by the removal of the redundant expression illustrative of litotes, *nought gode*, placing the verse in type D:

‘þate are, swithe, mykel shréwes.’

l. 103. *led*: *red*: of MS. A<sub>1</sub> is undoubtedly a scribal error. Read *rede* (dat. pln.) : *lede* (inf.) on authority of the other MSS., and according to the laws governing the inflection of the poem. Final *e* was pronounced. See Introduction.

l. 104. *strange*: See Sievers, § 299, N. 1. The *e* is to be added on account of the metre. It seems to be authorized by the O.E. form.

l. 105. *is hit*: to be retained on authority of the oldest MS. Logically stress should be given to *is* rather than to *it*, as is required by group Y. The verse is unmistakably type C. It would be impossible to read *godē*. H<sub>1</sub> remodels the verse according to type D.

l. 106. *For*: *For*, H<sub>1</sub>R, is to be cancelled. It exists only in one group of related texts.

l. 107. *Line 107* is unsatisfactory in any of its readings. Refer to the Introduction, Chapter over Versification.

l. 109. *Pride*: *Pride* occurs in its normal M.E. position, standing first in the list of the vices. This is the arrangement of Alcuin in the *Liber*, Chap. XXVII., *De octo ritiis principalibus & primo de Superbia*. *Primum ritum est superbia*, de qua dicitur: *Initium omnis peccati superbia, qua regina omnium malorum*; Chap. XXIII., *Maximum diaboli peccatum fuit superbia*. It is the order usual in enumerations of this period. *Pride* is the first sin in Gower's *Confessio* and in *The Persones Tale*, as Schick has indicated in his note to *T. of Gl.*, l. 761. This view is confirmed by the old poem, *The Liif of Adam*, and in *Rel. Ant.* and Chaucer's *Pers. Tale*.

*The Liif of Adam*, l. 61: ‘. . . . for it com out of henen,  
And was the form[est] sinne of seven.’

*Rel. Ant.*, p. 166: ‘Pride is out and pride is ine,  
And pride is rot of every sinne,  
And pride will never blynne! ’

*Pers. Tale*, l. 834: ‘The rote of thise sinnes than is pride,’ etc.

See Skeat's note, *Langl.*, p. vi., l. 118, and Werner with reference to Hraban, Theodulf, Prosper, etc., pp. 253, 254. *Pride* is described in *The Simonie*, ll. 459, 460:

‘Pride priketh aboute, wid withe and wid onde:  
Pes, loue, and charite hien hem out of londe.’

See also lists of Hampole, of the *Aneren Ricle*, etc. See note to l. 18. *Cp. R. of Gl.*, ll. 185 ff.:

‘. . . turnde to sleuþe & to prude & to lecherie,  
To glotouie, (& heye men & mucþe to robberie).’

*Ipotis*, l. 410: ‘Pryde is a synne most of plyghte,  
þat wratþeþ Iesus, ful of myghte.’

Compare l. 109 with Maundeville, p. 3: *Pryde, Covetyse, and Envy*, han so enflaumed the Hertes of Lordes of the world, etc.

l. 111. *on of þo:* pleonastic also in *Ipotis*, D l. 171: ‘Erþe . . . is on of þoo.’

l. 114. The vocabulary of the *Speculum* is enriched by scribal interpretation of the *þisternes*: *dyrkenes*, MSS. DH<sub>1</sub>, *merkenes* MS. R. *myrknes* is used also in *Tundale*, ll. 182, 437, 1122, 1205, and by Humpole. *Prick of Conscience*, see l. 7820: ‘pare es, withouten myrknes, lyght.’ Read here -nissë, to rhyme with *blissë*.

*Tyndale*, l. 181: ‘þou shalte to fire withouten ende  
And to merknes art þou frende.’

*Macbeth*, V. i. 40: ‘Hell is murky.’

l. 116. *Wicke slevþe: slevþes*, l. 121. See Schick’s note to *T. of Gl.*, l. 244. *Slevþe* is translated literally by MS. R in the reading *slownes*, ll. 116 and 121. See Skeat, *Dict.*, under *sloth*, and in mediaeval texts: *Langl. Prol.*, A, l. 45: ‘Sleep and Slevþe suweþ hem euere’; *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 1722: ‘To kepen her fro slouthe and ydelnesse’; *M. of L. T.*, l. 530: ‘diligent, with outer slevþe’; *Sec. N. T.*, l. 258: ‘withouten slouthe’; *Aner. R.*, p. 208: ‘nis hit tricherie, oðer zemeleaste of slouhðe’; *Pers. T.*, ll. 1687 ff.: ‘slouthe . . . shendeth al that he doth’; *Conf. Amun.* (ed. Morley), p. 176: *Slouth of lachesse*; p. 187: *Slouth of Negligence*; p. 188: *Slouth of Idelnesse*; p. 206: *Slouth of Slepe*; also *Pers. T.*, ll. 1738 ff.: *Conf. Amans*, p. 206, l. 41: ‘. . . he is eleped *Somponelone*,  
Which doth to *Slouth* his reverence,  
As he which is his chamberlein.’

*lecherie*: See *Ipotis*, text D, l. 406: ‘lecherie is þe derels net,’ recalling the world’s *paunder*, l. 18 of the *Speculum*. The line is to be compared with *Ipotis*, D ll. 356, 357:

‘And glotonye is þe furþe broþer,  
Lecherye is þe ferþe,  
On of þe wurste abowe erþe.’

l. 117. *Accedie*: normal form *accidie*; O.Fr. *accide*; Lat. *acedia*; the mental prostration of the recluse after fasting or other excess of asceticism. See Murray’s *Dictionary* under *accidie*, and *Langl.*, V. B. l. 366; C, l. 417: ‘After al this excessse, he had an *accidie*.’ *Accidia* is the lazy parson of Jusserand’s *Piers Plowman*, p. 235. It occurs often as a synonym of sloth, e.g. *Aner. Rindl.* p. 208: ‘me not nouȝt þeonne is hit zemeleaste, under *accidie* þet ich cleopede slouhðe’; *The Persones Tale*, ll. 1649 ff.: ‘the sinne of *accidie*, or *slouth*’; l. 1691: ‘roten sinne of *accidie* and *slouthe*.’ But thus *Aȝenbite*, l. 10: ‘Sleamhðe þet me clepeþ ine clerȝie *accidie*’; but this is not the application of the poet of the *Speculum*, as l. 121 distinctly tells us: ‘Accedie is slevþes broþer.’ See *Aner. R.*, p. 286: ‘Accidiesalue is gostlich gledschipe.’ See also *The Seven Deadly Sins of London*, Thomas Decker, 1606. *Persones Tale*, ll. 1650 ff.: ‘Accidie maketh him hevy, thoughtful and wrawe’; ‘bitternesse is mother of accidie’: ‘accidie the anguish of a trouble herte’; ll. 1827 ff.: ‘ther ben . . . remedies ayenst accidie; etc.

*as:* is to be omitted on authority of four MSS. For the redundant *as* in the sentence, cf. Schick, *T. of Gl.*, l. 39. See also l. 121.

l. 119. *wisse*: O.E. *wissan*, to teach, see Schick’s note, *T. of Gl.*, l. 637.

l. 123. *derne*: O.L.G. *derni*; O.H.G. *tarni*, hence archaic M.H.G. *Turnuppe*. The mediaeval poets liked the word *derne*. See *Langl.*, A. x., l. 199: *deede derne*; B. II., l. 175: *derne rsurge*. Orrm uses *derne*, verses 14,266, 18,864, 19,886.

v. 14,266 : ‘All was he *derne*  
Bilokenn & bilappedd.’

v. 19,886 : ‘Acc itt iss *dep* & *dærne*.’

*derne* is united with the history of *rune*; ‘Godess *dærne rune*,’ Orm. 18,786, 18,864; ‘God [scheawede] his *derne runes*,’ *Ancr. Riwle*, p. 154, fol. 40; Godes *derne runes*, p. 96; *Spring Time* (‘Specimens of Lyric Poetry,’ II., p. 49), ll. 28 ff.:

‘Deawes donkeþ þe dounnes,  
Deores wiþ huere *derne rounes*,  
Domes forte deme.’

See *King Horn*, 1363: ‘He louede Horn wel *derne*;’ *Cursor Mundi*, v. 32 of ‘The Visit of the Magi’:

‘þe thoughtfuldest amang þam selue,  
and did þam in a montain *dern*,  
[Biseli] to wait þe stern.’

Compare *underne*, ‘not secret,’ *Ancr. Riwle*, p. 24; Wiel, *John* iv. 6; *Maund.* 163; *Shor.* 84. For its derived and secondary meaning see *Clerkes Tale*:

l. 260: ‘The tyme of *vndern* of the same day.’

l. 981: ‘Abouten *vndern* gan this erl alighte.’

Orm., l. 19,458: ‘An daȝȝ at *unnderrn* time.’

See also *Ancr. R.*, p. 24: ‘Fiftene psalmes siggeð abutan *undern deies*.’

l. 124. *annied*: *annied* occurs in the sense of wearied, troubled, or reluctant, in several instances in *The Persones Tale*. See *Havelok*, l. 1735, and *Pers. T.*, ll. 1683, 1684: ‘Of accidie cometh first that a man is *annoied* . . . to do any goodnessse’; l. 1656: ‘It [accidie] is *annoye* of goodnessse.’

l. 125. MS. H<sub>2</sub> places the line under type A by the substitution of *Welife* for *Offte*.

*mourninge*: Read *mourning*, dative, to rime with *springe*. Final -e of the infinitive is pronounced in the verse of the *Speculum*. Read *swichē*, cancelling *wicke*, as Prof. Schick suggests, for the improvement of the metre.

l. 126. *Wanhope*: a fine English word, suggesting *mhope* of Langland’s story of the cats and the mice, and described in *Ipotis*, text D, ll. 422: *Wanhope* is þe þridde broþer; ll. 447:

‘*Wanhope* it is anoþer synne,  
That many a man is bounden in.  
Yf a man be falle þerinne  
And doþ it ever and wille not blyn,  
And troweth not god, ful of myȝt,  
The fende to wanhope hym plyȝt,  
That he wil no mercy crave,  
For he hopeth non to have.  
And for that *wanhope*, wrytyn I fynde,  
He goþ to helle withouten ende.’

See also *T. of Gl.*, ll. 673 and 895, and the quotation cited in Schick’s note to line 248, *Life of our Lady*, 1<sub>8</sub>a:

‘It is also the myghty pauyce fayre,  
Ageyn *wanhope* and dysperacion,  
Cristal shelde of pallas for dispayre.’

Ham. *Pr. of C.*, l. 2228: ‘þai sal fande at his last endyng  
Hym into *wanhope* for to bring.’

*Kn. Tale*, l. 391: ‘Wel onglite I sterue in *wanhope and distresse*;’ *T. of Gl.*, l. 895: *wanhope & dispaire*; *The Persones Tale*, ll. 1705-6: *wanhope*

. . . *despeir of the mercy of God.* See Hampole, *P. of C.*, l. 2229. See also the last paragraphs of *The Persones Tale*, pp. 580 ff. (Tyrwh.), and *Confessio Amantis*, pp. 213, 214 of Morley's edition.

**Page 8.** l. 127. Type A is to be preserved on authority of three MSS., *þat bote* being supported by the oldest text.

l. 129. *Wroþer hele:* This beautiful old construction occurs in *Seinte Marherete*, l. 10, and was, therefore, in use so early as 1200. *Wroþer hele* was commonly made the object of a preposition, as in MS. H<sub>2</sub>: *With wroþe hele*, or *to wroþer hele*, as in *O. E. Misc.*, p. 48; *The Life of St. Julian*, text A, l. 47: 'tu seist to wraþer heale'; l. 92: 'to wraþer heade iwrðen'; l. 118: 'sincken to wraþer heale ow to þe bale bitter deope into helle.' *Aner. R.*, p. 102: 'Go ut ase dude Dina, Jacobes doulter to wroþer hele.' *O. E. Hom.*, p. 33, has *wreþer hele* and *wfe hele*. *Wroþer hele* is to be construed as the old gen. of the fem. adj. *wrāþ* (O.E. ending -re) combined with *hele*, O.E. *hēlu*, *wrāþ* signifying bad, angry, *hālu*, health. See note to *Cursor Mundi*, l. 257, for explanation of the construction. *Wroþer hele* is found *Laȝamon*, l. 29,536; *Rbt. of Brunne*, ll. 104, 201, 291. See the related *goderhele* with parallel construction, *R. of Gl.*, l. 7570: 'þat goder hele al engelond was heo euere ibore.' See *wassail*.

Compare with the idiomatic phraseology of l. 129, verses 301 of *Piers Pl.* and *King Richard*.

*Spec.*, l. 129: 'Wroþer hele was Iudas born.'

*P. Pl.*, l. 301: 'For to wroþer hele was he iwrōȝt.'

*K. Rich.*, l. 129: 'Why shope thou me to wroþer hele.'

l. 130. *lorn:* preserved on authority of the oldest and best MS., for logical and metrical smoothness in the verse.

l. 131. Line 131 may have two readings according to the stress attributed to *Merci*:

'Mérei hé les · þúrw þat sínne' D.

'Merci he lés · þúrw þat sínne' C.

The theology of verses 129—131 is not based on scriptural text. It finds parallel in *The Persones Tale*, ll. 1713 ff.: '. . . he that is despeir'd, ther n̄is no felonie, ne no sinne, that he douteth for to do, as shewed wel by Judas.' The sin wanhope, despair of the mercy of God, is described in the next to the last paragraph of the *Tale*, ll. 3 ff.: 'The first wanhope cometh of that, he demeth that he hath sinned so gretly and so oft, and so long lyen in sinne, that he shal not be saved.' See also *Conf. Amant.*, p. 213:

l. 37: 'Also whan he is falle in sinne.  
Hem thenketh he is so coulable,  
That god woll nouȝt be merciable  
So great a sinne to forwyfe.'

l. 56: 'Wanhope folweth atte laste,  
Whiche may nouȝt longe after laste.  
But god wot whider he shall wende!'

l. 133. *birede:* MSS. A<sub>1</sub>D R, and perhaps A<sub>2</sub>, support the reading *birede* through slightly corrupted forms.

ll. 137, 138. *sarmoun : lesczoun:* See notes to lines 57, 58.

l. 139. MS. A<sub>2</sub> supplies the ellipsis by which *Wisdom*, l. 139, is left without a predicate: *Wisdom rse wel*, etc. Otherwise there is no clue to the exact meaning intended by the poet. For mediaeval interpretation of *wisdom*, see other M.E. texts, for instance, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, ll. 1755, 1756:

‘þar he demeþ manie riȝte dom,  
And diht and writ *mani wisdom*,  
And þurh his muȝe and þurh his honde  
Hit is þe betere into Scotlondre.’

See a MS. discourse over *wisdom*:

‘There is no thynge better than wysdome, ne no þyng swetter than konnynge, ne no thynge lustyer than knowlege, ne no thynge worse than lewdenes. It is an highe godenes of god to knowe what þou schuldest do and eschew. And it is an high wrothidnes not to knowe where þou gost, þer for lone wysdome and it schall be schewed vnto þe. Go to it, and it schall come to þe. Be besy there aboute, and it schall lerne the.’ Selected from ‘the boke’ ‘to enforme man howe he schulde flee vice and folowe vertus by consideration of a man himself.’

l. 140. *erere*: also l. 168, not a common form; comp. of *ar*. It is not preserved in later MSS. of the *Spec.* It is retained on authority of MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

*seide*: Read *sede*. The rime demands *sede* (*drede* : *sede*). < O.E. *süðe*. < O.E. *seyde*. See *Phonology*. *reed* : *seed* occurs *Fl.* and *Blyf.*, l. 52.

l. 143. *do god*: The preacher was eminently a philanthropist. He continually emphasizes the doctrine of good works, *gode dede*. See ll. 461, 674, 860—876, etc.

l. 144. *rod*: Chaucer would have spoken *rodē*. Final -ē is to be expected, but on basis of the co-ordinate rime, *rod* : *god* (adj. with subst. use) *rod* is to be read without a syllabic final -ē.

l. 146. *inouh* : *inouh* as well as *god* (N.E. *God*), lines 25 and 35 are argument in support of a type C. Neither can be read with the final -ē necessary to prevent the clashing of two stressed syllables at the caesura.

l. 147. *þerwid*: MS. A<sub>2</sub> preserves the correct form *þerwith* to rime with *grīþ* in opposition to the false orthography *þer wid* of MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

l. 148. *merci* and *grīþ*: Examples of the juxtaposition of *merci* with *grīþ* are not abundant. *Pes* and *grīþ* are more commonly united. See Kölbing, *Sir Beues*, note to A, l. 849.

**Page 9**, l. 149. *þis* : i.e. *þis* of MSS. A<sub>1</sub>H<sub>1</sub>, written in full *þis is* in MSS. A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>2</sub>, is to be regarded as monosyllabic as in A<sub>1</sub>. The contraction occurs in Chaucer and Lydgate. See the illustrations cited by Schick, *T. of G.*, l. 496.

l. 151. *honour*: honors, i.e. the material conditions that are accompanied with honor, see ll. 152—158. The figure is metonymy.

l. 152, also 163. *londes* : *rentes* : *londis, rentis* in H<sub>1</sub>; *Londys · rentys* in H<sub>2</sub>; *R. of Gl.*, ll. 2462, 6628, 6630, 7585, 7686, 8565, 10,267, 10,268.

*bour* : *Bur* as inner and private department was distinguished from *hall*, O.E. *heall*, in the O.E. period. See *Beowulf*, l. 140: ‘reste sôhte bed after bârum,’ see also ll. 1311 and 2456; Murray, *N. E. Diet.*, under *bower*. Illustrations from M.E. texts are as follows: *Orrm*, l. 8134: ‘Onnfasst to kingess bure’; *bour* occurs in figurative usage, *Aner. Ricle*, p. 34, fol. 8: ‘þet into oucer breoste bur is ililt of heouene’; p. 102, fol. 25: ‘pine heorte bur; *K. Horn*, l. 386: ‘al þe bur gan liȝte’; 729: ‘ut of bure of lore; 1472: at Fikenhilles bure; also 273, 290, 400, and many additional instances; Langl. (redaction A, III.) 13, 14:

‘. . . . . the Iustise soone  
Busked him into the bour, ther the buyrde was inne.’

And C. VII., l. 288; B. V., l. 222:

‘The beste laye in my bour, and in my bed chambre.’

*Harrowing of Hell*, l. 31: ‘He lihte of his heȝe tour  
Into sciente Marie bour.’

*Gamelyn*, l. 405: ‘If I leete the goon out of his bōur.’

*Sir Beues*, A, l. 160: ‘þe lenedi a fond in hire bōur.’

*Parl. of F.*, l. 304: ‘Of braunches were her halles and her boures.’

*bōur* and *halles* are described together in *Guy of Warwick*, B, 102, *The Nonne Prestes Tale*, l. 12; Spenser has *in boure or hall*, *Faerie Queene*, I, viii, str. 29, l. 9; from *inner boure*, I, viii, str. 5, l. 6; *Guy of Warwick*, l. 2674: *mayde bright in boure*; *Pearl*, str. 81, l. 3—4:

‘Bryng me to that bygly bydde,  
And let me se thy blysful bor.’

The word was still in use in Spenser’s time. It occurs in the *Prothalamion*:

l. 14: ‘. . . . . daintie gemmes  
Fit to decke maydens boures.’

l. 91: ‘Ye gentle Birdes! the worlds faire ornament  
And heauens glorie, whom this happie hower  
Doth leade into your lovers blissfull bōver.’

*L. Allegro*, l. 87: ‘. . . in haste her bōvre she leaves,  
With Thestylis to bind the sheaves.’

The original significance of the O.E. *bōr* was lost early. It seems to be retained by Tennyson and Scott:

*Godira*, l. 42: ‘Then fled she to her inmost bōver.’

*Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. ii, p. 144 (ed. 1802):

‘There were twa sisters sat in a bōver,  
Edinborough, Edinborough.  
Ther cam a knight to be their wooer,’ etc.

Bayard Taylor retains a trace of the earlier significance in *The Poet of the East*, l. 3.

*H<sub>2</sub>* reads *halles and boure*, *boure* in rime with *honoure*. The *Speculum* does not preserve *honour* with variable stress, but retains the old accent *honoúr*. The alternative *hónour* is not found.

*halles*, A<sub>2</sub>D *halles*: the public room characteristic of English life in this period, early the centre of social activity and the seat of conviviality, as described in O.E. poems, *Beowulf*, *Andreas*, etc. See Heyne, *Heorot*; Grimm, *Andreas and Elene* xxxvii; and illustration in *Gnomic Verses*, l. 28 f.:

‘. . . cyning seal on healle  
beágas díelan . . . .’

Distinction between *halles* and *bōur* seems to be defined in Hartmann’s *Iwein*, ll. 77 ff.

l. 153. *siluer and gold*: related terms often used conjointly in M.E. texts: for example *Rbt. of Gl.*, A 285, 2609, 3552, 3559, 4013, 5543, 8292; *Sir Beues*, A l. 562: *al þe seluer ne al þe golde*; A l. 2616: *Naiþer for seluer ne for golde*; *Rich. C. de L.*, l. 3796; *Arthour and Merlin*, l. 128; *King of Tars*, V l. 81; *Seren Sayes*, A l. 2719; *Alisaunder*, l. 103.

l. 154. *tresor . . . bold*: ‘stores? of treasure’ . . . ‘buildings.’ For *bold*, see *Riddele*, No. 16, ll. 8-9:

‘. . . þær ie wic hûge,  
*bold*, mid bearmum, ond ie bide þær . . .’

See Merlin’s description of the sword of Arthour:

‘Ich am yhote Escalibore,  
Unto a king a faire tresore.’

*Rbt. of Gl.* l. 7133: *tresour . . . gold*; *Sir Beues*, A l. 1504: *gold . . . tresor*;

*Rbt. of Gl.*, l. 372: *Tresour . . . oþer god*.

l. 155. *mete . . . drinke*: another instance of juxtaposition of ordinary terms, illustrated with frequency; *Sir Beues*, A l. 2125: ‘*Mete and drinke þai hadde afyn*’; also *Launfal*, l. 340; the litotes *Gamelyn*, l. 390: ‘*mete ne drynk had he non*’; *Rbt. of Gl.*, ll. 8808, 8848, 11,294, 11,997; *Sompounoures Tale*, l. 167: *Of mete and drinke*. See a poem *Aus der Hölle*, ed. Leonard, l. 57 of text A:

‘In delycate metys I sette my delyte,  
And myȝhty wyns vnto my pay.’

*metys* (plural in *-ys*): is the reading of *H<sub>2</sub>*. The meaning is probably general for food, as l. 900 and Marlowe’s *Faustus*, st. I, l. 164. See Kölbing’s note, *Sir Beues*, A l. 1570 and A l. 1739.

*drinke*: This is a plural form to rhyme with *swinke*, inf. in *-e*, the *swinkē* of later MSS. See Kölbing’s note to *Sir Beues*, M. l. 1047.

*riche*: translated as ‘delicious’ by Kölbing, *Sir Beues*, O, l. 2846, ‘*A ryche souper there was dyght*?’ It could appropriately have the same meaning here, but ‘highly seasoned’ is to be preferred. *H<sub>1</sub>* proposes *goode drinke*. *Riche* is to be distinguished from *Riche* l. 153, used in the sense of ‘costly’; cf. *Richesses*, ‘costly articles,’ *P. Pl.*, A III, l. 24. See in note to l. 155 the qualities ascribed to *met* and *drink*, l. 57, A poem *Aus der H.*, perhaps equivalent to *riche*.

l. 156. *swinke*: to labour hard. Read *swinkē* according to the inflectional characteristics of the *Speculum*. *swinke*, a common word in M.E., is not to be found in Shakspere. See Skeat, *Leg. of G. W.*, note to l. 2041.

*þerfore*: ‘for it,’ as in Marlowe’s *Faustus*, the last line of the first scene.

l. 157. *Hele of bodi*: also *Persones Tale*, l. 786. *hvide*: here ‘human skin.’ See Breul’s note to *Sir Gowther*, l. 33; *The Erl of Toulous*, l. 189: *hew and ek of hyde, hyde* in rhyme with *pryde*.

l. 158. *los*: ‘renown’ on account of vice as well as of virtue; see note, *Prompt. Parv.*, and reference to *Sir Gowther*, l. 186:

‘His loose spong ful wide  
because of sacrilegious deede.’

*Mannd.*, p. 108: ‘Herondes of gret name and *loos* for her crueltee.’ In the meaning glory (*Ruhm*) *los* occurs in sense of good renown, *Langl.* viii, l. 109 (C), ‘zoure goode *loos* to shewe’; xiv. l. 111: ‘good *loos* of his hondes;’ *Hous of Fame*, 1621, 1722, etc. Tobler in *Chrest.*, on ‘Half Church Latin,’ disclaims the derivation of *los* from the French: Church-Latin *laus*, Fr. *lös*, M.E. *lös*. See note to l. 166, and Skeat’s note to *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 1514: ‘Ercules, that had the grete *los*.’ For the combined use of *los* in both senses, *Hous of Fame* gives example, ll. 1618 ff.:

‘. . . . . I graunte yow,  
That ye shal have a shrewed fame  
And *wikked loos* and worse name,  
Though ye *good loos* have wel deserved.’

See Kölbing’s note to *los*, *Sir Beues*, M. l. 22.

l. 159. *murie*: also l. 905, and *muryere*, l. 284. Zupitza’s explanation is to be referred to in *Engl. Stud.*, vol. vii, p. 465 ff., giving nominatives *myrge*, *mirge*, *merge* (M.E. *merge*). Chancer naturally reproduces the three forms possible in M.E. See Stratmann, *M.E. Dict.*

*hem þinkeþ*: methinks of Shakspere, O.E. *þynecean*, *þâhte*, *geþûht*. *him þonhte*, l. 32, impersonal verb followed by O.E. dative, here *hem* or *hym*. See notes to ll. 521 and 648, and Zupitza’s note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 385, also l. 6223, *Gamelyn*, l. 398, and *Pearl*:

str. 46, l. 12: ‘*Uss thynk uss oghe* to take more.’

str. 47, l. 1: ‘More haf we served *us thynk* so.

Then thyse . . . . .

l. 160. *ibouht . . . dere*: common M.E. phraseology for ‘redeemed,’ of *Is. lxiii*, 9, or ‘bought with a price.’ *1 Corinth.* vi. 20. See Kölbing’s note to *Sir Benes*, A. l. 566, including Breul’s to *Sir Gowther*, l. 3, and Skeat’s to *Pard. Tale*, l. 501. Compare *bonhte . . . sore*, l. 236, and the following illustrations, where the application is sometimes different from the scriptural sense and is adapted to the language of ordinary life:

*Hymn on the Nativity*, l. 152: ‘That on the bitter cross  
Must *redēm* our loss.’

*Shep. Cal., May*, l. 299: ‘*sot too dear a price*.’  
*July*, l. 148: ‘Whose love he *bought too dear*.’

*Pearl*, str. 62, l. 1: ‘This maskellez perle that *bought is dere*,  
l. 3: ‘Is lyke the reme of hevenes clere.’

*Townl. Myst.*, l. 244: ‘I have theym *bought agan*  
With shedyng of my blode.’

*Munilus et Infans*, l. 291: ‘*bonerly bought you* on the roode tree.’

*Pearl*, str. 75, l. 5: ‘For thay *arn boght* fro the urthe aloynte.’

*Maun I., Prol. to Voiage*, l. 41: ‘how *dere he boughte . . . and how dere he azenboght us*, for the grete love . . .’

*þe Wohunge of u. Lauerd*, l. 120: ‘*þe blod, þat me bohte*.’  
l. 125: ‘*siðen þat tu bohþes herte for herte*.’  
l. 140: ‘*mi lines lune, wið þi blod þu haues me boht*.’

The riming word is *bonhte*, ll. 26 and 226, as referred to in Kölbing’s note and illustrated in that connection. See also as follows:

*Poema Morale*, l. 184: ‘*wel deore he us bohte*.’

*T. of Gl.*, l. 1258: ‘And more of pris, when *it is dere bouȝt*.’

*Comp. of Mars*, l. 167: ‘I yaf my trewe servise and my thought,  
For evermore—*how dere I have it boȝt!*’

*ful*: supplied from MSS. A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R. *wel* of A<sub>1</sub> illustrates skipping, the eye of the copyist probably catching the word from *wel*, l. 161.

*be seynte John*: l. 161 in MS. H<sub>2</sub>. Common in Chancer, *Somp. Tale*, l. 175; *Man of L. T.*, l. 1019; *Pard. T.* l. 752; *Bok of the D.*, l. 1319; *Parl. of F.*, l. 451. See Kölbing’s note. *Sir Benes*, M, l. 314, under illustrations of *was I nevere none* and *be sein Ion*. *Benes*, A, l. 2747; l. 4377; O, l. 3571; *The Erl of T.*, ll. 152, 517, 793, 931, 971, 1192.

*Latin. nihil . . . quam*: MS. A<sub>1</sub> reads ‘*nichil . . . quam*’

l. 161. *falle wel*: freely translated ‘may happen perchance.’ *Somp. Tale*, l. 5, ‘And so *befel . . . on a day*’: also *The Erl of T.*, ll. 22, 181, 493, 997; *N. Prestes Tale*, l. 452, ‘so *bifel*’

*on a day* is to be referred to l. 49 of the *Speculum*; l. 61 of *Tundale*.

*wel : catel*: The same rime occurs ll. 578, 896, 942.

l. 163. *londes, rentes*: ‘property and its revenues’; also l. 152 and *March. Tale*, l. 67. *Rbt. of Gl.*, l. 451, explains the terms:

‘. . . . . & þei a *lond* igranted were  
To a man to bere þeruore *a certein rente* bi ȝere.’

*The Nonne Prestes Tale* expresses the idea, l. 7: ‘*catel and rente*’

l. 164. *pore of mod*: Compare the various expressions of humility as represented in M.E. interpretation and by the poet: ‘*low of herte*’, l. 165; ‘*halt þermide noȝt*’, l. 171; ‘*holde lone*’, l. 179.

l. 165. *ful ivis*: See note to l. 723.

l. 166. *titel prys*: ‘praise,’ ‘price,’ = ‘value,’ recalling *los* l. 158, the

two words perhaps synonymous in *Sir Beues*: M. l. 22, ‘For to wynne price and loos’; M. l. 3888, ‘lose ne of price’; *T. of Gl.*, l. 1381: ‘Now lande and pris.’ *Gamelyn* increases the vocabulary growing from *pris* with the meaning valour, ll. 772 and 804: ‘zonge men of prys.’ See also *T. of Gl.*, l. 1258, quoted in note to l. 160. Other M.E. meanings are as follows:

*Pearl*, str. 35, l. 11: ‘Hys prese, his prys, and hys parage.’

*T. of Gl.*, l. 1380: ‘A litl tretise . . . . . In pris of women, oonli for hir sake.’

*Minot, Polit. Song*, l. 25: ‘þan þe riche floure-de-lice,  
Wan þare ful litill prise.’

l. 168. *þat*: cf. l. 140, dat. ‘of whom.’ Cf. Zupitza’s note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 5462.

*erere*: See note to l. 140.

*seide*: Read *sede*, Southern form. See note to l. 140, and ‘Introduction’ under ‘Inflection.’

**Page 10, l. 173.** *skilfulliche*: a form not often cited in M.E. Hamb-pole employs *scilwisiſli*, Ps. xxxi. 6, with the meaning ‘reasonable’: but *Avenbite*, l. 6, *skelvolliche*, ‘skillfully,’ and Chaucer, *Compl. of Mars*, l. 155, *skillyfully* in the sense of particularly:

*C. of M.*, l. 155: ‘The ordre of compleynt requireth skillyfully,  
That if a wight shal pleyne pitously . . .’

*S. N. T.*, l. 320: ‘Men myghten dreden wel and skillyfully’ (= reasonably). A corresponding adjective is to be found in *Gorboduc*, A, II. 2. 11, l. 762: ‘Lest skillesse rage throwe downe with headlong fall . . .’

The third *York Play*, l. 22: ‘A skylfull beeste þan will y make.’ See *Orrm.*, l. 3715; *P. of C.*, l. 1818; *H. of F.*, l. 750; *Mamynge, Handl. Sygne*, l. 5827: *Aneren Riwle* preserves the substantive in its normal meaning, p. 346, ‘consent of the mind,’ *skiles zettunge*; *York Plays, The Ascension*, l. 113: ‘Anodir skill forsoth is þis’; *Pearl*, str. 5, l. 6, ‘Wyth fytre skylliez’ (timid reasons, see note), etc.; *Thos. of Erceld.*, see Brandt., l. 288: ‘I sall þe telle þe skille.’ Note the following combinations:

*Lydg.*, *T. of Gl.*, l. 1382: ‘as it is skil & riȝt.’

*Ch.*, *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 1392: ‘skille and right.’

l. 385: ‘As hit is right and skilful that they be.’

The *Orrmulum*, l. 12,336: ‘Innsilhlt, & witt, & shaed, & skill.’

Sir Samuel Tuke (d. 1673) uses *skill* in its mediaeval sense, ‘reason,’ in *The Adventures of Sir Hours*, v. 3. l. 25:

‘He is a fool, who thinks by force or skill  
To turn the current of a woman’s will.’

Tuke’s lines are introduced in the *Examiner*, May 31, 1829, where *skill* is understood to mean in its modern character ‘dexterity,’ ‘force.’ They occur in paraphrases in Aaron Hill’s *Epilogue to Zara*.

The meaning of Icel. *skilja*, to divide, occurs perhaps in *Taming of the Shrew*, iii. 2, l. 34: ‘it skills not much,’ i.e. ‘makes no difference.’ See Skt., *Ety.*, § 277. The new English significance is illustrated in Shakspere’s time, see *Cymb.* II. 5, l. 33:

‘Tis greater skill

In a true hate, to pray they have their will.’

See *Rich. III*, iv. 4. 116; *Henry IV*, Part I, v. 1, l. 133; Pope, *Essay on Criticism*, l. 1:

‘Tis hard to say, if greater want of skill  
Appear in writing or in judging ill.’

l. 176. *pine*: ‘torture’; *hell pine* described ll. 277-284. *pine* is derived from *pōna*, Folk-Lat. pronunciation of Latin *poena*, ‘satisfaction,’ ‘punishment.’ Gk. πονή, penalty, according to Skeat, § 398. See O.H.G. *pīna*, G. *pein*, in distinction from M.E. *peyne* from the Fr. *peine*, with the meaning ‘trouble.’

The interpretation ending here recalls the terms of the Hebrew philosophy where wisdom is identified with goodness, wickedness with folly.

ll. 175-6, 187-188, 265-6, 876 suggest a fallacy of the mediæval wisdom philosophy, converting the law, that prosperity is a result of righteousness, destruction of wickedness, into a barter of religious consecration.

ll. 177-188. This portion of the poem attains its highest delicacy in the expression of the doctrine of God’s chastening, illustrating with peculiar force *Heb.* xii. 6 and *Job* v. 17:

‘Whom the Lord loueth he chasteneth.’

‘Behold, blessed is the man whom God correcteth;

Therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty.’

The passage suggests a selection from Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. Miller, p. 68, l. 5 ff.: ‘ond þeal i þe wihte hwene heardor & strongor don sy, þonne is hit of *lufan to donne* . . . Forðon þeim menn þut he þrea þis bið gegeawod, þet he ne sy seald þam ecan furum helle tintges.’

*lonerede*: ‘love tokens,’ ‘loving kindness.’ *Is.* lxiii. 7, a word not common in the vocabulary of the period. It is found in *E. E. Psalter* C. viii. 5 of the thirteenth century, in *Metrical Homilies* of the fourteenth century, and also in *Azenbite*, see Strat. *Dict.* Cf. *line eie*, p. 430 *Amer. R.*

l. 178. *dredē*: ‘fear’ in the sense of reverence, the line recalling *Job* iv. 6: ‘Is not thy piety thy confidence?’ where *piety* can be translated *fear of God*.

ll. 179-180. Not found in MS. A<sub>1</sub>, probably a careless omission of the scribe. The lines are introduced here on authority of five MSS. The reading is that of MS. A<sub>2</sub>.

l. 182. *maken . . . lese*: ‘deliver from,’ see Zupitza’s note, *Guy of Warwick*, l. 10,112.

l. 185. *hunger and þurst*: *Rer.* vii. 16: ‘They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more.’ Conversely the mediæval poet includes *hunger* and *þurst* in ordinary enumerations of the tortures of hell, e.g. *Poema Morale*.

l. 229: ‘On helle is *hunger end þurst*, unele twa ifere.’

l. 197: ‘þurst end hunger . . . eche end eal un helðe.’

*Pers. Tale*, l. 286: ‘They shul be wasted with hunger . . . and the gall of the dragon shal ben hir drinke.’

*Orrm.*, l. 1614: ‘& pinenn þær þi bodiȝ a wiþ chele & þrisst & hunngerr.’

The *Poema Morale*, in description of heaven, follows *Rer.* vii. 16.

l. 321: ‘Né muȝen hí werien heom wið þurste ne wið hunger.’

l. 323: ‘Ac ðer nis hunger ne ȝurst. ne dieð. ne unhelðe ne elde.’

l. 186. *euere among*: ‘from time to time,’ ‘continually?’ see Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 650; Lüdtke to *The Erl of Toulous*, l. 748; and Kirke’s note to *Shep. Cal.*, Dec., l. 112 (str. 19, l. 4), introduced as ‘ever and anon’; *King Horn*, l. 1565: *Sir Beues*, O, l. 606; *Two Noble Kinsmen*, iv. 3, l. 86.

l. 188. *to echen here blisse*: *Isaiah* liv. 8: ‘With everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee.’ The graceful climax ending here shows the earnest *naïveté* of the preacher, one of the notable charms of the poem. The pictorial quality of the verse is peculiarly vivid in these couplets.

l. 189. *ne*: MS. A<sub>1</sub> preserves type D. Five MSS. authorize the omission of *ne*. The verse is then to be read according to types C and D:

Mán, if þú léuest noht mé.

**Page 11.** l. 190. *bidene*: derived by Zupitza from *mid âne*, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 2408; also ll. 8720, 8748, 11,637. See Murray's *Oxford Dictionary*, and Gollancz's note to *Pearl*, str. 17, l. 4. *bidene* is of frequent occurrence, for instance *Spec.*, l. 834 in H<sub>2</sub>; Lüdtke, *Erl of Toulous*, l. 1217; *Havelok*, in the sense of 'forthwith,' ll. 730, 2841, with reference to *Tristrem*, p. 45; *Metrical Psalter*, Psalm ciii, l. 74; and *Orrmulum* as follows, l. 4793:

'onn an daȝȝ all *bidene*.'

The New English derivative of *bidene* occurs in *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. xxviii, p. 738: 'Read our Bibles, pray *bedeen*.'

l. 194. *wel iwite*: a frequent expletive, often used merely to fill out an incomplete line, as in the *Speculum*, ll. 312, 637, 763, 895, 941, and Chaucer, *Prov.*, ll. 659, 711, 740, 771; *Rom. of Rose*, ll. 1355, 1904, 2018; *Havelok*, l. 2208; *Orrm.* l. 112. For *wel ywote* cf. Zupitza's note to *Guy*, l. 11,948.

l. 195. *is noht*: 'is worthless,' also the language of the Scriptures. See *Proverbs* xx. 14; *2 Kings* ii. 19, etc.

ll. 196-198. *wille—spille*: 1 *Corinth.* v. 5: 'destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved'; *Prov.* xix. 18: 'him spare to cause him to die.' See also *Prov.* xxiii. 14.

l. 196. *abonten*: 'everywhere,' 'to full extent'; in l. 191 *abonte*, 'around,' 'in the neighbourhood,' explained by *Rbt. of Gl.*: *abonte in ech side*, ll. 3962, 4550, 6153, 6766; *abonte in eche ende*, ll. 22, 3545, 7473.

l. 201. *þi bilene*: a specific *Credo* rather than a distinct quality of faith as described by Alcuin. *bileue* is used by *Rbt. of Gl.* in this sense:

St. Dunst., l. 27: 'To teche him his *bileue*, paternoster and crede.'

See *Credo* of the Aȝenbite, l. 1: 'leh leue ine god . . . makere of heuene and of erþe.'

ll. 204-206. *Eph.* iv. 6, reproduced in many M.E. texts, for example Chaucer, *The Seconde Nonnes Tale*, ll. 297 ff.:

l. 207: 'Oo Lord, oo feith, oo god withouten mo,  
Oo Cristendom and fader of alle also. . . .'

l. 340: 'So, in o *being* of diuinitee,  
*Thre persones* may ther ryght wel be.'

*Conf. Aman.*, p. 344: 'The High Almighty Trinité,  
Which is o God in Unité.'—l. 17.

*Ipotis*, l. 45: ' . . . . . the sone  
The fadyr and þe holy goste, togeder wone  
Thre personys in trinité.'

ll. 203-212. See MS. *Arund.* 286: 'Of þe Sacrament of þe auter:' 'þe þriddé poynt is of þe trinite, þat euery man owȝe studefastly to bylene inne þre þinges man oweþ to trouwe of þe trinite: þe first þat þe fader *and* sone *and* þe holy gost is o god; þe secunde þat god is wiþoute bygynnyng and schal be wiþowte end and þat he made alle þinge; þe þridde is þat þe sone was ener fro þe bygynnyng wiþ þe fader *and* þe holy gost connyng fro hem boþe.'

l. 204. *o*: as in many MSS. of Chaucer's text. There seems to be no ground for the alteration of *o* (text A<sub>1</sub>) to *oo* (text H<sub>1</sub>) as is regarded desirable by Skeat, note to *Nonne P. T.*, l. 207, cited note to ll. 204-6.

l. 207. *man*: The interpolation of *man* is not justified by the MSS. This is an instance in which H<sub>2</sub> preserves the most vigorous expression

and the smoothest metre, and is in keeping with the general character of the poem.

l. 208. *in þin herte do*: ‘enter it into thy heart,’ ‘imprint it on thy heart.’ *do* is perhaps interpreted by the German *einprägen*.

l. 209-210. The substance of these lines is introduced freely in M.E. texts. See also *Rev.* i. 8; *Is.* ix. 6; *Heb.* vii. 3:

*Conf. Amant.*, p. 344: ‘Withonten ende and bëginnïng  
And Creatör of allé thing.’—l. 19.

*Ipotis*, l. 85: ‘He is withowte begynnyng,  
And also withowte endyng.’

*Poema Morale*, l. 85: ‘He is ord abuten orde, end ende abuten ende.’

*bijning : ending*: frequent rime. See *Poema Morale*, ll. 119, 120.

l. 210. Five MSS. require the omission of *ne*, giving illustration of type C instead of type A:

‘Ne néuere shál · háue ending.’

l. 211. *shappere . . . shaftes*: frequent alliteration in this connection, based on *Col.* 1. 16:

þe Wöhunge of u. Lauerd, l. 62: ‘schappere of alle schafles.’

*Life of St. Jul.*, l. 8: ‘þe lufsume lauerd þat schaple alle schafles.’

*Poema Morale*, l. 84: ‘he scoop calle ȝe seeufte (sop alle safte, Tr. MS.).’

*Hom. Good Shep.*, l. 8: ‘ȝif tēnig gesceaft is god . . . seo gôdnys [is] of ȝam scyfpende.’

Ælfred, *True Nobility*, l. 17: ‘Gode is fader eallra gesceafta . . . hi ealle gesceop.’

Minot, *Polit. Song*, l. 1: ‘God, þat schope both se and sand . . .’

Compare also as follows:

*Destr. of Troy*, l. 1: ‘Mais’ur in mageste, maker of alle,  
endles and on, euer to last.’

l. 212. *shappere—made man*: See *Gen.* ii. 3: ‘created and made,’ King James’s version.

**Page 12**, ll. 213, 214. Interpretation of the passage is difficult. Copyist’s forms do not aid in a decision.

l. 213. *after his owen face*: See *Gen.* i. 27: ‘created man in his own image’; l. 26: ‘after our likeness.’ The text is frequently quoted in M.E.

*Ipotis*, B, l. 541: ‘. . . . . god made Adam,

And schoppe hym after hys owen face.’

Nassington, *On the Trinity*, l. 96: ‘— mad hym aftere thyne owene liknesse.’

Maund., *Voiage*, l. 41: ‘man, that he made after his owne image.’

*Aȝenbite*, p. 87, l. 17: ‘huer by we bycþ yssape to his ymage.’

l. 52: ‘to þe ymaw and to þe auliknesse of god.’

l. 10: ‘ssop þe zaule to his aulynesse an to his fourme.’

l. 214. *heil*: ‘holy,’ *Almighty*.

l. 215. *fre power*: The doctrine of predestination seems settled with the poet in distinction from Chaucer, see *The Nonne Prestes Tale*, ll. 411-417, 422-430.

l. 219. *Wheiþer*: ‘which of two.’ Read *Whei’r* as monosyllable, see Skeat’s note to *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 72, and *Whei’r*, ll. 272, 536, 872.

l. 223. *Adam . . . forme matn . . . singym began*: Common M.E. phraseology. See as follows:

Maund., *Prol. Voiage*, l. 26: ‘for the synne of oure formere fader Adam.’

*Poema Morale*, l. 195: ‘Vres formes fedres gult we abigget alle.’

*Pricke of C.*, l. 483: ‘our forme fader . . .’ ‘Our forme fader hit an byte.’

l. 224. *singyn*: See *Langl.*, C I, l. 109.

l. 227. *wit*: in the sense of the opening verses of *Prike of Conscience* to be traced in other poems, see note to l. 339 and Add. MS. 11,304:

l. 1: ‘þe might of þe fader alle myhty,  
þe witte of þe oone alle witty,  
þe grace and þe godenes of þe holy goste  
on god of myht moste,  
be wit us at þis begynnnyng  
And bryng vs to a gode endyng.  
þe myht of the fader alle myhty  
þe witte of the sone alle witty.’

*his*: is *D*, ys *H<sub>2</sub>*; *Sir Gouther*, l. 55.

l. 229. *eging*: ‘urging,’ ‘instigation,’ another instance of the connection of this word with the story of the fall, noted by Skeat, *M. of L. T.*, l. 842:

*M. of L. Tale*, l. 842: ‘. . . thurgh wommanes eggement  
Mankyn was lorn and damned ay to dye.’

*The Deluge*, l. 241: ‘Bot þurh þe eggyng of eue he ete of an apple.’

*Ipotis*, l. 515: ‘And kepyn hem from fel eggynge.’

*P. Pl.*, A I, l. 63: ‘Adam and Eue he eggede to don ille.’

*Chester Pl.*, *The Creation*: ‘And, man, also I say to the,  
“thou hast not done after me,  
Thy wife’s counsell for to flee,  
But done so her bydding.”’

*fend and Eue*: 1 *Corinth*. xi. 3:

*Gedicht aus d. Hölle*, p. 62, l. 187: ‘And that was thorow Erys rede  
And þe deuyll of helle, wele y wott.’

*Ipotis*, D, l. 276 (*Adam speaks*): ‘The woman tyzed me pertylle.’

l. 280 (*Eve speaks*): ‘Lord, the edder . . . gart me with gylle.’

*Pers. Tale*, l. 655:

‘The fend tempted Eue’; ‘Adam consented to the eting of the fruit.’

*Eue* : *greue*: The same rhyme is extant *Handl. Syn.*, l. 140; *P. Morale*: *eue* : *ilene*, l. 174; *Eue* : *leue*, *Prike of C.*, l. 492.

l. 230. *dede*: ‘committed.’ *gan*: paraphrastic, to be omitted in translation.

l. 232. *pylt*: supplied from *A<sub>2</sub>*. *D* reads *put*, *H<sub>2</sub>* *pylte*, *R* *piltē*; cf. l. 888; *A<sub>1</sub>* has *ipult*, *A<sub>2</sub>* *plyte*, *D* *pute*, *H<sub>1</sub>* *Ipylt*. The prefix *i-* of the participle is not demanded by the rhythm. For the combination *pult* + *paradys*, or *pyne*, see as follows:

*Langl.*, B XV, l. 62: ‘Pulte out of p̄radys.’

*Horn*, l. 129: ‘heo weren ipult ut of paradise.’

*Adam and Eve*, l. 123: ‘Pulte out of paradys.’

*Langl.*, B XI, l. 157: ‘Pulte oute of pyne.’

*Langl.*, B VIII, l. 96: ‘to pulte adown the wikked.’

See further *Sir Beues*, A, l. 875; *Amer. Rivle*, p. 366: ‘hit wule pulten on him’; *Rel. Antiq.*, pp. 11, 244: ‘to deþe . . . pulte’; *Wm. of Paderne*, l. 381: ‘pult hire in hope to haue’; *K. Horn*, l. 1457: ‘aȝen hire pelte’; *O.E. Homilies*, p. 197: ‘hire oþer eare pilteð hire tail þerimne’; Halliwell, *Ashm. MS.* 61: ‘I shalle hym pelte.’ The modern English form is found in Bryant’s *Cloud on the Way*, l. 18:

‘Pleasantly between the pelting showers,’ etc.

See other versions of the ever popular history of Adam's fall:

*Ipotis*, l. 547: '... wer damped into helle.'

Chaucer, *Monkes Tale*, l. 3203: 'Was drive out of his heih prospereitee  
To labour, and to helle, and to meschaunce.'

*Purd. Tale*, l. 505: 'Adam our fader, and his wyf also,  
Fro Paradys to labour and to wo  
*Were driven.*'

l. 511: '... he was *out cast* to wo and peyne.'

*Pars. Tale*, l. 628: 'Adam ... must *nodes die.*'

l. 233. *Buxomere*: Cf. *Unbxomnesse*, l. 231; *Paradise Lost*, II, l. 842; *buxom air*, also *Faerie Queene*, I, 11; IX, 37, 6; *Shep. Cal.*, Sept., l. 149; 'they nould be *buxom* and bent.' *L'Allegro*, l. 24; *The Deluge*, l. 237; 'Adam in obedyent · ordaynt to blysse'; Ch. *Monkes Tale*, l. 3202; 'Adam ... for *misgouernance*.'

*Tundale*, l. 1861: 'That for goddis love wer *buxsum*?'

l. 1911: 'The whyche wer to god *buxsum* ay.'

l. 234. *him*: dat., indirect object.

l. 235. *lore*: *lore, instruction*, in sense of *persuasion*, as used by Kölbing, *Sir Benes*, M, l. 1386.

l. 237. *fredom*: freedom with added sense of privileges; also *Hom.* ed. Morris, First Series, p. 41, l. 2.

*was binomen him al*: 'was taken away entirely,' he was deprived of. See O.E. *beniman*, governing the genitive. Cf. *al uyon*. *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 1766; *al to-shake*, l. 1765.

l. 238. *put*: Supply *he was* for the sense. 'He was thrown into servitude.'

**Page 13.** l. 239. *one*: Read probably *only*, to agree with five MSS. For *one* see 'Introduction' under 'Inflection.'

l. 240. The same material is found in other texts:

*Ipotis*, D, l. 305: 'Thus Adam levedde in erthe here

When he was dede, into helle nome  
And alle, þat *ever* of hym come.'

*Poema Morale*, l. 173: 'Eelle &a isprungen beoþ of adam end of éue.'

l. 196: 'eal his *of spring after him.*'

l. 241. *gile*: 'beguiled' in the Bible, 2 Cor. xi. 3. See M.E. texts:

*Ipotis*, D, l. 343: 'But telle me, child, hit an þou can  
Wharewith þe fend *begyled* man.'

*Orrm.*, l. 1412: 'Forrluren ec forr heore *gillt.*'

*The Deluge*, l. 241: '... . . . . . . . . . . . . an apple  
þat *enpoysened alle peple3.*'

ll. 242, 243. *pite* . . . *loue*: *Isaiah* Ixiii, 9: 'In his *love* and in his *pity* he redeemed them.' Compare *Piers Plowman*:

A I, l. 141: 'He lokede on vs *with loue* · and lette his sone dye.'

l. 145: 'To have *pite* on þat peple, þat pynede him to depe.'

l. 244. *man*: in general sense 'people.' See plural pronoun *hem*, lines 247, 248.

ll. 244, 245. See other texts as follows:

*Orrm.*, l. 183 (l. 187 f.): 'þurh þatt he *comm to manne* & þurh  
þatt he *warrp mann* onn erþe.'

l. 1360: 'forr Crist iss *baſe* *Guld* & *mann.*'

*Ipotis*, l. 331: 'Godys sonne *wente* in erþe here.'

I. 245. *To sauue man*: See *Orrm.*, l. 1384: ‘Forr uss to clennse[n] þurh hiss dæþ off sinness unclænnesse.’

II. 248, 249. See *1 Cor.* xv. 3, and M.E. texts explaining *pine*, i. e. the penalty assumed in l. 246:

*Orrm.*, l. 199: ‘. . . he ȝaff hiss aȝhenn lif  
to þe lenn dæþ o rodetrc.’

*Prof.*, l. 31: ‘forr þatt he swallt o rodetrc.’  
l. 9: ‘forr Crist toc dæþ o rodetrc.’

*Ipotis*, B, l. 335: ‘He suffered deth for oure gode.’  
D, l. 319: ‘And dede hym upon þe rode  
And bouȝt ons with his swet blode.’

*Poema Morale* (Jesus MS.), l. 187:

‘Vre alre louerd for vs þrelles, ipyned wes on rode.’

þe *H.* of u. *Lauerd*, l. 115: ‘Nu deies mi lef for me upo þe deore rode.’

l. 120: ‘cleues tat herte, and cumes flowinde ut of þat wide  
wunde þe blod, þat me bohte.’

*Pearl*, str. 54, l. 9: ‘Bot ther on-eom a bote as tyt;  
Riche blod ran on rode so roghe,  
As wynne water . . . . .

*Polit. Songs*, p. 257: ‘And for us don on rode  
His swete herte blod he let.’

*Orrm.*, l. 1368: ‘þær Crist wass uppo rodetro  
naȝledd forr ure nede.’

,, l. 1374: ‘dramne daȝess drininch o rodetro  
forr ure woȝhe dedess.’

I. 248. *on*: Read *open*, if five MSS. be authority for the correction.

II. 248—250. See *1 Cor.* xv. 4; *Luke* xxiv. 46. This material is drawn on freely in M.E. literature. The substance of this passage is to be traced in some form in most of the *Mass Books* and *Prayer Books* of the period.

The fundamental *Credo* is formulated by Michel in the *Aȝenbite*, l. 4: ‘ynayled a rode . dyad . and be-bered . yede down to helle. þane þridde day aros uram þe dyade. Steaȝ to heuenes . zit aȝe riȝt half of god þe uader al miȝti. þannes to comene he is to deme þe quike and þe dyade . . .’

II. 249—257. *Ibiried he was*: Compare *Lay Folks Mass Book*, ed. Simmons, II. 217 ff.:

*Mass Book*, l. 217: ‘. . . . . deed he was,  
layde in his graue,  
þo soule of him went into helle  
þo sothe to say;  
Up he rose in fleshe & felle  
þo hyrd day.  
He stegh til heuen with woundis wide,  
thungh his brouste;  
Now sittes opon his fader right syde  
In imageste.  
þeþ shal he come vs alle to deme.’

*A Bestiary*, l. 40: ‘Do ure drigten ded was,  
. . . . .  
In a ston stille he lai  
til it cam ȝe ȝridde dai  
. . . . .  
. . . he ros fro dede ȝo,  
vs to lif holden.’

ll. 250, 251. See 1 Cor. xv. 4; *Homilies of Wulfstan* (ed. Napier), p. 105, and M.E. texts:

*Orrm.*, l. 167: ‘& off þatt he wisslike ras  
þe þridde dæʒ off dæþe.’

l. 215: ‘þurh þatt he ras forr ure god  
þe þridde dæʒ off dæþe.’

*þe W. of u. Lauerd*, l. 130: ‘bis ariste þe þridde dei þer after.’

l. 253. *Steih*: See contrasting term *lihten adown*, l. 261. *steih* occurs in this connection in many of the texts collected in the *Reliquiae Antiquae*, e.g. II., p. 23: ‘steigh intil herene, sitis on is fader richt hand’; p. 38: ‘stejet up to herene’; p. 42: ‘steaʒ to herenes’; p. 57: ‘steih into herene.’

*Ipotis*, l. 345: ‘And styed to herene, þer he is kyng;  
On hys fader ryghte hond he set hym þan.’

*Aner. R.*, p. 250: ‘he strih up to heouene.’

*Faerie Queene*, I. xi. 25, l. 8:  
‘Thought with his wings to stye above the ground.’

*Orrm.*, l. 19, 881: ‘. . . . . to stiȝhenn upp  
To brukenn heffness blisse.’

*Orrm.*, l. 169: ‘& off þatt he wisslike stah,  
þa siȝhenn upp till hefne.’

l. 233: ‘þurh þatt he stah forr ure god.’

Spenser and Shakspere use *stye*; the *Aner. R.*, pp. 19, 248, 250, *steih*; the *York Plays*, p. 424, l. 85: *stigh*.

l. 254. *mihṭe*: *sīhtē*: See Skeat, *Leg. of G. W.*, note to l. 50.

l. 257. *Rom.* xiv. 10, and M.E. texts:

*Orrm.*, l. 171: ‘& off þatt he shall cumenn efft  
to demenn alle þeðe.’

l. 247: ‘þurh þatt he shall o Domess dorȝ  
nus gifeun heffness blisse.’

*Poema Morale*, l. 190: ‘We ne pencheþ nouht þat he schal deme þe quyke . . .’

*Ipotis*, l. 349: ‘Schal come at þe day of iugement,  
To demen . . . . .’

*Rel. Ant.*, p. 38: ‘he þen sal cume to deme þe quyke an þe dede.’

*Hymn on Nativ.*, l. 164: ‘The dreadful judge shall spread his throne.’

l. 259. *wonēd*: Read *wōned*. *wonēd* is not authorized by the MSS. A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R, all having *wont*. See *Prothal.*, l. 139: ‘wont to dwell’; *Hymn on the Nativ.*, l. 10: ‘wont . . . To sit’; 1 *Henry VI.*, I. ii. 14: ‘wont to fear’; *Shep. Cal. Apr.*, l. 16: ‘wonted songs.’ Cf. *wone*, subst., l. 106: ‘custom.’ l. 259 illustrates type C.

ll. 260, 262. The same similes occur in substance in *The Second Nonnes Tide*, ll. 198, 199:

‘Ful lyk a fiers leoun she sendeth here,  
As meke as ever was any lamb, to yow!’

l. 260: ‘Meke as a lamb.’

The figure is common property among the poets.

*P. Pl.* A vi., l. 43: ‘He is as louh as A lamb, louelich of Speche.’

*R. of Gl.*, l. 1321: ‘þat in time worre as a lamb is boþe mek and milde.’

*Rel. Ant.*, p. 243: ‘Cryst com as mōcklynge as a lamb,  
He habbe for þou dethes dom.’

*Shep. Cal. July*, l. 129: ‘And meek he was, as meek mought be,  
Simple as simple sheep.’

*Hymn*, Herebert, l. 1: ‘Crist yeleped herene lamb.’

*M. of L. T.*, l. 459: ‘The whyte lamb, that hurt was with the spere.’

The comparison is based on Scriptural passages. The meekness of the lamb at sacrifice, Christ the lamb sacrificed, are suggested in *Isaiah* liii. 7 :

‘He was oppressed,  
Yet he humbled not himself,  
And opened not his mouth;  
*As a lamb that is led to the slaughter,*  
And as a sheep that before her shearers *is dumb*;  
Yea, he opened not his mouth.’

Biblical references to Christ the lamb are as follows: *John* i. 29, 36; 1 *Pet.* i. 19; *Rer.* v. 6 and 12; xii. 11; xxii. 1; xiii. 8; the last, xiii. 8, recalling modern hymnology :

‘Shout to the throne,  
Worthy the lamb.’

The graceful application of Biblical texts is to be noted in *Pearl*, str. 62 ff.; the simile of the *Speculum* occurs str. 68, l. 11:

‘*As mōke as lamb* that no playnt tolde,  
For us he swalt in Jherusalem.’

The omission of the article recalls the reading of MSS. H<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R of the *Speculum*:

*Orrm.*, l. 1308 : ‘*wiþ þe lamb þu* lakesst tin Drihlhtin  
gastlike in þine þewess.’

l. 1312 : ‘Forr lamb iss softe & stille deor,  
& meoc, & milde, & liþe.’

*M. of L. T.*, l. 617 : ‘For as the lomb toward his deth is brought,  
So stant this Innocent biforn the king.’

l. 261. *lihten adoun* : ‘alight,’ completing the antithesis begun, l. 253. Cf. *Aner. Rirle*, p. 248: fol. 66 : ‘*alihte adun* to helle’; and Pope, *Odys.*, xvii., l. 365.

*In A. B. C.*, l. 161 : ‘Xristus, thy sone, that in this world *alighte*’

*A Bestiary*, ll. 29 ff. : ‘vre louerd . . . . .

wu ȝo him likede  
to *lyghten* her on erȝe,  
Migte neure dinel witen,  
ȝog he be derne hunte,  
hu he dun come.’

*Orrm.*, l. 1398 : ‘Forr whatt teȝȝ fellenn sone dun  
off heofhne unntill helle.’

A pleonastic *doun* occurs with *lihten* in the colloquial language of the period.

*Sir Fyr.*, l. 1122 : ‘Bruillant . . . *liȝte adoun*.’

*Squires Tabl*, l. 169 : ‘*doun he lyghte*’

*Leg. of G. W.*, l. 1713 : ‘*doun they lyghte*’

*H. of Fame*, l. 508 : ‘*dounward gan hit lyghte*’

*M. of L. T.*, l. 1104 : ‘she *lyghte doun*’

*King Horn*, l. 519 : ‘Horn *adun liȝte*’

*Beues*, M, l. 3948 : ‘. . . *liȝt adoun*,  
. . . *doun liȝtymyng*’

Read l. 261 : ‘þéder he wóle · lihten adouin.’

l. 262. *sterne as a lioun* : as that of l. 260, a common figure illustrating the popularity of the simile in M.E., particularly such as ‘move within narrow limit.’ See Kölbing’s note to *Sir Beues*, M, l. 772, and *Sir Orfeo*, p. 19.

*Orrm.*, l. 5978: ‘He wass *taechedd þurh þe leo.*’

*N. P. Tale*, l. 358: ‘He *loketh*, as it were, *a grim lyoun.*’

*Gamelyn*, l. 125: ‘he *loked as a wilde lyoun.*’

See *Bestiary*, before 1250, *Natura leonis, Significacio prime nature*, ll. 27 ff.:

‘Welle heg is tat hil,  
þat is heuen-riche,  
vre louerd is te leun,  
þe lineð þer abunen.’

*lionn*: the most common orthography in M.E. according to Sturmels, *Anglia* viii., p. 252. Auch. *Guy* has *lyoun*, l. 3960; Caius *Guy*, *lyon*, l. 4054.

*Wrathful*: Epithet ordinarily applied in figure to the lion. See Marlowe’s *Faustus* in the ‘examination of’ the ‘seven deadly sins,’ sc. 6, l. 130: ‘*I am Wrath . . . I leapt out of a lion’s mouth.*’ etc.

**Page 14.** l. 264. 2 *Corinth.*, v. 10: ‘according to that he hath done,’ . . . (l. 265) ‘every one may receive’; *Rev.* xx. 12: ‘The dead were judged . . . according to their works’; v. 13: ‘judged every man according to their works’; *Matt.* xvi. 27; *Rom.* ii. 6; *Rev.* ii. 23; xxii. 12.

ll. 264—266. *Poema Morale*, ll. 174—178:

‘ealle hi sculen þunder cumie · for soðe wé hit ileue.  
þa ȝe habbeð wel idon · efter heore mihte.  
to heuenriche seule faren forð mid ure drihthe.  
þa ȝe nabbeð god idón · end ȝer inne heoð ifunde.  
hi sculen falle swiðe raðe in to helle grunde.’

*Orrm.*, l. 173: ‘& forr to ȝeldenn iwhille mann  
after hiss aȝhenn dede.’

*Ipotis*, l. 350: ‘to demen men after here dedes.’

ll. 266—274 recall *Gal.* vi. 7, 8.

l. 266. *turment*: MSS. DH<sub>2</sub> have *tournement*, to be attributed to the scribe of the text employed by copyists of *D* and *H<sub>2</sub>*. A similar transposition is noted by Dr. Leonard in the Rawlinson MS. 118 of a poem *Aus der Hölle*, l. 105, where *tournament* is introduced instead of *turment*. See Dr. Leonard’s note with reference to other instances, *Eng. Stud.*, vol. I., p. 118, l. 390; p. 120, l. 574. The confusion seems not uncommon. In *Cot. Cal. MS.* A II of the M.E. *Tundale*, *tournament* is supplied for *turment*, ll. 547, 1035, 1061, 1683. The error is readily explained as resulting from similarity in the form of the words. The meaning of *turment* is transferred to *tournament*.

l. 267. *onne take*: The most plausible interpretation of this interesting passage seems to be: ‘What responsibility shall they assume,’ i.e. *take on*, etc. Compare definitions for *take on* in the *Century Dictionary* and in Ogilvie’s *Imperial Dictionary*, vol. iv., p. 299: ‘to undertake the responsibility.’ See *Matt.* viii. 17: ‘Himself *took* our infirmities’; also *Rom. of Rose*, l. 6107 and *Meas. for Meas.*, IV. ii. 10: ‘If you will *take it on* you to assist him,’ i.e. ‘undertake.’ Five MSS. modify the verse, introducing *how* instead of *what*: ‘*How shall they take on?*’ to be rendered ‘How shall they begin?’ (?) or *appear* (?). The beauty of this reading is marred by the suggestion of the modern colloquialism ‘*how . . . take on*’ ‘make a fuss over.’ The vulgarity is not in keeping with the dignity of the poem. The modern ‘*take on*’ was used by Shakspere, but in connection with emotion of hysterical, sentimental, or humorous character. *The Merry Wives*, III. v. 40: ‘She does so *take on* with her men’; also IV. ii. 22: ‘he so *takes on* . . . with my husband, so rails against,’ etc.; *III Hen. VI*, II. v. 104: ‘How will my mother *take on* with me,’ etc.,

'How will my wife . . . shed seas of tears.' The meaning 'to be furious' is given by Alisaunder Schmidt at the conclusion of the discussion of *take*. *Shaks.-lexicon*, p. 1178, col. 2. See Halliwell, *Dict.* under *sterakelt*; *Volvone*, vi. The following illustrations have been contributed by Prof. Schick, suggesting the meaning 'How they behave themselves.'

*Comedy of Errors*, V. i. 242: 'this pernicious slave took on him as a conjurer,' i. e. played the deceiver.

*Mids. X. Dream*, III. 2258: 'take on, as you would follow . . . yet come not': behave as if you would follow.

Various interpretations are thus placed before the reader, permitting the freedom of individual judgment. The MSS. are undoubtedly authority for the reading 'How . . . on take,' but MS. A<sub>1</sub> in 'what . . . onne take,' fulfils the conditions formulated by Sachse, see below. Shakspere lexicons contain numerous illustrations of the poet's use of *take on*. See also *Heb.* ii. 16; *Times' Whistle*, p. 24; and *The Bruce*, xii., l. 446:

'And quhen the king of England  
Saw the Scottis so tak on hand.'

*onne*: The inorganic -e, explained by Sachse, *Das unorganische e im Orrmulum*, pp. 61, 62, is peculiar to Orrm. It occurs in *onne*, according to Sachse, when the object of the preposition is a relative, as in MS. A<sub>1</sub> of the *Speculum*. *onne* is then written near the close of the sentence. The same law holds good for *in*, *of*, and *on*. See illustrations as follows:

l. 6960: 'þatt he wass *onne* i Beþpleæm.'

l. 3752: 'þatt hirless wokenn o þatt nahlt  
þatt Crist wass borenn *onne*.'

l. 14,802: '... . . . . Je sand  
All harrd to ganngen *onne*.'

*Onne* is not to be found in O.E. Inorganic -e is evidently added through analogy to *iinne* and *uppe*, abundant in O.E. See *Havelok*, l. 341, '*onne ride*'; '*onne handes leyde*', l. 1942.

l. 268. *here*: inserted for the sake of the metre at the suggestion of Professor Schick.

l. 269. *fleschly*: *fleshes* is to be rejected. It stands only in MS. A<sub>1</sub>. Five MSS. have *fleschly*.

l. 270. *wolde*: 'were willing,' 'wished,' as in l. 268: 'They wished to forsake their Lord here on earth.' Note in contrast the force of l. 272, supported by l. 271. Individual consent, freedom in choice referred to ll. 216, 218, is no longer in question. A decisive judgment condemns to eternal torment.

l. 272. *wolen . . . nelle*: See Kölbing's note to *Sir Benes*, A, l. 3132.

l. 273. *bileuen*: -n is preserved as in case of *wolen*, l. 272, to preserve smoothness of metre and to prevent hiatus. Here as in the O.E. construction the present tense is used with the force of the future.

l. 274. *as*: introduced for metre at the suggestion of Prof. Schick. MSS. A<sub>1</sub>A<sub>2</sub> have *also*, H<sub>1</sub> *als*.

*do*: See l. 208; 'enter into,' 'experience.' *men*: 'people,' the human being.

l. 275. *Seint Austin*: i. e. Augustine favourite authority of Aleuin, and quoted in the *Speculum* by name, line 171.

l. 276. *ful*: authorized by four MSS. A<sub>1</sub>R preserve the archaic verse, omitting the unstressed syllable in the fourth measure.

'Ánd seiþ wórdes // réu · líche.'

*Latin*: MS. A<sub>1</sub> has: *habent . . . & . . .* See *Rer.* ix. 6.

l. 278. *point of death*: 'moment of death.' *point of death* is the

language of the *Bible*, *John* iv. 47; *Mark* v. 23; *the point to die*, *Gen. xxv. 32*; *point of dawn*, *Hymn on the Nativity*, l. 86; *Richard the Redeless*, III, l. 142: ‘in pointe ffor to wepe.’

l. 279. *Rev. ix. 6*: ‘shall desire to die?’

ll. 279, 280. *Macbeth* IV, iii, l. 111: ‘Died every day she lived,’ etc.; *Apophthegms, Theological Remains of the Royal Martyr King Charles I., of Ever Blessed Memory*, p. 66: ‘to die daily,’ in ‘Conquering by a lively faith and patient hope those partial and quotidian Deaths, which kill us as it were by piecemeals.’

l. 279. *wilnen*: See *Pers. Tale*, l. 341: ‘They shul folow deth, and they shul not finde him, and they shall desire to die, and deth shall flee from hem.’

l. 280. *ende of deþ*: the immediate crisis of physical death, the absolute death of the body, the end of life, explained *Ipotis*, l. 465: ‘Or þe soule may partyn wythonne.’ *ende*, subst. and vb., occurs frequently in M.E. texts, meaning ‘death’ or ‘to die, as in ll. 278 and 492.

*Orm.*, l. 19,325: ‘ſiff patt himm likeþþ ure lif  
& ure lifess ende.’

„, l. 3257: ‘Att ure lifes ende.’

*Orm.*, l. 8347: ‘Afſterr tatt Herode king  
Was endeold inn hiss siame.’

„, l. 3254: ‘uss . . . endenn ure lif.’

„, l. 17,465: ‘. . . he maȝȝ endenn hiss lif  
Inn alle gode dedess.’

„, l. 5033: ‘sen iſell ende.’

*Rbt. of Gl.*, l. 1538: ‘to his ende was ido.’

*Wohunge of u.* L., l. 70:

‘bifore þin ending . . . swa sare þat reade blod þu swattes for as.’

*Seven Sages* (ed. Wright), V., l. 514 f.:

‘And ledis ȝe hym thare thyfys hyng  
Anon that he have hys endyng.’

l. 281. *dure*: Chaucer uses *dure* in rime with *assure*, etc. See Croome, *Rhyme Index to the Ellesmere Manuscript*, and *Tale of Man of Lawe*, l. 189: ‘whyl his lyf may dure’: (cure).

l. 284. *muryere*: Probably a copyist’s error is preserved in A<sub>1</sub>: *mursere*. *role*: supplied from MSS. representing two groups.

**Page 15.** l. 286. *ioyes of paradyſ*: Compare with these lines other mediaeval descriptions of paradise, notably that of the *Poema Morale*, *The Phoenix*, and *Sólar Íþóð*, the Icelandic ideal of heaven. See *St. Patrick’s Purgatory*, p. 59; *Sawles Ward*, pp. 259 ff.

l. 289. *baylie*: O.F. *bailie*, ‘jurisdiction,’ the word accented on its second syllable to rime with *clergye*. See Gollancz’s note to *Pearl*, str. 37, l. 10. As in *Pearl* the word is not to be confused with *bayly*, ‘fortress,’ as is indicated here by the added -e: *baylie*.

l. 290. *wit of clergye*: ‘the understanding of all science,’

l. 292. *tellen*: -n is added for metre to avoid hiatus or the omission of the unstressed syllable in the fourth measure.

l. 296. *on eorþe here*: See note to l. 375.

ll. 295, 296. *Colossians* iii. 24 is recalled here.

l. 297. *parten hence*: ‘depart hence,’ as affirmed by MS. A<sub>2</sub>. Compare *parting day*, l. 1 of Gray’s *Elegy* (written in a country churchyard), and *parting soul*, l. 89; *parting Genius*, *Hymn on Nativity*, l. 186; and *henne wende*, *Poema Morale*, l. 396.

l. 299 ff. Suggest Hampole’s description of heaven, *The Prick of Conscience*, II. 7814 ff.:

- ‘pare es ay lyfe withouten dede;  
 pare es yhowthe ay withouten elde,  
 l. 7817: pare es rest ay, withouten trauayle.  
 l. 7819: pare es pese ay, withouten stryf;  
 l. 7821: pare es, withouten myrknes, lyght;  
 pare es ay day and neuer nyght,  
 pare es ay somer fulle bryght to se,  
 And neuer mare wynter in jat contre.’

See also *The Phoenix*, ll. 50 ff.:

‘Nis þær on þām londē lāȝeniðla,  
 ne wōp ne wraeu, wētācen nān  
 yldū ne yrmðu, ne se enga dēað,  
 ne lifes lyre, ne lāþes cyme,  
 ne synn ne saeu, ne sār wraeu.’ . . .

These recall the *Poema Morale*, ll. 369 ff.:

- l. 369: ‘þer is wéle ábute gane · end reste abuten swiȝche’  
 l. 371: ‘þer is blisse a buten treȝe · and lif a buten deaþe.’  
 l. 373: ‘þer is ȝeoȝeðe bute ulde · and hele a buten vn helðe,  
 nis þer so(re) we ne sor · ne neuere man vn sealþe.’

ll. 302, 304. *riht . . . trewe lone*: ‘unvarying justice,’ ‘ever faithful love.’

*feintise*: ‘dissimulation,’ ‘feigning,’ explained by Lydgate in the words of l. 1971 of the *Rom. of the Rose*, and in distinction from the use of *P. Pl.* See below:

*Complaynt*, l. 477: ‘With oute feynyng or feyntyse.’  
 (also *Rom. of R.*, l. 1971.)

*P. Pl.*, A. V. l. 5: ‘Er I a Furlong hedde I fare A Feyntise me hente,  
 Forþer mihiȝt not afote · for defaute of Sleep.’

l. 303. Intelligence, and skill, and knowledge.

*kunning*: *T. of Gl.*, l. 538:

‘And eke I want kunning to deuyse.’

*Spiritus Guidonis*, l. 3: ‘. . . men grete nede may wyn  
 and nameli clerkes þat can of lare  
 if þai þaire cunyng will declare.’

*Wm. of Palerne*, l. 120: ‘Of coninge of wicche-craft · wel y nouȝt þe couȝde.’

And Marlowe’s *Faustus*, the first Chorus, l. 20:

‘Till swoln with cunyng . . . . .  
 His waxen wings did mount above his reach.’

See Skeat’s note, *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 68; *Psalm* cxxxvii, 5.

l. 305. *Streinþe*: interesting form, *ei* marking the intermediate stage in the transition of *e* to *i* before *n* + a consonant. The interrupted growth is to be noted in *Horn*, l. 1169, and in *strenȝede*, Böhldeker, *Ae. Dichtungen*, p. 257. See Stratmann. The transition is completed in *Bruce*, but see *Octorium*, *strenȝe*; *Poema Morale*, *strenȝe*; but *strynth* < O.E. *strengð* in the *Bruce*, l. 87, p. 106 of Zupitza’s *Übsbuch*. The transition is not marked in N.E. as in *string* < O.E. *streng*, in the N.E. pronunciation of *England*, or in Old Norse words of the same nature. See Noreen, *Grammatik*, § 143 *Aum.*, and the list of illustrations collected by Dr. Leonard in *Zwei me. Geschichten aus d. Hölle*, p. 69, and in Wilda’s dissertation, *Über die ört. Verbr. d. Schweifr.-Strophe in Engl.* See other forms illustrating the history of *e* + *i* before *n* + consonant: *Lib. Disc.*, l. 338, *flyng* (Icel. *flenȝja*); *Emere*, l. 794; *unhende kynge*.

*Pr. of C.*, l. 675: ‘springes,  
 . . . hares, þat on þe heued hynges.’

*Cursor Mundi*, l. 291: ‘And sagh a frut þar on hingand.’ (See *Flight into Egypt.*)

*Woh. of u. L.*, l. ¶17: ‘swa rewliche hengedes on rode.’

„ „ „ l. 55: ‘he henges bituhhen,’ etc. (See ll. 53, 63.)

„ „ „ l. 111: ‘henges o rode.’

*Havelok*, l. 43: ‘And heye hengen on galwe tre.’

l. 306. *pisternesse*: suggesting *Eph.* v. 8 and 13; *liht widoute þisternesse* = ‘everlasting light,’ *Isaiah* ix. 19, i. e. ‘uninterrupted light’; ‘one day . . . at evening song time . . . light,’ *Zechariah* xiv. 7: ‘There shall be no night there,’ *Revelation* xxi. 25; xxii. 5; *pisternesse* = ‘thickness?’ *Zech.* xiv. 6. See *Poema Morale*, l. 366: ‘dei a buten nihte’; and l. 378: ‘ſi nabbed hi nouht iliche · alle of godes lihte.’

l. 308. *For*: inserted on authority of five MSS., producing type A instead of type D.

**Page 16**, l. 311. *Poema Morale*, l. 66: ‘þe ðe mare hefð end ðe þe lesse · þaðe mei iliche.’

l. 313. *woniȝing*: ‘dwelling-place,’ as in *2 Corinthians* v. 1: ‘An house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens,’ suggestive also of *John* xiv. 2.

l. 314. *his . . . deserving*: *Poema Morale*, l. 63:

‘þer me seéal ure weorkes we ȝen, be foren heue kinge,  
end ȝieuen us ure swinches lieu after ure earninge.’

l. 319. *in al þi miȝt*: ll. 134, 253, 515. See *Schmirgel*, p. xlviij.

ll. 324, 325. *charite . . . hext*: *Col.* iii. 14: ‘Charity the bond of perfectness.’ Charity here is ‘love,’ distinguished from charity, ll. 95, 936, ‘benevolence,’ ‘almsdede’:

*Orrm*, l. 2998: ‘Godess Gast iss karitej.’

*Pearl*, str. 40, l. 2: ‘And charyte grete be yow among.’

*hext* : *next* : See *Two Noble Kinsmen*, III. ii. 33: ‘The best way is the next way to a grave.’

l. 327. *what*: supplied from four MSS. for the context.

ll. 328, 329. Compare the Vulgate text, *Luke* x. 27: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum tuto corde tuo, ex tota anima tua, et ex omnibus viribus tuis.* Also *Poema Morale*, l. 305: ‘Luuie we god mid ure heorte · end mid al ure miȝte.’

ll. 333, 334. *Matt.* xix. 19: ‘Diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum,’ of the Vulgate text; *Poema Morale*.

ll. 329, 334. See *1 John* iii. 10 and 23; *Poema Morale*, ll. 305 f.:

‘Luuie we god mid ure heorte, end mid al ure miȝte,  
end ure émeristen eal us sulf. swa us lerde drihete.’

See the old poem *On the king’s Breaking his Confirmation of Magna Charter*, p. 256, *Polit. Songs*:

‘Love elepeth ech man brother.’

l. 334. *emeristene*: Assimilation from *cristene*, in works of the 12th and 13th centuries in MSS. of the South and West. Cf. M.E. texts: *Poema Morale*, l. 306, ‘and ure emeristene eal us sulf’; Second series of homilies: ‘To luuien god and al his emeristen;’ p. 5; ‘bicherð his emeristen’; ‘here emeristen bielharen,’ p. 193: ‘and his emeristen also himseluen,’ p. 54; ‘Ure emeristene ben alle þo þe hered ore Louerd,’ p. 9; ‘togenes ure emeristene,’ p. 63: *emeristen* occurs in the *Aȝenbite* (dating 1340): ‘þou sselt zigge non nalse wytnesse aye þine emeristene,’ l. 10; ‘Hou þat god deleȝ his emeristen, he ys acorsed of god,’ p. 66. See First Series of *Homilies*, *Sermo* exxiv. 6, p. 157, l. 6. *Emeristen* is used by Langland, and thus its history is traced chronologically to 1362.

*Eren cristen* occurs in the later MSS. of the *Speculum*. From the time of *Piers. Pl.*, 1362, the full forms *efen* (*even*) *cristene* are abundant.

*Eueneristene* may be dated at least so early as 1320 through the *Castel of Lone*, l. 976. See the *Persones Tale*, l. 855; Wyclif (1380); Sir Thomas More, p. 83: ‘Proudly judging the lives of their *eren Christians*;’ and p. 277, ‘And where thei men not filte . . . against their *even christen*’;

*Ipolis*, l. l. 522: ‘And wolde helpyn al ofere,  
Hys *evenae* cristen, þat ben powere.’

The word is no longer to be found after its famous appearance in *Hamlet*, V. i. 27. The readings of the first folio and of the first quarto are identical. ‘And the more pitty, that great folke should haue countenance in this world to drown or hang themselves more than *their even Christian*.’ The passage stands in the first quarto, l. 25:

‘Mary more’s the pitty, that great folke  
Should haue more authorite to hang or drown  
Themselves, more than other people.’

*Efen* abounds in compounds of this period: *Hom.* I. p. 175: *efennexta*, Wyclif, *Phil.* ii. 25; ‘*evene knyght*,’ *Phil.* ii.; ‘*enen discipilis*,’ *John* ii. 16; ‘*enen servant*,’ *Apoc.* xix. 10; *Matt.* xviii. 29; *efenneche*, ‘coeternal,’ *efenmete*, ‘commensurate’; *efenrike*, ‘equal in power,’ etc. *Prompt. Parv.* has *Ecyalhoode*, ‘equality’; *Evenholde*, ‘of equal age.’

**Page 17, l. 336.** *Wher*: here the conjunction, ‘whether or not’; see note to line 219 of the *Speculum*.

l. 338. *wolt*: introduced from four MSS. *H<sub>2</sub>* is without weight in textual arrangement. *must* in *A<sub>1</sub>* is probably the scribe’s error.

*Latin*: 1 *John* iv. 20. ‘For he that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?’ Cf. also 1 *Peter* 1. 8: ‘Whom having not seen, ye love.’ MS. *A<sub>1</sub>* reads: ‘. . . proximum tuum . . . deum qu[em] . . . quomodo potes dilegere.’

Compare *O. E. Homilies* I, p. 100: ‘þe þat ne lufeþ his broþer, þene þat he isibȝ, hu mei he lufian God, þene þat he ne isibȝ licomlice.’

l. 339. *seiþ soþ*: See *Rbt. of Gl.*, ll. 713, 720, 2734, 3046, 6261, 6368, 6414, 6420.

*witte*: dative in -e regularly formed according to the inflectional characteristics of the poem.

l. 341. *þyn emeristene*: See Latin text, l. 338, *proximum tuum*, ‘brother,’ in the scriptural foundation, and the reading of four MSS. The fifth contributes *neȝthore*. For *emeristene* see note, line 334.

l. 342. *þou*: supplied for sense and metre: ‘So that thou mayst see them every day?’ It occurs in four MSS. The arrangement: *þat [þou] alday mait hem ise*, is supported by MSS. *A<sub>2</sub>R*.

ll. 340—344. These lines recall *Leg. of G. W.*, B, ll. 14, 15:

‘For . . . thing is never the lasse soþ,  
Thogh every wight ne may hit nat ysee.’

l. 345. *Sein Ponel*: The preacher evidently did not verify his reference. His text is to be ascribed to *John*, 1 *John* iv. 20, see reference above. Strangely enough *H<sub>2</sub>*, whose mission it was to set things right, did not correct the error.

l. 347 ff. See ‘Introduction’ with Scriptural sources.

l. 347. *nost*: supplied from MS. D, and necessary to the sense according to all the MSS. The reading *noht* of *A<sub>1</sub>* could be interpreted as a scribal error for the poet’s *not* = *ne wot*. *A<sub>1</sub>* could possibly have written *noht* (N.E. *not*) for *not* (*ne wot*) of other MSS. An instance of double thesis would then be eliminated, and type A would occur: *Abrahám him sáuh, ac þú not hóu*.

l. 348. *nowh*: inorganic final -h a peculiarity of MS. A<sub>1</sub>. For *nost hou*, see Schick's note, *T. of Gl.*, l. 17.

l. 350. *as . . . hem*: are to be omitted on authority of three MSS., representatives from both groups.

**Page 18**, ll. 355 ff. Numerous illustrations of this comparison are to be found in the 'Introduction' under 'Sources.' Cf. *Cal., July*, l. 157 ff.:

‘Sike one . . . Moses was,  
That saw his Maker's face,  
His face more clear than crystal glass,  
And spake to him in place.’

ll. 356, 359. *on fire*: See Koch, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, II, p. 377, l. 7. *al on fire*: Spenser's *Prothol.*, l. 56: *all in haste*; *Hymn on the Nativity*, l. 207: *all of blackest hue*: *Il Pens.*, l. 33: *All in a robe*, etc.

l. 358. The *York Plays* (ed. L. T. Smith), pp. 47, 73, and the *Towneley Mysteries* (Surtees Society, 1836), pp. 55 ff., record the exact words of the dialogue between Moses and the Lord; see the mystery ascribed to the Hoseers, No. XI of the *York Plays*, No. 8 of the *Towneley*. *þe firste laine*: naturally the ten commandments.

l. 361. Compare sc. 2, l. 92 of the eleventh *York Play*: 'Thus has god shewed his myght in me.'

*Town. Myst.* xxxvii, l. 86: 'To me, Moyses, he shewed his myght.'

l. 363. *bush*: *boys* in MS. D, the French expression for *bush*, mentioned in Halliwell's *Dictionary*. *boys* is defined in *Promptorium Parvulorum* as *scurrus*, 'a clump of bushes,' but according to the Hebrew term a single bush.

The significance of the bush as emblem of Mary seems suggested in the *Cal. Jul.*, l. 73, although Kirke explains 'Our Lady's bower' as 'a place of pleasure':

‘Of Sinah can I tell thee more  
And of our Lady's Bower.’

*leuedi*: See Pabst, *Lautlehre, Reim. Ch. Rbt. of Gl.* § 15.

l. 365. *clene*: MS. Bibl. Bod. Jun. 23, fol. 79: ‘ðurb clæne mæden Crist wearð ȝeboren’; *The Seconde N. Tale*, l. 225: ‘With body clene and with vnwenmed thought . . .’; l. 47: ‘and thou, virgin wemmeless . . . mayden pure.’ Cf. note to l. 367.

l. 366. *Ne*: required by five MSS.

l. 367. *wemme*: In the dialect of Norfolk *wem* (as explained by the *Prompt. Parv.*) 'is a small fretted place in a garment.' In figurative meaning *wem* is applied to religion. Cf. Wielif, *Song of Sol.*, III. 7: 'My frendesse, thou art al faire, and no wem is in thee'; James i. 27: 'A clene religion and vnwenmed'; quoted in the *Ancren Riwle*, p. 10, fol. 2 b: 'cleane religiun wiðuten wem.' The application to the Virgin is made by Chaucer, 2 *N. T.*, l. 47: *withouten wemme* is translated in the *Cursor Mundi*, l. 11,226, 'immaculate,' but in Hereford's version of *Psalm* xiv. 2, it represents N.E. 'uprightly' as in *Isa.* xxxiii. 15, and is equivalent to *wemles* in the same passage of the *North. Psalter*. See also Miehel's *Sermon on Matt.* xxiv. 43, l. 149: *wyþoute wem*: 'uram alle heresye wy oute wem habbeþ yclenzed.'

*Pearl*, str. 19, l. 5: 'Bot a wonder perle withouten wemme.'

*Ipotis*, l. 356: 'Of þe mayde Mary. (also 315, 316 in D, 478, 479 B)  
*Withouten wem* of hyr body.'

See *Pearl*, str. 62, l. 5: 'For hit is wemlez, clene and clere.'

See Kölbing's note to *Sir Beues*, E. l. 385: 'Wemme ne wunde.'



**Page 20.** l. 398. *don bat dede*: The common Hebrew idiom linking a verb with its cognate noun. It is noted in the terse wisdom literature of the Book of Job; see *Job* iii. 25: 'I feared a fear, and it hath overtaken me.'

l. 400; *lered . . . lewed*: Common linking of terms. *Sir Beues*, A. 4020; '*lewed . . . lered*'; *Orm.*, l. 967; '*to lored, to lawedd*'; *Tund.*, ll. 413, 593.

l. 403. *bi my leante*: *lytylle feythe* in *Prompt. Parr.* under *leante*. See *Polit. Song of The Reign of Ed.*, I., l. 1, also *Song on the Flem. Insurrection*, p. 192; ‘*by your leante*,’ *Gamelyn*, I. 657; ‘*bi mi leante*’ Rich. of Almaigne, l. 2; ‘*By my faith*,’ *Gamelyn*, II. 95 and 301, ‘*Par ma foy*’ l. 367, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Ill. 398, 402. 1 John iv. 12: 'No man hath seen God at any time.' See note to I, 374.

<sup>1</sup> l. 407. A different interpretation of the passage would demand a colon after *mene*.

l. 410. *defiled*: See *Macbeth* III. i. 65, 'defiled,' 'made foul':

'For Banquo's issue have I filed my mind;  
... the gracious Duncan have I murdered.'

<sup>1</sup> l. 412. *Latin* and ll. 414—416. See *Matt.* v. 8. MS. A<sub>1</sub> reads: ‘mondo . . . quoniam’

1. 413. *This is to see*: Frequent in Lydgate and Chaucer, illustrated in Schick's note to *T. of G.*, I, 311.

1. 416. *aperleliche*: The adjective *apert* is in modern usage. See Sir G. Buck, *Hist. Rich.* III., p. 79: 'open and *apert*.' See Stratmann-Brailey and Murray for illustrations. See *Shep. Cal.* Sept., II, 160 and 162;

'Or privy or pert if any bene.'

l. 417. *godhede*: 'divinity' and 'glory,' in distinction from *manhede*, l. 372.

ii, 417, 418. Compare *Tundale*, II, 2107, 2108;

' . . . what joy here is and blis,  
bat bai . . . shalle never mysse.'

**Page 21**, ll. 421, 422 and Latin. It is to be conceded, that these lines are of doubtful origin, possibly spurious. On later thought they would probably not have had place in the main text.

<sup>1</sup> L. 422. *say with me*: common 'fill-gap.' See *Ipotis*, B. I. 281.

*Latin* and 1, 423. *Matt.* xxv, 34: 'Come, ye blessed of my father . . . ? Compare *York Plays*, xlviij., l. 277:

' Mi blissid childre on my right hand,

Commes to þe kyngdome ay lastand,  
þat ȝou is dight for yourre goode dede.

*Town. Play*, l. 365: 'Mi chosyn childer, commes to me,  
With me to dwelle now shalle ye weynde,  
þere joie and blis schalle euer be.'

*Tundale*, l. 1778: 'The voyee of god shall saye: "Come nere,  
My fadres blissed childefre,  
And resceyve the kyngdom with me."'

1. 423; *fere*: in the 17th cent., still used. *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, V. 1. 116: ‘his young fair *fere*.’

1. 424. *fader*: dat. after *leue*, O.E. *lēof*, O.E. construction

*lere and dere*; also Chaucer, *Mil. T.*, l. 3051; *L. of G. W.*, l. 1978; *tere sister dere*; *The Seconde Nonnes Tale*, l. 257; *leue brother dere*, etc.; *Hand. Syn.*, l. 5744: ‘*pey are with God boþe lefe and dere*’.

l. 425. *Matt.* xxv. 34: ‘Inherit the kingdom,’

l. 426. ‘prepared for you from the foundation of the world.’

*wende*: See Kölbing’s note to *Sir Benes*, A. l. 4569.

l. 426. *widouten ende*: See *euere mo*, l. 450; phrases with the rime *wende*: *ende* are often used in descriptions pertaining to the decrees of the final judgment.

*Tundale*, l. 827: ‘And þe sonner fro alle Payne *wende*  
To gret joy *withouten ende*.’

l. 187: ‘Therfor with us shalle þou *wende*,  
To brenne in helle *withouten ende*.’

l. 1197: ‘For þou shalt now with us *wende*  
To Payne of helle *withouten ende*.’

l. 181: ‘þou shalte to fire *withouten ende*,  
And to merknes art þou frende.’

See also l. 2234.

l. 427 ff. *Matt.* xxv. 46: ‘the righteous into life eternal.’

l. 431. *Matt.* xxv. 41: ‘Depart . . . ye cursed (and 449), into everlasting fire.’ Biblical passage and *Speculum* recall Browning in *Ferishethi’s Fancies*:

‘How,  
Enormous thy abjection, hell from heaven,  
Made tenfold hell by contrast! . . . .’

*cursed gostes*, see *Sir Benes*, A. l. 781, and l. 362.

ll. 436—444. These lines suggest *Zech.* xiii. 6, and *John* xx. 25. See *Wrafþful and sterne*, l. 262.

l. 438. Type C exists on authority of two MSS., A<sub>1</sub> and R, in opposition to the remaining two texts. D and H<sub>2</sub> are omitted here. A<sub>2</sub> and H<sub>1</sub> preserve type A, reading:

‘þat slówen héim · þurw [hére] enúie.’

*ennie*: ‘ill-will,’ ‘hatred.’ See *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, V. iii. 21:

‘There is but *envy* in that light, which shows  
The one the other.’

l. 439. *kene*: sharp. This meaning is also found in *Pearl*, str. 4, l. 4: *crokez kene*; *Sir Benes*, M. 3401: ‘spere kene’ and S. l. 4168, ‘sicerde keene’; Chancer’s *Genl. Prol.*, l. 104, has ‘arwes kene’; in figurative application, *Shep. Cd.*, *Feb.* l. 3: ‘The keen coldblows.’ See note by Kirke and Robertson, *Glossary of Dialect of Gloucester*, p. 191.

l. 442. *grisi wounden*: Kölbing, *Sir Benes*, note to A, l. 724, enumerates illustrations of *grisi* as epithet to *wounden* with reference to Mätzner, *Wörterbuch*, II, p. 322; *Guy of Warwick*, A. str. 224, l. 9, recalling also *grieslie ghostes*, *Cal.*, *Nor.* l. 55.

l. 444. *drede . . . quake*: Compare Schmigel’s collection of expressions for grief, p. xlvi, where *Guy of Warwick*, *Guy B.*, l. 3756, *Sir Benes*, ll. 1367, 1389, *Libeaus Desconus*, l. 604, offer illustrations of *quake* for *drede*.

l. 445. Type C is confirmed by all the MSS., additional proof of the existence of the type. *yode* and *voize*, l. 446, are historically impossible. Under any conditions one unstressed syllable must be regarded as lost in these verses, whether in the third or fourth measure.

**Page 22**, l. 447: *beþ loþe*: perhaps based on *Luke* xiii. 27: ‘I know you not.’

l. 448 ff. *Goþ*: ‘Depart from me,’ *Matt.* xxv. 41; *Luke* xiii. 27; *Ps.* vi. 8.

Compare l. 431 ff. of the *Speculum*. See also *O.E. Hom.* (Second Series), p. 5: *Itē maledicti in ignem eternum.* ‘Witeð, ȝe awarieide gostes, into þat eche fir on helle’; *Hom.* xii, *The first Sunday in Lent*, p. 69, reads; ‘witeð ȝe aweregede gostes in þat eche fir þat is ȝarked to deuiles and here fereden to wuniende eure and ó abutan ende;’ *York Play*, xlvi. l. 369:

‘ȝe cursed kaitiffis, fro me flee,  
In helle to dwelle withouten ende.’

*30th Tourney Pl.* l. 369: ‘Ye warid wightes, from me ye fle,  
In helle to dwelle withouten ende.’

See notes to ll. 426 and 431 ff.

The repetition ll. 447 ff., in almost identical words, suggests a *nârête* of the poet common in ancient narrative. He was not reluctant to indulge in frequent repetition. Perhaps he regarded the construction as a grace. It was not at the period a crudeness in structure.

ll. 450, 451. *dwell . . . fyr*: *Isaiah* xxxiii. 14: ‘dwell with the devouring fire,’ *evere more*: i. e. in ‘everlasting fire,’ *Matt.* xxv. 41. See note to ll. 431 ff.

l. 451. *hole fyr*: ‘pytte of helle’ in *H<sub>2</sub>*; *Pers. Tale*, l. 452; *Ipotis*, l. 388 (D); *Tundale*, l. 1298. See *Generides*, l. 2129.

*fyr*: *her*: See *Lybeaus*, 571; *fyer*: *destryr*; *Duke Rowland*, l. 94; *fyre*: *Messangere*; *Sir Otuel of Spayne*.

l. 452. *non oper*: virtually *hell* according to context. The devil is the expected taskmaster for the condemned soul.

ll. 453—458. See *James* iii. 13.

ll. 457—458. *Matt.* xxv. 46: ‘And these shall go away into everlasting punishment.’

l. 460. *a vers*: This verse is not to be cited. The poet probably united two texts to advance his doctrine of good works, see ll. 148, 465, 502, 621, etc.

*Latin*: *domino et.* MS. A<sub>1</sub> *domino et.*

l. 461. *Hope to god*: *Psalm* xlvi. 5 and xlvi. 5: ‘*Hope in God*’; *do god*: not authorized by the scriptural text or the *Liber*, but suggesting confusion with *James* ii. 26: ‘Faith without works is dead’; *Liber*, *Camb. MS. II. I.* 33: ‘Witodlice þe ȝeleafa bið unnyt butan þam ȝodum weorcum.’ *Seconde Nonnes Tale*, l. 64: ‘And, for that *feith is deed withouten werkes*.’

l. 463. *ydel hope*: In contrast with *soþfast hope*, l. 471. *hope* is often classified by the mediæval theologian as referring to the expectation of evil; for instance *The Erl of Tolous*, ll. 815, 823, 835. See Lüdtke’s note, *Gowther*, ll. 202, 212, 227, and note to l. 208, and Wagner’s note to *Tundale*, l. 90.

l. 464. *widouten gabbe*: See *A Treatise on Dreams, Rel. Ant.*, p. 266:

‘God tydynge withoute gabbe.’

‘Apeyrement, y nul noȝt gabbe.’

See *Sir Beues*, S. l. 1492 and 1854: ‘Y wyl noȝt gabbe’; *Chauer*, *The Nonne Prestes Tale*, l. 246; *The Book of the Duchesse*, l. 1075.

l. 466. *so god me rede*: ‘God help me.’

**Page 23**, l. 468. *charged . . . sore*: ‘burdened.’ See *Macbeth* V. I, l. 60: ‘The heart is sorely charged.’

l. 471. *soþfast hope*: in contrast to *ydel hope*, ll. 463, 466, *unsure hope*, *Macbeth* v. 4. 19. It seems to be equivalent to the ‘good hope’ employed by Lydgate, *T. of Gl.*, and described in Schick’s note to l. 892. *Hope* and *dread* (‘fear,’ anxiety) are at times contrasted in the same passage by the M.E. poet, as for instance:

T. of Gl., l. 641: ‘Hanging in balaunce bitwix hope & drede.’

l. 892: ‘And al biforne late hope be þi guide,  
And þouȝe þat drede woulde with þe pace  
It sitteþ wel.’

l. 1197: ‘So þat goode hope alway þi bridel lede,  
Lat no despeire hindir þe with drede.’

Aner. R., l. 332: ‘hope and drede . . . imcind,’ etc.; see note, l. 372.

l. 473. *shrifte of monþe*: See note to l. 94.

l. 474, also l. 92. *redi* suggests Kölbing’s ‘aim’ applied figuratively here in the sense of ‘purpose’; see *Sir Benes*, l. 3101:

‘A þrew is knif, & kouȝe nouȝt redi.’

l. 475, 476. ‘If thou doest thus, then put all thy hope in God Almighty.’ See *Romans* viii, 24.

ll. 480—483. See note to l. 495.

ll. 483, 484. Cf. lines 267, 268.

l. 484. *sorice and wo*: Suggesting *Job* iv. 21: ‘They die, even without wisdom,’ recalling in wisdom philosophy; ‘They die in sorrow and woe.’ See Genung, *The Epic of the Inner Life*, p. 156.

ll. 491, 492. This serious truth weighed on Ælfred, as is evident in the wisdom literature contributed to his *Witenagemōt*, collected in *An O.E. Miscellany* (E.E.T.S., 1872):

l. 172: ‘Not no mon þene tyme.  
hwanne he schal heonne turne.  
Ne nomon þene ende.  
hwenne he schal heonne wende.’

l. 492. *ending day*: ‘death-day’; ‘þat is elees mannes endedeie þat he stepþ ut of þese life into þan oðre,’ as is explained in an O.E. *Homily*, *An Bispe* (edited by Morris), l. 137. *ending day* is used by Chaucer in *The Complaynt of Venus*:

l. 55: ‘And therfore eertes, to myn *ending-day*  
To love him best ne shal I never repeute.’

See *ending*, l. 278; *ende of dep.* l. 280; and *Orrm.*

*Orrm.*, l. 8108: ‘þatt daȝȝ þatt he tok ende.’

**Page 24**, l. 495. See also ll. 481—482. An early proverb seems either to have been in existence, or to have been formulating itself at this time. ‘*Fast bind, fast bind*’ occurs in Heywood’s *Proverbs* of 1546, in *Jests of Scogin* of 1565, and in *Merchant of Venice*, II. 5, l. 50:

‘*Fast bind! fast bind!*  
A proverb never stale in thrifty mind.’

‘*Safe bind, safe find*,’ in *Washing*, by Thomas Tusser, of 1523—80. The underlying scriptural text referred to in line 494, *þis word*, *þat god seide*, is probably *Matthew* xvi. v. 19: ‘Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven’; also *Matthew* xviii. v. 18. See *Poema Morale*, ll. 215, 216:

‘þe ȝe godes milce séchȝ. jwis he mei hís finde.  
ae helle king is are lies. wiȝ ȝa þe he mei binde.’

*Homily, Post Pascha A.* ed. Morris, l. 44: ‘demd to deaȝe and þerto bunden. swo is þe maam þe halt his sinne. he is demd fro henene to helle.’

l. 496. *ben in mynde*: ‘be in remembrance,’ ‘be borne in mind.’ See *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 18, and note, *Spec.*, l. 619, and *New Engl.* ‘bear in mind.’

See *Non. T.*, l. 123: ‘bar in hir mynde.’

*M. of L. T.*, l. 1127: ‘bere . . . in mynde.’

*Ipotis*, D, l. 152: ‘The soneday to have in mende.’

l. 498. The present text is supported by the best MSS. and by MSS. of the two groups. Read with metre like l. 446, type C:

‘And Iésu Crist tó je téake.’

‘If you will accept Jesus Crist,’ rather than ‘turn to him,’ or ‘call upon him,’ according to the reading of MSS. D and H<sub>2</sub>, type D:

‘And to Iésu Crist pe téake.’

l. 500. *leszoun*: Compare with l. 505 below.

*Spec. Vit.*, l. 92: ‘And swyche a lessoun I schal þou ȝene  
þat myrour of lyf to you may be.’

*Der eng. Cuto* (ed. Goldberg, p. 14), v. 81:

‘Let holi wrīt beo þi mirour  
In word and eke in dede.’

l. 502. *goddeðe*: preserved by the two oldest MSS., by the best MS., and by a MS. of the opposing group, in distinction from the plausible reading *godhede* of the two remaining texts, also representatives of both groups. The meaning ‘good deed’ seems to be specifically the suffering and death of Christ upon the cross.

l. 505. *myrour*: a very common usage. The passage explains itself. For various M.E. interpretations of the term *mirror*, see Schick’s note to *T. of Gl.*, l. 292, and ll. 754 and 974, and Spenser’s usage:

*Shep. Cal., Oct.*, str. 16, l. 93: ‘Such immortal mirror, as he doth admire,  
Would raise one’s mind above the starry sky.’

*Gorbotuc*, l. 3, l. 798: ‘Happie was Heuba, the wofullest wretch  
That ener lyued to make a myrour of.’

*P. Pl.*, C. xix, l. 175: ‘Thou shalt be myrour to menye men to deeyue.’

Cf. also *Henry V.*, 2. Chorus, l. 6.

l. 508. *fonge*: *fonde*, extant in D and R, MSS. of two distinct groups, is probably the correct reading, not only as is indicated by the rime but by the sense: ‘here (in holy writ) must we look (see) and seek (trust to it) to obtain knowledge of God.’ See *John* xxii, 3, MS. Otho 1, C 3: ‘ne fengon nan þing on ðære nihte’; *Pref. Cura Past.*, l. 22: ‘ðâ ðâ ic tó rice fêng,’ in comparison with *Azenbite*, the story of the monk, *Uebsbuch*, p. 99, ll. 104, 105: ‘huer he hedde yby nouerti yer uor to uondi ane monek . . .’

l. 514. *pes and loue*: See *The Seconde Nonnes Tale*, l. 44:  
‘. . . . the eternal loue and pees.’

The passage is to be traced in Dante’s *Paradiso*, Canto xxxiii, l. 44:  
‘Per lo cui callo n’ll’ eterna pace.’

l. 515. *ben aboute*: ‘be astir.’ ‘be actively striving to secure peace.’

l. 516. *To make pes*: See l. 520, and Chaucer in *An ABC*:

l. 69: ‘Than makest thou his *pees* with his sovereyn.’

*make* is linked with *pes* in illustrations cited by Kölbing, note to *Sir B.* 1, A, l. 879.

l. 518. *godspel*: See Kirke’s note to *spell*, *Shep. Cal., Meh.*, l. 54.

*Latin*: *Matt.* v. 9.

**Page 25.** l. 519. *no les*: *The Bruce*, l. 419, *vithouten less*; the *Erl of T.*, l. 472; *The Life of St. Julian*, A, ll. 76, 77: *wiðuten les*; *Wallace*, Bk. I., l. 321; *but less*; also *Leg. of G. W.*, ll. 1022, 1128, 1518.

l. 520. *les : pes*: the rime of *Erl of T.*, ll. 472, 473. See the lines:

‘I trowe wythoute les  
let us lyfe in *pees*.’

*makeþ pes*: See note to l. 516.

l. 521. *hom oore to be of* MS. R: *hom* is a dative with the impersonal

verb *ow* in the present tense. See Skeat's note, *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 27, and note to *Spec.*, l. 159; *Pearl*, str. 46, l. 12: ‘*uns oghe* to take more.’

l. 525. *widoute fable*=*widoute les*, l. 518, a common expletive often useful in filling out an incomplete line. See illustrations collected by Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 3254, explained by *wythout lesynge*, l. 550 of *Guy of Warwick*; by *without layne*, l. 2994; and by the more emphatic *withouten gabbe* of the *Speculum*, l. 464. See Kölbing's *no doubt*, l. 2027 of *Sir Beves*. Examples in *Sir Beves* are: A, l. 1672, 2027, 2219; M, l. 1933; S, l. 2612; O, l. 2381; *Ipotis*, l. 436; *Seren Sages*, l. 1558. Compare the usage of other writers:

Spense, *Rhymes of Rome*, 7: ‘Alas, by little ye to nothing flie,

The people's *fable* and the spoyle of all.’

Ben Jonson, *Volpone*, l. 1: ‘Know you not, Sir, 'tis the common *fable*.’

Marlowe, *Faustus* vi., l. 62: ‘But is there not *colum igneum et crystallinum?*  
No, Faustus, they are but *fables*.’

*Pearl* 50, l. 4: ‘Other holy wryt is bot a *fable*’

l. 526. *merciable*: also l. 534. The suffix *-able* has not the force of modern English here, but is used in an active sense *to show*, ‘inclined to mercy,’ as is indicated by Abbott, *Shaks. Gr.*, § 3, § 445, and illustrated by Schick, *T. of Gl.*, l. 1266. *profitable*, l. 4 of the *Speculum*, is to be interpreted ‘is capable of yielding profit.’ *Merciable* has an active force in Chaucer's texts:

*An A. B. C.*, l. 1: ‘Almighty and al *merciable* quene . . .’

l. 182: ‘Ben to the seed of Adam *merciable*,

So bring us to that palais that is bilt

To penitents that ben to *mercy able*. Amen.’

*Leg. of G. W.*, l. 347: ‘And therto gracious and *merciable*’

l. 410: ‘Yow oughte been the lighter *merciable*’

*Prioresses Tale*, l. 1878: ‘That of his mercy god so *merciable*

On vs his grete mercy multiplye.’

l. 531. *flesh and bon*: *Generides*, A, l. 1348; *Monkes Tale*, *Hercules*, l. 10, another common circumlocution used instead of ‘body,’ found in *Job* ii. 5; *bone and flesh*, xix. 20; *Sir Beves*, A, ll. 628, 4044, 4407; *Chron. of Engl.*, l. 675, etc.; *nother flesche ne bones*, *Tundale*, l. 910. See also *flesh and blod* 573.

l. 539. *of þynkeþ*: *for þymkkiþ* of *A<sub>2</sub>* and *R*, is used probably in sense of gives displeasure, according to Zupitza's note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 984.

l. 540. *crieþ merei*: See *Gamelyn*, 874; *Tundale*, ll. 233, 234; *Rbt. of Gl.*, also in Chaucer and Shakspere:

*Rbt. of Gl.*, A, l. 288: ‘crie on hom *no mercy þer nis*.’

l. 499: ‘& *criede him milice and ore*’

*Tale of M. of L.*, l. 1111: ‘*mercy* I yow *crye*’

*Merry Wives*, III. v. 25: ‘I *cry you mercy*.’

Cf. on the other hand *Two N. Kinsemen*, I. ii. 13: ‘Cried up with example,’ i.e. enforced by experience.

**Page 26.** l. 547. *gospel*: i. e. *Matt.* vii. 1; *Mark* iv. 24; *Luke* vi. 38.

ll. 549, 550. *Piers Plowman*, 1, A, ll. 151, 152:

‘For þe same *Mesure* þat þe *Meten* · Amis oþer elles,  
þe schul be weyen þer with · whon þe wenden hennes.’

See Latin preceding, l. 150, for the text incorporated in MS. R: ‘*Eadem mensura qua mensi fueritis remeci[e]tur uobis*.’ For *mete*, see Zupitza's note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 6954.

ll. 551, 552: omitted in *A*, probably through fault of the scribe. The lines are contained in all the other MSS., and are in keeping with the style of the poem, where *men* is addressed often in personal exhortation. The text follows MS. *A*. See ll. 201, 203, 319, etc.

I. 551. *þou*: The desirability of inserting *þou* in this position is questionable. It is omitted in two MSS.

<sup>1</sup> l. 552. *forzene*: occurs in one MS. only; see variants. It is of no weight in the construction of the text.

<sup>1</sup> l. 553. *Nym god zeme*: common linking of terms explained by MS. H<sub>1</sub>: 'take gode hede.' See *Amer. R.*, p. 100: 'Nimeð nu gode zeme'; *O. E. Hom.* (ed. Morris, p. 89 ff.), l. 62: 'Nime we . . . gene'; also MS. *Hom. Dominica Palmarum*, l. 62; *Owl and N.*, l. 727; *Rbt. of Gl.*, Harl. 2277, fol. 511, l. 29; *Gamelyn*, l. 825. See *Amer. R.*, p. 416 ff., l. 324: 'ze nimen to ham gode zeme.'

l. 554. *bist*, i. e. *bildest*, *bitst*: normal form connected with the *Pater Noster*. See *Rom. of Rose*, l. 772: ‘*Biddeth a Pater Noster*’; *Spec. Vit.*, l. 18; *Orrm.*, ll. 5404, 5454, 5465.

Orrm., l. 5454: ' . . . bede þatt mann bitt  
Uppo þe Paterr Nossterr.'

<sup>11</sup> *Promptorium Parvulorum*, p. 35: 'byddyn bedys or seyn prayers'; *Book of Curtasye*, Sloane MS. 1986, f. 22 b, note over byddyn bedys:

'Rede, or synge, or byd prayeris  
To Crist for all thy Cristen ferye.'

• • • • • • •

Byddynge, or praynge.<sup>1</sup>

a specific devotion as to  
*Eccles. M. & P. b. c. 500*

For bid, to call to a specific devotion as to the *Pater Noster*, see *Bidding Prayer*, I., *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, p. 62, with explanation on historical basis.

bist : sist : Cf. *byst : ryst*, Bonaventura's *Meditations on the Sorrows of our Lady Mary*, II, 1015, 1016.

*Latin.* See *Matt.* vi, 12; *Luke* xi, 4.

See poem 'On the King's breaking his Confirmation of Magna Charter,' p. 257 of *Polit. Songs*:

'For if that he to blame be,  
*For ȝif hit him pur churite.*'

1. 555. *Swete lord*: also ll. 569 and 949, the language of the mediæval love-song to the Redeemer. See *A prayer of Lone unto his swete herte of Jesu*, Add. MS. 22,283, and similar construction in Morris's *O. E. Hom.*; *Tundale*, l. 234: 'Swete fader, mercy!'

l. 556. Cf. *Pard. Tale*, ll. 130, 131:

'for a man hath *agilted* his lord . . . *agilted* his father celestial . . .  
*agilted* him that boughte him,' etc.

Il. 557, 558. The golden rule of Christ: 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them'—*Matt.* vii. 12; *Luke* vi. 31.

l. 559 ff. Cf. *Isaiah* iv, 7.

1. 561. *be*: authorized by three MSS.

l. 562. *bede*: ‘to pray.’ See *bede*, a prayer of the bead roll, hence ‘peir of bedes,’ Shak. *Rich. II.*, iii. 3. 145; *Ipotis*, l. 156: *bydde bedys*; ‘on which that she hir bedes bede,’ *Rom. of Rose*, l. 7371. See Kirke’s note to *Shep. Cal. Sept.*, l. 1: ‘For to bid is to pray, whereof cometh beads for prayers . . . “To bid is beads, to say his prayers.”’

1. 563. *dar it seie*: *S. Nun's Tale*, l. 214. The effect of the denial is in harmony with the other characteristics of the poet's vigorous style.

l. 564. *æsein*: ‘in opposition to,’ used in the same sense in the *Prothalamion*, l. 17. See Halliwell’s *Dict.*

l. 567. *seiþ*: i. e. in *James* ii. 13. Read: ‘And seiþ: He þat wóle no mérci háve.’

**Page 27.** l. 568. *Latin*: See *Luke* xxi. 19.

l. 569. *speche*: i. e. the Sermon on the Mount, *Matt.* v. ff.

*Houre*: See l. 949; inorganic *H* as in *nouth*, l. 348.

*lord*: or *louerd* as in l. 949, to read by type A. See ‘Introduction.’

l. 572. *in alle manere*: ‘In every kind of.’ See *in none manere*, l. 628, *Beues*, l. 565, note to l. 835, and Zupitza’s note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 1228. *on al manere* = ‘by all means’; *in this manere*, *The S. N. T.*, l. 273.

l. 573. *flesh and blod*: See *flesh and bon*, l. 531; *bon and huide*, l. 157; *Azenbite* (ed. Morris), p. 87, ll. 6 ff.: ‘We byeþ children of one moder . . . huer of we nome *wless and blod*'; *S. N. Tale*, l. 42: ‘His sone in blode and fleshe’; *Gamelyn*, l. 491:

‘Cursed mot he worthe, boþe *fleisch and blood*.'

The meaning of l. 573 is purely in physical sense, ‘physical illness to effect spiritual good’ (l. 576: ‘*þi seli soule to amende*’). See *Homily*, ed. Small, p. 144, l. 255 f.:

‘Bot for his *fleis* was pined here,  
His *sawel* es now *til godd ful dere*.’

No trace is to be found here of the figurative use of the O.E. homily. See *Homily* (ed. Morris, Second Series), *Dominica Palmarum*, l. 51: ‘brunken his *fles* and his *blod*, þat is þe *holi husel*'; *In die Pascha*, l. 71: ‘to his *holi fleis* and to his *holi blod*’.

l. 574. *polemod*: The copyist of *D* did not understand *polemod*. He regarded it as two distinct words, a verb *pole* and a substantive *mode*. See *Ancr. Rirele*, p. 158, fol. 40 b: ‘two eadie wordes (*þe* *beaves*, MSS. C and T) . . . *polemednesse* . . . *edmodnesse*. Vor *polemod* is þe þet þuldeliche *abereð* wouh, þet me deð him.’

l. 576. *seli soule*: according to *Cursor Mundi*, ‘blessed soul.’ ‘Sely saule’ occurs in *York Plays*, xlv., l. 171. *Ancr. R.*, p. 108: ‘tu *seli anere*, þet ert his *seli spouse*'; p. 352: ‘*jis* is a *seli deað*, þet makeð . . . mon oðer wumman vt of þe worlde.’

*The Death of Mary*: as ‘the happy soul.’ See note to l. 987.

l. 582. *gruching*: ‘murmuring,’ ‘grumbling.’ See ‘Widoute gruching,’ l. 593, and *Ancr. Rivele*, p. 418: ‘wurche þet me hat hire *wiðuten gruechinge*'; *Owl and Night.*, l. 423:

‘*Grueching & luring* him *beoð rade*.’

The advice of l. 582 is contrary to the doctrine of *Gorbotuc*, V. v. 1:

‘With *grudging* mind to damne those he mislikes.’

l. 584. *bude and eke stille*: also ll. 706, 891. Cf. Zupitza’s note to *Guy*, l. 792.

l. 585. *falleþ on honde*: happens ‘to be your lot,’ ‘falls to you.’ *on honde* is used with various verbs in metaphorical sense: *Der. engl. Cato*, V., l. 397: ‘*ȝif* þe *bifullen* serwe *on honde*'; *Owl and Night.*, l. 1651: ‘*gest an honde*'; *M. of L. T.*, l. 348: ‘*ytake on honde*'; *Beues* 25 and *Rbt. of Gl.* 2321 (A): ‘*take on honde*'; also 10,511, 10,817; C 267; *nim an honde* 61, 62, 113, 114, 743, 796, 882, 1344, 1365, 1894, 2062, 2073, 2133, 2146, 2154, 2351, 2612, 2760, 2871, 3476, 3872, 4052, 4366, 4620, 4711, 4880, 9463, 9964, and other instances.

**Page 28.** l. 592. *leid*: MS. D preserves the more exact inflectional form, *Ileide*.

l. 594. See *Ipotis*, B 520: ‘[He] takyth the povert *myldelych* and

*stytle* ; and *P. Pl.*, A 1, l. 141 : ‘lette his sone dye . . . Mekeliche for vre misdede . . . have pite on þat peple, þat pynede him to dēþe?’

ll. 596, 607. *ensampte* : N.E. *example*, a compromise between M.E. *ensampte* and the Latin, according to Sturmels, *Afr. Vokalismus im M.E., Anglia*, vol. viii., p. 243. See Zupitza’s *Six-Teet Oxford edition of the Pardoner’s Prologue*:

p. 25 : ‘Jenne telle y hem ensamples many oon,  
of olde stories longe tyme agone.’

p. 60 : ‘There may ye lerne, / and by ensample teche,’ fol. 488 b,  
Sloane 1686, leaf 2.

See Sloane MS. 1686, leaf 221, and Harl. MS. 7333.

l. 609. *i dar seie* : *The Seconde Nonnes Tale*, l. 214 : *I dar wel say*. The form is to be contrasted with the N.E. expression, where the M.E. sense is entirely lost.

*seie soþeliche* : The *Speculum* frequently assures its reader of its veracity : l. 519 : ‘A soþ word hit is and no les’ ; l. 480 : ‘For hit com out of goodes mouȝe’ ; l. 3 : ‘it is no fable’ ; ll. 346, 411, 1014, 1023 : ‘in soþnesse’ ; l. 464 : ‘I sey þe soþ, wiðouten gabbe’ ; ll. 947, 1010 : ‘Holi wrīt, þat wole nocht liȝe’ ; l. 565 : ‘þe holi bok of soþnesse’ ; l. 637 : ‘þu shalt wel wite, þat i ne liȝe.’

l. 613. See 608. The required number of unstressed syllables for the measure is to be provided by the reading *wronge*, but historically the form can be only *wrong*.

l. 615. *unneȝe* : the reading of three MSS. giving the meaning ‘scarcely.’ See Spenser, the *Shep. Cal. Jan.*, l. 6 :

‘That now unnethes their feet could them uphold.’

**Page 29.** ll. 617, 618. ‘Why? Because human nature desires revenge for injury?’

l. 619. *tak bi minde* : See note to l. 496.

l. 622. *martyrdom* : See *Tundale* :

l. 1861 : ‘That for goddis love were buxsum,  
In erthe to suffur martyrdom.’

*martyrdom . . . mede* : i. e. *the palm of martirdom*. *The Seconde Nonnes Tale*, ll. 240 and 274.

ll. 623—625. The poet seems responsible for an anacoluthon in the transition from þu, l. 623, to *He*, ll. 625 ff., þei in ll. 632 ff.

ll. 623 ff. See *Isaiah* v. 15 : ‘And the mean man is bowed down, and the great man is humbled, and the eyes of the lofty are humbled.’

l. 624. *heih of mod* : ‘proud,’ in contrast to *pore of mod*, l. 164, and *low of herte*, l. 165. See note to l. 164.

l. 626. *henene* : O.E. fem. *hēfan*. The feminine is indicated here by the gen. ending -e. The feminine is recognized in *The Hymn on the Nativity*, ll. 145, 146.

‘And *Hear’n*, as at some festivall,  
Will open wide the gates of *her* high palace hall.’

ll. 626—630. These lines recall *Isaiah* xxvi. 5 :

‘For he hath brought down them that dwell on high,  
(the lofty city) :

He layeth it low, he layeth it low, even to the ground ;  
He bringeth it to the dust.’

l. 627. *heinen* : *heymn, heinin*, translating *exultare* (l. 630), occurs in *Promptorium Parvorum*, p. 233. No other instance of this word has been discovered. It is equivalent to Swedish *höjua* (\**hahnjan* > O.E. *hēnan*). See Stratmann-Bradley. The lists of the *Prompt. Parv.* contain

other allied words: *heighthyn*, *hawneyn*, *Heynyng*. See *Aner. Riwle*, *iheied*, pp. 154, 174, 380, 430.

See M.E. translation of Lat. *exalto*: *Aner. Riwle*, p. 154: ‘beon ine heort gostliche *iheied* toward heouene’; p. 174: ‘nout one *heinesse*, auh *heinesse* of folke, vorte scheawen soðliche, þet heo þet hudeð hain arith in hore ancre huse, heo schulen beon . . . ouer oðer knunes folke wurðliche *iheied*’; p. 430: ‘He beo euer *iheied* from worlde to worlde’; p. 100: ‘Wend ut . . .’, ‘Hwuder?’ ‘Vt of mieu *heilshiche*’; p. 86: ‘he hit hened to *heie* up.’

ll. 629 ff. *he*, *his*, *þeih*: over inconsistency in the use of number in personal pronoun, see Zupitza, note to *Guy*, l. 100.

l. 630. Latin: MS. A<sub>1</sub> has *exaltabitur*.

l. 631. *her*: MSS. *his*, altered in text to remove anacoluthon.

ll. 631, 632. See *Mord Provr.*, MS. Harl. 3810:

‘Ever the hiere that thou art,  
Ever the lower be thy hert.’

*Aner. R.*, p. 130: ‘Fleo *heic*, and holdeð . . . þet heaned euer love.’

l. 634. *womye*: according to Gollanez’s note to *Pearl*, str. 24, l. 8, -y- representing the secondary suffix *i* of O.E., and not nominally the inf. characteristic. For inf. in *-ie*, see Skeat’s *Langl.*, p. Iviii.

l. 636. *he*: *he* refers already to Lucifer.

l. 638. *Lucifer*: The apocryphal legend was known and introduced into literature so early as the fifth century. See James Rothschild, *Mistere du Viel Testament*, I. p. xlvi, and *Speculum Ecclesie* of Honorius. It became the subject of at least two miracle plays, *York Play*, No. I., and *Chester Play*, No. I. It was rarely omitted in religious literature from the earliest period. See *Henry VIII.*, III. ii. 371, and Skeat’s note to *M. T.*, ll. 3189, 3192. In *The Myroure of our Ladye*, p. 189, the accepted version has suffered modification: ‘The north wind signifies Lucifer; by the northe is vnderstondeð the fende Lucyfer, that by coldnesse of hys malyse caused other aungels that are lykened to fayre flowers to falle from blysse.’ See Longfellow, *Epilogue to Golden Legend*:

‘Lucifer!

The son of mystery, . . .  
He, too, is God’s minister  
And labors for some good’ . . .

*Isaiah* xiv. 12: ‘How art thou fallen from heaven, Lucifer’ . . .

*Langl. A. I.*, l. 115: ‘Bote Lucifer louwest liȝþ of hem alle;  
For pruide þat he put out. . . . .’

*Monke’s T.*, l. 3192: ‘. . . . . fel he for his sinne  
*Doun into helle*, wher he yet is inne.’

*Meph.*, Marlowe’s *Faust.*, 5. 93: ‘I swear by hell and Lucifer.’

See also *Ipotis*, l. 108: ‘In heven . . . . .  
þat Lucifer fel oute for pride.’

ll. 639, 640, and with 638. Questionable reading. The appropriateness of the lines seemed reason for inserting them in this connection. Compare other texts:

*Tundale*, l. 1393: ‘Fro heven throw pride he felle downe  
Heder into þis depe dongowne.’

l. 639. *The Liif of Adam*, l. 52:  
‘In heauen *Pride* first began,  
In angels ar it cam in man.’

l. 640. *toke flyste*: touching upon the trait (in Satan’s character) of restlessness as represented, *Job* ii. 2—5, and as incorporated in the Introduction to Goethe’s *Faust*.

**Page 30**, ll. 641, 642. *gan*: paraphrastic, written *can* in MS. R as in *Sir Gowther*, see ll. 49, 60, etc. and *Pearl*, 87, 135, etc.; the auxiliary is not to be translated.

l. 643. *alle and some*: See *Cent. Dict.* A formula exceedingly frequent to the present day. In the sense of *universi et singuli* it occurs as follows:

*R. Cœur de Lion*, l. 2283: ‘We are betrayed and ynome  
Horse and houses, lords, *all and some*.’

*Clerkes Tale*, l. 941: ‘And in the peples eres *alle and some*.’

*Mirror for Mag.*, p. 91: ‘In armour, the souldiers *all and some*.’

See also *Herrick*, p. 84: ‘Something made of thread and thrumme,  
A mere botch *all and some*.’

*rede*: See Zupitza, note to *Guy of W.*, l. 313; Kölbing, *Sir Beues*, l. 360.

ll. 645, 646. These lines are contained in the three MSS. A<sub>2</sub>H<sub>1</sub>R, probably from the original text. They are in harmony with the style of the poet.

l. 648. *þe drede*: impersonal use of *drede*, see Abbott, *Sh. Gr.*, § 297, note to l. 159, and Spenser, *Prothalamion*, l. 60.

*strong*: *strongē*, dative, a questionable form. See *strong*, ll. 266, 274; but *strongē*, l. 282; *þe strongē*, l. 449.

l. 649. *siker*: expletive ‘certainly,’ an adverb used instead of *sikerliche*. The question arises as to the desirability of the comma between *For* and *siker*. These words form a single expression. *and*: here *if*.

l. 653. *bi consail and bi red*: See Kölbing’s note to *Sir Beues*, M. l. 360, and Ch., *Genl. Prol.*, l. 665.

*þe foule qued*: The customary alliterative combination is *foule fend*. See *Sir Gowther*, l. 4; *Orrm*, 12.335: ‘þuss fundeþ deofell Godess folle.’

l. 654. *þe qued*: See notes to lines 48 and 1025.

l. 657. *Ac*: Southern adversative, German *sondern*; *ac* preserves a previous negative, cf. Mätzner, *Wörterbuch* under *ac*. Cf. O.E. use through *Elene*, l. 355; *Beowulf*, l. 109: ‘*ac he hine feor forräde*'; l. 1991: ‘*Ac þu . . . gebéttest mierum þeodne*’ where the significance is adversative, Latin: *nonne, num quid*. A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>H<sub>2</sub>R do not use *ac*, see variants. See *Rbt. of Gl.*, p. 4681, l. 657:

‘If thou hast any intelligence, any knowledge,’ etc.

l. 658. *uertu*: ‘efficacy.’

l. 661. *hext*: also the attribute of *charity* in the sense of ‘love,’ l. 325.

l. 664. *Latin*: MS. A<sub>2</sub> reads: *Qui . . . ceteras congregat . . . qui . . . puluerem*, recalling Isaiah xvii. 13: the description of *A Doom Song*, the *Doomsday*: ‘[They] shall be . . . like the whirling dust before the storm.’ The Latin is quoted in the *Ancren Rüle*, p. 278, with translation: ‘*þe bet is umhe, wiðouten hire*’ (edmodnesse) ‘worte gederen gode þeawes. he bereð dust iðe windē.’

**Page 31**, l. 665. *pouh*: See note to l. 752.

l. 672. Read possibly, as in l. 797, *lihteliche* with inorganic *e* between suffix and stem, according to laws described in the Introduction. Thus type A is preserved instead of either type C or A with the unstressed fourth measure of MS. A<sub>1</sub>:

‘Hit fléþ awéy ful lihteliche.’

l. 674. *dedes . . . do*: verb with cognate substantive occurs frequently; *Rbt. Gl.*, ll. 1107, 1649, 1655, 3845, 4499, 5273, 5876, 7047, 7459. Also 1602, 2192, 2246, 3082, 5436, 5820, 6333, 5483, 6545, 6849, 7175, 7346, 7436, 7448, 9036. See Strohmeyer, p. 23, and note to l. 398.

l. 676. *abide*: See Darlington, *The Folk Speech of South Cheshire*, p. 105.

l. 685. *aferd*: See *ferd*, l. 17 of *A Poem on the Times of Edward II.*, *Gamelyn*, l. 854, and Skeat, pp. xii, xiii. *aferd of*: 'affected with fear on account of.' Cf. *Dict. of the Kentish Dialect*, etc., p. 2; Halliwell's *Dict.* With MS. D *aferd* note the reading of Chaucer, *The Shipman's Tale*, l. 403:

'This wif was not aferde ne afraide.'

*Macbeth*, I. iii. l. 96: 'Nothing *afeard* of what thyself didst make.'

V. i. 41: 'a soldier, and *afeard*'

ll. 689, also 309. *mid iurisse*: See *Poema Morale*, ll. 40, 141, 154, 375, 391; *On god Ureisun of ure Lefli*, l. 6; *De Muliere Samaritana*, ll. 37, 53; *mid nane iurisse*, *Poema Morale*, l. 236.

See *Monograph* of M. Jacoby, *Vier me Gedichte aus dem 13. Jahrhundert*, p. 43, l. 47; 'þo bi sone al mid iurisse.'

*mid*: occurs in Southern poems. See note to l. 689 and *Pearl*, Rbt. of Gl., and other Southern poems. For the W.S. *mid* cf. Miller's well-known discussion, *Baeda's Eccl. History*, pp. xliv., xvii. See also compounds of *mid*, *þer mid*, etc.

**Page 32.** l. 692. *Latin*: MS. A<sub>1</sub> reads: 'S[e]c[u]n]dum multitudinem dolor[um] meor[um] in corde meo consolaciones tue letificaueront animam meam.'

l. 693. *pe*: so in A<sub>1</sub> is a copyist's error.

l. 698, also 512 and 908. *is above*: See *sit abone*, ll. 54, 962, the heavenly ruler symbolized through the attributes of an earthly monarch. The conception is very old, a notable characteristic of the O.E. See *heofoncyming*. *Exodus*, l. 410; *Elene*, l. 621; *Héland*: *hōhon himile*, l. 656; *bi himile themu hōhon*, l. 1509; *heah heofon*, *Genesis B*, 476, 736; *Riddle* 41, l. 22. See the *gloria in excelsis* and modern hymnology, e.g. Seagrave's:

'Rise, my soul, to seats prepared *above*,  
*Exalted high at God's right hand.*'

See illustrations from the M.E. collected by Schmirgel, p. xlix.

*abone*: *love*: a rime exceedingly frequent everywhere, as Kölbing notes, *Sir Beves*, A l. 1837, and illustrates in *Ipomedon*, A l. 5. See 'Willie's emblem,' *Shep. Cal. for March*:

'To be wise, and eke to *love*  
Is granted scarce to *Gods above*.'

l. 705. Type A can be secured by the reading *aȝein̄s*, but this form is not justified by the MSS. The scansion is as in l. 446 according to type C.

l. 710. *stonnde*: *bounde*: For rimes with *stonnde*, see Schmirgel, pp. lxi, lxii.

l. 712. *wole*: owing to a scribe who has spoiled the form. Read *wille*.

**Page 33.** l. 716. *and*: *and* is important to metre and sense, and has the support of three MSS., viz. *DH<sub>1</sub>R*.

l. 721, also l. 217. *shed*: O.E. *gescēdūl*, O.H.G. *scēit*, N.E. *shed*, 'choice.' Cf. *Kath.* l. 240: 'schead ba of god & of uvel, nis bitwenen þunc & hem nan *shed*'; *Orrm.*:

l. 553: 'þe fifte ȝife iss *shed* & *skill*,  
& weorelld like ȝiness.'

l. 12,336: 'Innsihht & witt, & *shed*, & *skill*' (see *skifulliche*, l. 173).

l. 722. *falshede*: *falsehood* in antithesis to *soþnesse*.

'Bitwénē soþnesse 'ánd falshéde.'

l. 723. *ful iwis*: also ll. 165, 285, 337, 503. See *mid iwis*, note to l. 689; *O.E. Homilies* (ed. Morris), ‘Hic die . . . de Propheta,’ l. 17; *Orm.*, l. 1356; Lazamon’s *Brut*, text A. l. 14,234, and text B. l. 21,561:

l. 14,234: ‘He hælte heo ful iwis.’

l. 21,561: ‘and an hiȝende wende foliwiſ.’

Cf. *Gen. and Ec.*, l. 2521: ‘to ful in wiſ’ and ‘wele iwyſſ,’ *Pearl*, str. 33, l. 10.

l. 726. *wit*: See note to l. 227, and other M.E. texts:

*Poema Morale*, l. 2: ‘mi wit al to ben more,’ etc.

*Destr. of T.*, l. 4: ‘wysshe me with wyt þis werke for to ende.’

l. 25: ‘to ken all the crafte . . . . .’

Recalling l. 212 of the *Speculum*: ‘þeueþ wit in alle crafteſ.’

*he*: from four MSS. *he* is necessary to the sense. *here* is a scribal error in *A<sub>1</sub>*:

l. 728. *can*: See note to *Sir Beues*, E. l. 3963: ‘He is neither able nor knows how to perceive his own condition.’ See Skeat’s note to *The Prioress Tale*, l. 1650.

l. 738. This line is to be regarded as parenthetical, whether the break be indicated by the mark of parenthesis or by the comma.

l. 739. *God . . . more*: all, ‘the larger and the smaller,’ ‘good and bad,’ i.e. righteousness and wickedness.

**Page 34**, l. 744. *þe longe lyff*: eternity in heaven contrasted with *pine þat lasteþ ay*, l. 746.

ll. 745, 746. See *Persones Tale*, ll. 197, 198: ‘dredē of the day of dome and of the horrible peines of helle.’

l. 746. *domesday : ay*: For this rime see Kölbing, note to *Sir Beues*, A. l. 2643.

l. 750. *hit*: emended from four MSS. *his* of MS. *A<sub>1</sub>* is a scribal error. The line admits of the punctuation: *long*: instead of *long,*.

l. 752. *þouh*: *þon* of *A<sub>1</sub>* is quite possible, see Stratmann, *Dict.* The scribe probably intended to write *þonh*. The final -h is added here for symmetry.

l. 756. *lassē and more*: ‘everybody.’ See Skeat’s note to *The Clerkes Tale*, l. 940; *Tundale*, l. 1852; *Beues*, ll. 453, 499; also Auch. *Guy*, str. 38, l. 4; and Caius, *Guy*, l. 3160.

l. 758. *oþte shrine*: based on MSS. *A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>*. Two texts give the more plausible form *Iscryue*. *clene* in MS. R alone occurs probably from comparison with l. 768.

l. 759. *wrouht*: *I wrouȝt* of MSS. *A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>* is the more exact text, according to the standards of the poet.

l. 761. *þat*: without verb on which to depend has here the character of a kind of substitute for the imperative.

**Page 35**, l. 768. Also l. 758 in MS. *A<sub>1</sub>*.

*clene*: through MSS. *A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>R*. *oþte* of *A<sub>1</sub>* is probably retained from l. 758.

*shrine*: better *I schryne*, MSS. *A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>*, according to the participial forms peculiar to the *Speculum*.

l. 769. Approximately l. 829 in *H<sub>2</sub>*.

l. 771: Cf. *Der engl. Cato*, v. 603: ‘serwe is medicine of þi guld.’

l. 773. *founde*: MSS. *A<sub>2</sub>DH<sub>1</sub>* have the preferred form *ifounde*.

l. 776. *Widouten cost*: recalling Isaiah iv. 1: *Without money and without price*; Rev. xxii. 17: *take freely*.

l. 779. *shewe*: The verb is wanting in MS. *A<sub>1</sub>*. *shewe* is not necessary for the meaning, because it could be understood from *sheiced*, l. 780; it is

supplied because found in all the MSS. except MS. A<sub>1</sub>. It seems probable that the omission was due to the scribe alone.

l. 779 ff. See *Persones Tale*, p. 581 (ed. Tyrwhitt, Routledge edition), l. 11: ‘to him may nothing be hid ne coverd.’ Men should eke remembre hem of the shame that is to come at the day of dome. for all the creatures in heven, and in erthe, and in helle, shal see aperly all that they hiden in this world.’ See also *Tundale*:

- l. 2124: ‘Thay se alle thyng, both evell and goode.’  
l. 2128: ‘And al creatures, þat ever god made.’  
l. 2131: ‘Thare may no thyng in this worlde be,’  
l. 2134. ‘þat has sene god almyghty.’  
l. 1934: ‘. . . . . throw þat sight  
*Of alle, þat thay in the worlde dyde.*’

l. 782. MS. A<sub>1</sub> reads: ‘Nichil absconditum quod non seietur nec oculum quod non reueletur.’

l. 784. *shame* : *blame* : also ll. 778, and 812. See Kölbing’s note, *Sir B. A.*, l. 469.

ll. 785 ff. ‘*Tweye manere shame*’: See *Persones Tale*, p. 581, quoted l. 779, for the two manners of shrift, and l. 4 for *ayenst the shame that a man hath to shrie him*.

**Page 36**, l. 794. *ashamed* : *agrawed* : common rime, see note to *Sir Beues*, SN, l. 408, and A, l. 1135, with reference to Mätzner, *Wörterbuch*, I, p. 42.

l. 799. *be my croun* : *Sir Beues*, text S, l. 1004; O, ll. 1923, 1987: see Kölbing’s note to text C, l. 131, with reference to Lange, *Die Versicherungen bei Chaucer*, p. 39, and Zupitza’s note to *Guy of Warwick*, B, l. 974. Lange cites illustrations from *The Reeves Tale*, ll. 121, 179, etc.

ll. 803—804. See other texts as follows:

*Tundale*, ll. 211, 212: ‘Thy wykked thoughtes in thy breste.  
Woldest þou never schewe to þe preste.’

l. 806. *wraþþeþ*: Here *wraþþeþ* is used in the original sense of the word, ‘make angry,’ ‘annoy.’ See Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 77.

l. 807. Read ‘Forȝifnes, iw̄is, ne t̄t h̄m n̄nere.’

l. 808. Note ellipsis, to be supplied in modern English: ‘he will be condemned.’

l. 814. *cōþ*: See pret. used by Spenser in the *Shep. Calendar, Jan.*, str. 2, l. 4, with Kirke’s reference to Sir Thomas Smith’s *Book of Government*, lent him by his ‘very singular good friend Master Gabriel Harvey.’

*Latin*. The Vulgate text, *Is.* i. 6, reads: *Lauamini, mundi estole.* The poet follows Aleuinus; see Introduction.

**Page 37**, ll. 816, 824, 848. See *Iseah* i. 16: ‘*Wash you, make you clean*’ followed by *H*<sub>1</sub> in the reading *be þe made or beþ made cleue*. See also *Jer.* iv. 14; *Eph.* v. 26; See Engl. texts *Ipotis*, l. 618: ‘*To whasschen and to mak cleue*’; *Pe Wohunge of nre Lanerd* (ed. Zup.), l. 7: ‘*he cleues tat herte, and cunes flowinde ut of þat wide wunde . . . þe water, þat te world of sake and of sunne*’; ‘*wasche mi sawle and make hit kwit*’; *M. of L. T.*, l. 453: ‘*wesh the world fro the olde iniquitee*’.

*Tundale*, l. 1860: ‘*holy men, þat god loved ryght*’.

l. 1863: ‘*And that washyd hor stolys in the blod  
of the lombe, wyt myld mod.  
And thay lefte the world holy,  
For to serve god allemyghty.*’

l. 817. *men seþ*: *men* used in a general sense, equivalent to ‘people’

with a singular verb, common in Chaucer. See Skeat's note, *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 12.

l. 826. *no wiht*: Cf. N.E. 'not a whit.'

ll. 827-828. See the Modern English poem *A Flower of a Day*, D. L. Muloch: 'Wash them clean with tears.'

ll. 829, 830. The transition from singular to plural is unexpected, yet it seems supported by the MSS. MSS. A<sub>1</sub>R preserve, it is true, the better and smoother reading. An alteration *misededes* : *he dredes* is impossible according to the dialect of the poem.

l. 833 (in H<sub>2</sub>). *henene quene*: Compare *The Book of Common Prayer*: 'O Queen of Heavens, incline thine ear to us.' The coronation of Mary was a popular theme in the *York Plays*. See play xlvi. *The Coronation of Mary. Speech of Jesus*, ll. 7 ff.

p. 491, l. 7: 'Offhoucne I haue hir chosen *quene*  
In joie and blisse that laste schall aye.'

p. 493, l. 75: 'We schall be bringe in to his sight,  
*To crowne þe quene* . . . .'

p. 496, l. 155: 'Ressaye þis *croune*, my dere darlyng,  
per I am kyng, þou shalt *be quene*.'

The subject of the crowning was prominent in two plays at York, Beverley, etc. See Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphæ*, Text N. 135; Mrs. Jameson's *Legends of the Madonna*, pp. 328, 329; L. Toulmin Smith, *York Mystery Plays*, p. xlix and l.

l. 834 in H<sub>2</sub>. *be dene*: See note to l. 191.

l. 836. *namys sevene* in H<sub>2</sub>, l. 8, of the independent reading: The meaning is not decided upon by Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 2682, nor by Kölbing, note to *Sir Beues*, A, l. 2191, with references to *Seint Margarete*, l. 68, and *Octorian*, ll. 194, 993. It may possibly be simply an additional illustration of the introduction of the mystical seven so common at this period. For the *Uses of Seven* see MS. Harl. 45. The name of Christ called on seven times within a specified period is the suggestion of the words. See a prayer, *Rel. Ant.* I, p. 22, str. 2: 'halged be þi name with *giftis sevene*'; also the *Burney MS.* 356. 5: 'In þe pater noster beth *sevene biddynges* that God hym sylf ordeyned on erthe.' See other expressions of the same idea:

*Spec. Vitæ*, l. 99: 'And specially of þe *seuene askynges*  
þat on þe Pater Noster henges.'

*Eng. Stud.* vii., p. 469: ' . . . . þe sevene ȝyftes of þe holy gost,  
þat þe seuene askynges may to vs haste.'

*Amer. Riwle*, p. 28: 'þe scoune bonen i þe Paternoster aȝein þe seouen heauen  
deadliche sunnen.'

*An ancient Pat. Nos.*: 'Seven orisounz ther beth inne.  
That helpeth men out of Dedli Sinne.'

Thus are recalled the seven daily petitions enjoined on inmates of cloister and monastery, the seven orisons often referred to in M.E. See *The Myroure of oure Ladye* (ed. Blunt), p. 11: Seven prayers daily were the formal duty of the sisters of holy Sion, the 'seven appeals' 'to heal the seven deadly sins' and to assure 'the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost.'

l. 840. *Seynte Charite* in MS. H<sub>2</sub>: Charity figured as a saint in the Roman Calendar according to Halliwell's *Dict.*: but see also Skeat, note. Compare Zupitza's note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 1060; Lange, *Die Versicherungen bei Ch.*, p. 39; *Gamelyn*, ll. 451, 513, and numerous illustrations in other M.E. texts.

*On g. Ureisun of u. Lefdi*, l. 161: 'nu ich þe bische ine *Cristes cherite*'

The saint is invoked with frequency even to the sixteenth century: *Humlet*, IV. v. 26;

*Gam. Gur. Needle* 52: ‘And helpe me to my neele, for God’s sake and St. Charilie.’

J. R. Lowell, *Godminster Chimes*: ‘Chime of Sweet Saint Charity,  
Peal the Easter morn.’

Keble, *Christian Year*, st. 6: ‘Steals on soft handed Charity.’

**Page 38.** ll. 833, 834. The MSS. themselves mark an uneasiness over this difficult passage. Both language and context seem to yield the following rendering: ‘Why? If he will thus continually persist in sin, then he must assuredly remain unclean’ (*i.e.* ‘unpardoned’).

l. 834. Cf. *Rich.*, II. iv. 253: ‘And water cannot wash away your sin.’

l. 835. *manere*: generally written without *of*, expected in N.E. because replacing O.E. *cum*, ‘kind,’ as explained by Morris, *O. E. Hom.*; *Hic Die est*, l. 90, and Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 4346. The pleonastic use of ‘maner’ according to French models (Strohmeyer, p. 8) is common in M.E. texts. See *Spec.*, l. 785: Tyndale’s *Bible*, *Rev.* xviii. 12: ‘Al maner vessels ivery’; *M. of L. T.*, l. 519: ‘A maner latyn corrupt’; Shoreham:

‘þre maner peyne man fange  
For his senne nede.’

*Rbt. of Gl.*, A. 2644: ‘wipounte eni maner harme’; 2750: ‘A maner gostes’; also ll. 3081, 4524, 5561, 7392, 8004, 8331, 8342.

l. 836. *Makeþ*: MS. D. *Clense*, ‘purifieth.’

l. 838. Also l. 792 in MSS. H<sub>1</sub>R.

l. 843. *acord*: See the following illustrations:

*Prothalamion*, l. 101: ‘Let endlesse Peace your steadfast hearts accord.’

*Pearl*, str. 31, l. 11: ‘Of care and me ye made acorde.’

Maund. *Voiage*, l. 75: ‘temporel lordes and alle worldly lordes weren at gode acord.’

l. 851. *ȝit eft sone*: ‘now soon again,’ ‘immediately,’ in Spenser’s phrase:

*Prothalamion*, l. 55: ‘Eftsoones the Nymphes,’ which now had Flowers their fill,’ etc.

*Two N. Kinsmen*, III. i. 12: ‘That I, poor man, might eftsoons come between,  
And chop on some cold thought.’

*eftsone* is of ordinary occurrence in earlier texts. See *Mark* iii. 1; *Wyclif Bible*: ‘And he entride *eftsone*,’ *eftsone* corresponding to *again* of King James’s version.

l. 853. *godes lore*: *i.e.* *John* xii. 35. Cf. *John* xi. 9, 10.

l. 854. *lassé and more*: see note to l. 756.

Latin MS. A<sub>1</sub> reads: ‘lucem . . . comprehendant.’ With this passage compare the text quoted in the *Ancr. Rivel*, p. 326: ‘Fili, ne tardes converti ad Dominum,’ and the old book, *Vehiculum Vita*, p. 107: ‘Ne turdes converti ad Dominum, et ne differas de die in diem, nam subito rupit miseros inclemencia mortis.’

l. 856. See also *John* ix. 4, recalling *Isaiah* xxi. 11, 12: ‘Watchman, what of the night?’

‘The morning cometh,  
And also the night.  
If ye will inquire, inquire ye.’

l. 858. *þe derke niȝt*: common expression in M.E., *Sir Beues*, A, l. 2790; *Partonope*, l. 1182; *Alisaunder*, l. 6097, see Schmirgel, p. lxiii. The *Poema Morale* preserves *pustre niȝte*.

*Poema Morale*, l. 78: 'nis hit na swá durne idón 'né aswa þastre nihte.'

*Shep. Cul. Nov.*, l. 165: 'She hath the bonds broke of eternall night.'

See *Persones Tale*, l. 255: 'Covered with the derkenesse of deth . . . defaute of the sight of God,' through 'the sinnes that the wretched man hath don.'

**Page 39.** l. 859. *While þu art on line*: recalling *whil he was on lyne*, *Gamelyn*, ll. 20, 58, 157, 225, 228, as noted by Skeat, p. xxxiv.  
*on line*: See Skeat's note to *Gamelyn*, l. 20.

Compare the passage with *John ix*, 4: 'While it is day', . . . 'I must work the works of him that sent me,' i. e. *Godes werkes of holi churche*, *Spec.*, l. 860. See *Vulgate* text quoted, *Ancr. Ricle*, p. 326: *Fili, ne tardes concerti ad Dominum.*

ll. 859, 860. *worche . . . werkes*: 'do works of love,' as explained by Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 6675, and Kölbing, note to *Sir Beuves*, A, ll. 58—60, and A, l. 3230, quoting Guy's advice to the old earl:

'Hyt were better for þe to be in churche,  
 And holy werkys for to wyrcze.'

The rime in this favourite passage of the M.E. poet is uniformly *worche* : *churche*, as is illustrated in numerous passages from different mediaeval texts:

*Tundale*, l. 29: 'The *werkes of mercy* wolde he not *wyrke*,  
 He lovede not god ne holy kyrke.'

l. 209: 'þou lovedest not god nor holy kirk,  
 Ne *werkes of mercy* woldest non *wyrke*.'

*Owl and Night.*, l. 720: 'Vorþi me singþ in holi chirche  
 And clerkes ginneþ songes wirche.'

*The Miller's Tale*, l. 196: 'Than fell it thus, that to the . . . cherche  
 (Of Cristes *owen werkes* for to *werche*)  
 This god wif went upon a holy day.'

*The Sompaynures Tale*, l. 269: '. . . to bilden Cristes *owen chirche*,  
 . . . if ye wol lernen for to *werche*.'

*Ipotis*, B, l. 216: 'Lowen god and *holy cherche*,  
 And oper god *werkes* for to *werche*.'

See also *The Marchantes Tale*, l. 237; *Gamelyn*, l. 507; *Ipotis*, D, ll. 431, 432.

See *King Horn*, l. 1407: 'Horn let sone *wurche*,  
 Chapeles and *chirche*.'

l. 862. *qued*: See notes to the *Speculum*, lines 48 and 1025.

ll. 866, 867. *John ix*, 4: 'The night cometh when no man can work.' See modern hymnology: 'Work, for the night is coming.'

l. 866. *aguste*: This early form was used by Milton in the past participle:

*Hymn on Nativ.*, l. 160: 'The aged earth *agust*  
 With terror of the blast,' etc.

See also *Wm. of Palerne*, 1778: 'and him *agust* maked . . .' The *h* of N.E. *aghust*, pp., is inorganic and unauthorized on historical basis. Cf. Murray, *Dict.*

*faste* : *aguste*: rime of *Gamelyn*, ll. 288, 381.

l. 867. *widoute way*: 'it cannot be denied.' See Zupitza's note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 3054.

ll. 869, 872. See 2 *Corinth.* v. 10.

l. 872. *wheiþer*: See note to l. 219.

l. 873. *par auinter*: i. e. *peradventure* read as a trisyllable for the

metre, also noted by Schick, l. 233. See Wielif, *Matt.* v. 25: ‘Lest per-adventure thin adversarie take the to the domesman,’ and *Pearl*, str. 49:

l. 12: ‘Paraunter noght schal to-yere more.’

See Skeat’s note to l. 935 of the *Pardoner’s Tale*.

ll. 876—878. *Rev.* xxii. 12. See *Poema Morale*, l. 171:

‘End ēfter þet hé heavet i don, seal ðer ben idemed.’

l. 876. þat of *A<sub>1</sub>*: omitted in this text on authority of three MSS. from two groups in opposition to the reading of a single MS., and because securing possibly a better metre. Compare the two readings with l. 264, where the MSS. do not admit of the loss of the þat:

l. 876: ‘Ac riht áfter · þú hast dō.’

‘Ac riht áfter · þat þú hast dō.’

l. 264: ‘Ac riht áfter · þat mán haþ dóñ.’

l. 878. *Latin*: MS. *A<sub>1</sub>* reads dum. See note to l. 854.

ll. 879, 880. *gilour . . . gileþ*: Compare *Hand. Sym.*, l. 5975, and other texts:

*Reves Tale*, l. 4219: ‘A gilour shal himself begiled be.’

*P. Pl.*, A, II., l. 162: ‘Bote gyle was forgoere and gilede hem alle.’

See also:

*King Horn*, l. 1488: ‘He haþ giled þe twie.’

*Prov. of Henc.*, l. 304: ‘Hope of long lyf gyleþ mony god wyf.’

l. 880. *euere among*: See note to l. 186.

l. 881. *beforw orwch*: ‘Go work,’ *Matt.* xxi. 28. *worche* is a correct form in this connection historically and according the syntax of the passage. See O.E. *wyrcce*. The line belongs then properly to type A:

‘þefore wórehé, while þu máit.’

*mait*: For this curious form see Introduction, the explanation advanced by Professor Schick.

**Page 40.** l. 882. *cailt*: See ‘Introduction’ under ‘Phonology.’ This orthography is not common. It is given approximately in the *Ancr. Riwle*, p. 154: ‘neuer ȝet i monne floc ne keilte he swuche biȝete’; p. 278: ‘hwo mei wið þeos witen him, þet he ne beo mid sunme of þeos ikeiht’; p. 134: ‘lesthe heo beo ikeiht.’

*micht be cailt*: M.E. expressions for *death* or to *die* are curious and interesting. See the *Ancr. Riwle*, p. 62: ‘þurh eie þurles deað haneð here ingong into þe soule’; p. 110: ‘al his bodi deaðes swot swette’; p. 274: ‘ȝineð deaðes dunl’; *Aȝen.* 130: ‘deaðes drench’; l. 30: ‘his licham of erðe he nam?’

*Orrm.*, l. 8111: ‘Er þann he ȝauff his false gost  
to farenn imntill helle.’

l. 7781: ‘Forr sinness draȝhenn sinnful mann  
Till helle deþ om̄ ende.’

l. 15,436: ‘ȝe shulen deȝena ifell daþ  
To draȝhenn helle pine.’

l. 1381: ‘Wiþ þaþess pine o rode.’

*P. Pl.*, B, xviii., l. 53: ‘bede hym drynke his deth yuel.’

*R. of Gl.*, l. 9128: ‘king henri þen deþ nom.’

l. 131: ‘deþ com him þus to.’

l. 5320: ‘þen wey of deþe nom.’

Cf. with 490 ‘out of þis world for to fare?’

*Orrm.*, l. 7010: ‘þo wende heo out of þisse liue.’

*Sir Beues*, l. 3656: ‘ibrouȝt of þe lif dawe.’ 209, 317, 481, 1064, 1594, etc.

*Latin* and ll. 883, 884. MS. A<sub>1</sub> reads: ‘Inicium sapientie timor domini,’ to be found *Psalmus* exi. 10; *Proverbs* i. 7; ix. 10. See also *Joh* xxviii. 28; *Dent.* iv. 6; *Eccles.* xii. 13. H<sub>2</sub> quotes the Latin in two other instances, ll. 4 and 138, where it is not cited in other MSS. See *Moral Proverb*, Harl. MS. 3810:

‘For the beginning of wisdom is  
For to dred goddis ryȝtwysnes.’

See *The Persones Tale*, l. 1752 ff.

l. 883. *þing*: Originally a neuter noun. *þing* is preserved unchanged in the plural, but the orthography *þinge*, *þinges* is to be noted. The final -e of *þingē* occurs through analogy with the dative plural, O.E. *þingum*. See Sachse, *Das ungermanische e im Ormulum*. Cf. *þing*, *Leg. of G.* II., l. 11; ‘and tatt alle þinge seþ’ *Orm.*, l. 13,664. Final -es of *þinges* indicates analogy with the plural of the masculine. See *Orm.*, l. 11,895: ‘eorþic · þingess (gen.) lusst’; l. 13,749: ‘seȝðle swilkke þingess’; l. 18,798: ‘lasstem alle þingess.’ See also l. 19,692: ‘mikell þing to tacnem,’ and l. 12,347: ‘Im alle, kinne þinge.’ See also ‘Introduction’ under Inflection of substantives.

l. 888. *ipult*: See l. 232, and *Amer. Ricle*, p. 366: ‘hit pulþeȝ up,’ . . . ‘hit wile pulȝen on him.’

*Rel. Ant.*, p. 244, II.: ‘To deth a wolde hym pulȝe  
for Adames gylte.’

*Langl.*, A, l. 125: ‘pryde that he pulȝt out.’

*gilt* : *ipilt* : rime frequent in the *Liif of Adam* and an old *Pater noster*. See *Gamelyn*, l. 894.

l. 889. *i vnderstonde*: See note to l. 49.

l. 898. *do*: From three MSS. instead of *go* of two.

l. 903. *kacche*: See pp. *ikanht*, l. 17, and *Amer. Ricle*, p. 324: ‘Ase ofte ase . . . keccheþ toward þe?’

ll. 905, 906. See *The Persones Tale*, ll. 259 f., and *Tundale*.

*Tundale*, l. 1836: ‘So fayre a sight as he saw than.  
The gretc bryghtnes of goddis face.’

l. 2113: ‘Thay beheld faste his swete face,  
þat shone bryght over al þat place.’

**Page 41.** l. 910. *lone* : *dredē*: See l. 21: *lone . . . eize*; l. 795: *shame ne eize*. See *The Tale of Melibens*, l. 85: ‘did him reverence more for dredē than for lone.’

l. 924. *lwite* : *pwite*: This interesting rime is not common. I have not met with it in other texts.

ll. 925, 926. Lines of doubtful authenticity, probably on later consideration not to be introduced in this connection. See 1 *John* iv. 17, 18.

l. 927. *in . . . lone*: i. e. *Matt.* x. 42; *Mark* ix. 41. See *Matt.* xxv. 40.

l. 928. *Man*: This term of address, strikingly frequent in the *Speculum*, is of rare occurrence in other homilies of the Old and Middle English literature, without some qualifying adjective, often *Leofemen*, as in *O. E. Hom.* 41, l. 1 (see ed. Morris, First Series), or *good men*, *Pard. Tale*, l. 904, as in the modern sermon. See Skeat’s note to l. 904.

l. 931. *gode wile . . . charite*: ‘in my name, because ye belong to Christ.’ *Mark* ix. 41.

*wid*: The *d* in *wid* stands for þ. See Breul, *Sir Gowther*, p. 18. The poet pronounced *wiþ*. Cf. *wiþ* : *grîþ*, l. 148. See Napier’s note to *A Middle English Compasio Mariae*, ll. 3 and 19.

l. 932. *golden þe*: ‘he shall not lose his reward,’ *Mark* ix. 41.

l. 937. See *Prov.* xxviii. 27.

*þe betre*: See Zupitz’s note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 5205. Cf. Lat. *eo melius*. *þe* is O.E. *þy*, M.H.G. *din*.

**Page 42.** l. 938. *mede*: *Matt.* vi. 12; *Luke* vi. 38. Rewards of the Lord, *Prov.* xxv. 22; according to works, *Hos.* iv. 9; *Matt.* xvi. 27; *Luke* xxii. 41; *1 Cor.* iii. 8; *2 Tim.* iv. 14.

l. 939. *Enes*: MS. D preserves a corrupt reading. The form seems to be *Trys*, but it may possibly stand *Icys*. Cf. *ene*, ll. 366, 815, and Gollancz’s note to *Pearl*, str. 25, l. 3; see str. 80, l. 5.

l. 946. *olde lance*: *1 Kings* xvii. 8—16. For influence of Gregory and Augustine on the poet, see the ‘Introduction,’ p. cxiv. Scriptural texts alone will be consulted in the preparation of the notes. See also *Aner. R.*, p. 402: ‘mid þe *poure wumanen of Sarepte*’.

See l. 637: *i no lȝe*. See *P. M.*, l. 287: ‘nelle ich eow naht leozen’; ‘if I shal not lȝe.’ *M. of L. T.*, l. 1007.

l. 952. *beyþere*: gen., a form hitherto not discovered in any other M.E. text. Although the etymology of M.E. *boþe* is yet in question, yet it is probable that this genitive cannot represent the Scandinavian *báðir*. It seems, as Prof. Schick has pointed out, that the second half of the word is a form of O.E. *þá*. The development may be traced as follows:

O.E. *Nom.* *bá*    *þá* : M.E. *bá*, *þe* = *bóþe*.

O.E. *Gen.* *bégr̄a* *þára* : M.E. *beire*, *þere* = *beyþ(e)re*.

*for*: inserted from *D* for the sake of metre. The verse is thus transposed from type C to type A. *beyþere* suggests the emendation *line*, the plural form as used in line 486. The insertion of *for* is not necessary, if the verse be read as follows: ‘Her býþere líne tó aménde?’

l. 953. *seide*: ‘saying,’ *Script.* v. 8; *þu shalt fare*: v. 9: ‘Get thee . . .’

l. 954. *Sarepte*: ‘Sarepta,’ *Luke* iv. 26, the reading of Gregory and Augustine. More correctly *Zarephath* (v. 9 of *1 Kings* xvii., and *Obadiah* 20), from which *Sarepte* is a corrupted form.

*wone þare*: v. 9: ‘dwell there.’

l. 955. *widewe*: ‘a widow woman’; *þe fede*: ‘to sustain thee.’

l. 957. *began anon*: v. 10: ‘So he arose.’

l. 958. *to gon*: ‘went.’

l. 959. *ȝate of the cite*: ‘gate of the city’; *widewe he mette*: ‘widow was there.’

l. 960. *he grette*: ‘he called to her there,’ *faire grette*.

*faire grette*: See *grete wel* of l. 52. Usual form of greeting in M.E. texts. See note to l. 52, and as follows:

*Ipotis*, l. 14: ‘þe emperour ful fayr he grette.’

*Brut.*, A, l. 288: ‘& faire hine gon gretten.’

l. 36: ‘faire heo hine igrætten.’

*M. of L. T.*, l. 1051: ‘fayre he hir grette.’

See Schmiringel, p. lv., for the rime *mette* : *grette*, *Leg. of G. W.*, ll. 977 and 1485; *King Horn*, l. 1040.

ll. 961, 963. *bad hire . . . ȝine*: ‘Fetch me’; *for godes lone*: ‘I pray thee.’

l. 963. *a dishful water*: ‘water in a vessel?’ *dishful water*: a cup of cold water, *Matt.* x. 42. For the omission of the preposition see note to *shine*, l. 970, and to *munere*, l. 835.

l. 964. *helpen (him) to line*: ‘that I may drink.’

l. 966. *serue . . . ȝein*: v. 11: ‘she was going to fetch it.’

*turne*: subjunctive, ‘she would turne again’; the syntax seems justified by the meaning.

*aȝein*: to rime with *fain*: O.E. *ongarn*: O.E. *fiegen*.

l. 967. *After . . . erie*: ‘he called to her.’

l. 969. *he seide*: v. 11: ‘and said.’ Read *sede*.

**Page 43, l. 970.** Scriptural narrative v. 11: ‘Bring me . . . a morsel of bread in thine hand.’

*shine bred*: ‘shive,’ ‘slice,’ ‘morsel.’ See also *handful mele*, l. 975, *dishful water*, l. 963, Skeat’s note to *Morsel breed, Monkes Tale*, l. 3624, and the readings of MS. R *shyuer of brede*, D and R *disful of water*, R *hondful of mele*. Cf. *Sir Beues*:

A, l. 1825: ‘Nowich wolde ȝeue hit kof  
For a schiuere of a lof!’

M, l. 1826: ‘Of a lofe to haue a shyuer.’

l. 972. *she seide, bred haue i non*: *Script.* v. 12: ‘And she said . . . I have not a cake.’

*siker*: See *Shep. Cal., Mch.*, l. 7: ‘Sicker, Willie, thou warnest well.’

ll. 975-976. ‘but an handful of meal in a barrel, and a little oil in a cruse.’

ll. 977, 978. ‘That I may go in and dress it for me and my son, that we may eat it and die.’

l. 979. *deie*: See Napier’s note to *A M.E. Comp. Mariae*, l. 14, and Chaucer, *T. of Melib.*, l. 159: ‘live in sorwe.’

l. 981. *answerede po*: *Script.* v. 13: ‘And [he] said unto her.’ See also l. 65, and *Sir Beues*, A, l. 1841: ‘þe leuedi answerde him po.’ Ordinary language of the period.

l. 982. *Abid*: also conversational form common with the poet of the period. See *Owl and N.*, ll. 837, 845.

l. 983. ‘But make me thereof a little cake first,’ *Script.* v. 13. See *Sir Beues*, l. 1837: ‘Dame, a seide’: l. 1840: ‘ȝeue me . . . a meles met.’

l. 986. *make*: *sake*: See Kilbington’s note to *Sir Beues*, M, l. 4317.

l. 987. *seli*: ‘kind’? as in *Compl. of Mars*, l. 89. The sense suggests ‘innocent,’ ‘unsuspecting.’ See Skeat’s note to *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 1157; note to l. 576 of the *Speculum*, and texts as follows:

*M. of L. T.*, l. 682: ‘sely innocent Custance.’

*Leg. of G. W.*, l. 1254: ‘O sely wowan, ful of innocence.’

l. 2713: ‘This sely woman is so wayk, alas!’

*Chan. Yem, T.*, l. 1076: ‘O sely preest! O sely Innocent!’

*Aner, Riwle*, p. 108: ‘tu seli anere, þet ert his seli spuse.’

*Aner, Riwle*, p. 352: ‘þis a seli deað þet makeð þis . . . mon oðer wuman ut of þe worlde.’ Compare also another usage, that of Spenser, *Shep. Cal., Sept.*, Diggon’s speech, l. 62:

‘My seely sheep (ah, seely sheep!)’

Chancer uses *seli* as epithet in connection with proper names: *seli John, Reres T.*, l. 188; *seli Venus, Compl. of M.*, ll. 89, 141; *seli Progne, Leg. of G. W.*, l. 2346; *seli Dido, Leg.*, ll. 1157, 1336; *seli poure Grisildis, Clerkes T.*, l. 948.

l. 988. *Grauntedede . . . bone*: probably stereotyped expression in M.E. See *Rbt. of Gl.*, ‘Life of St. Dunstan,’ l. 37; Ch., *Kn. Tale*, l. 1411; *Parl. of F.*, l. 643; *H. of F.*, l. 1537; *Gamelyn*, l. 1534: ‘aske me thy boone . . . I it graunte sone.’

l. 993. *orysoun*: prayer to Almighty God, but also naming supplication to heathen gods. See Schiek, *T. of Gl.*, note to l. 460. Cf. a sixteenth-century MS.: ‘Ane deuoit orisoun to be said in the honour of

the sevin wordis that our saluiour spak apoun the croce,' *Arund.* 28 b, fol. 165.

l. 994. *fuisoun*: See Gollancz's note to *Pearl*, str. 89, l. 2; *Two Noble Kinsmen*, v. i, l. 53: 'the teeming Ceres' *foison*'; *Macbeth* iv. iii, l. 88. Compare l. 994 with l. 504, *M. of L. T.*:

'God sente his *foyson* at hir grete nede.'

**Page 44**, l. 999. *Ne dred þe noht*: also *The Seconde Nonnes Tale*, l. 324 = *1 Kings* xvii, 13: 'Fear not.'

l. 1000. *Script.*, l. 14: 'The barrel of meal shall not waste.'

l. 1001. 'neither shall the curse of oil fail.'

l. 1002. *lome*: N.E. *loom*, here a vessel, and applicable either to the Scriptural 'barrel' or to the 'cruse.' *lome* admits of varied application, the *ark* in the poem *The Deluge*, ll. 314, 412; *tools* in the *Parable of the Laborours*, l. 15. See a song in MS. Harl. 2253, and various illustrations in Skeat's *Diet.*

l. 1003. *Script.*, v. 15: 'and she . . . and her house did eat.'

l. 1004. *While she liuede evere mo*: v. 15 'many days'; marginal note: 'a full year.'

l. 1006, also l. 940: *almesse dede is double god*: See Lowell, *The Vision of Sir Launfal*, Part II, str. 8, l. 14:

'In what so we share with another's need ;  
Not what we give, but what we share,—  
For the gift without the giver is bare ;  
Who gives himself with his alms feeds three,—  
Himself, his hungering neighbor, and me.'

l. 1008. *þur[w]*: conjectured orthography, not authorized by MS. D providing the completed line. *þur[w men . . .]* would be the preferred arrangement, were MS. D not consulted as standard.

l. 1012. *Luke* vi, 38. 'Give, and it shal be given unto you'; *Prov.* xix. 17; *2 Corinth.* ix. 7.

l. 1014. *seide* [in *sojenesse*] is to be preferred. *seide* is not, however, the orthography of *D*, the MS. supplying the deficiency in MS. A<sub>1</sub>.

*sojenesse*: Inorganic -e- uniting radical with suffix, is to be noted here, as illustrated in MS. D. See 'Introduction.'

ll. 1015-1018. *Matt.* xxv, 40: 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.'

l. 1016. *meyme*: 'brethren,' *vide supra*. See Skeat's note *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 1059; Gollancz's to *Pearl*, str. 46, l. 2. See str. 94, l. 11; str. 96, l. 5; *The Deluge*, l. 331; *Wm. of Palerne*, l. 184; *Occlere, De R.*, str. 620, l. 5; *Chevy Chase*, l. 6; *Gamelyn*, l. 575.

l. 1019-1022. Reference is here possibly to *Prov.* xix. 17: 'He that hath pity upon the poor, lendeth unto the Lord.'

ll. 1020, 1021. *maydʒ*: unique form found only in MS. D, perhaps a scribal inaccuracy for *mayȝt*, ll. 863, 864. See rime *maɪt*: (*caɪt*), l. 881.

l. 1025. *quede*: *gneude* in *R.*, O.E. *gnēð*. For *qued* as substantive, 'the devil,' see note to l. 48, and Mall's note to *The Harrowing of Hell*, l. 36, reading 'For to lesen ous fram þe qued.' The various substantive meanings are developments representing the adjective *qued*, 'evil.' See *The Pater Noster* according to Michel, *Aȝenbite of Inwyt*, p. 262, l. 5: 'ac vri ous vram *quede*.' The same occurs in the *Ancre. Rirle* and in *Rel. Ant.* I, p. 42. See also *Ancre. R.*, p. 72: 'Moni moni weneð to don wel þat he deð al to *cweade*'; p. 336: 'ofte we weneð wel to donne & do al to *cweade*.' The *Dutch Testament* of 1700 translates *Matt.* vii. 17: 'Eur *quade* boom brenghi voort *quade* vruchten?' Cf. *Engl. Psalter, Psalm* xvii. 12 (Cotton MS. *Vesp.* D vii): 'Vmgriped me weeles of *quede*' (=

*iniquity*): and lines 654 and 862 of the *Speculum*. Cf. *On g. Ureisun of u. Lefdi*, l. 42: ‘lif cleane uron alle queadschipe.’

**Page 45, l. 1034.** Compare for this conclusion Zupitza’s note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 11,973; Breul’s to *Sir Gowther*, l. 763; *Erl of T.*, l. 1222. Auch, *Guy* ends: ‘Amen, par charite.’ *Meditations by Bonaventura*:

‘Sey amen, amen, pur charyte,’

with which is to be compared note to l. 840 in *H<sub>2</sub>*, various forms of benediction collected by Schmirgel, p. xlvi, and the Biblical models, *Jude* 24, 25; *1 Tim.* i. 17.

## EDITIONS OF MIDDLE ENGLISH TEXTS REFERRED TO IN THE NOTES

PROFESSOR KÖLBING's list of Middle English texts on pages 361, 362, and 363 of *Sir Beves*, specifies those used in the compilation of the notes to the *Speculum Gy de Warewyke*. Some of these works have been employed with greater frequency than others, and the volume is indebted to publications and manuscripts not mentioned by Professor Kölbing. The subjoined list enumerates editions particularly useful in the arrangement of the *Speculum*. The abbreviations introduced in the *Speculum* will be recognized by reference to these pages as follows. In general Kölbing's comprehensive editions, Zupitza's editions of Guy of Warwick MSS., Morris's and Skeat's editions, especially of Chaucer texts, Zupitza's six-text editions of Chaucer published for the Chaucer Society, and Furnivall's Chaucer texts have often been consulted. It will not be necessary to classify them a second time.

*Ancren Rire*, a Treatise on the Rules and Duties of Monastic Life.  
Camden Society, Number 57.

*Arthur*. A short Sketch of his Life and History, edited by Frederick Furnivall. London, 1864.

*Athelston*, edited by Julius Zupitza, *Englische Studien*, vol. xiii, pp. 331 ff.  
*Canterbury Tales*. From the Text and with the Notes and Glossary of Henry Tyrwhitt. Routledge edition. London.

*Cato*, *Der englische*, edited by M. Goldberg, 1883.

*Confessio Amantis*. Tales of the Seven Deadly Sins, edited by Henry Morley. London, 1889.

*Erd of Tolons, and the Empere of Alinaym*, eine englische Romanze aus dem Anfange des 15. Jahrhunderts, edited by Gustav Lüdke. Berlin, 1881.

*Floris and Blauncheflur*, edited by Emil Hausknecht.

*Harrowing of Hell*, Das altenglische Spiel von Christi Höllenfahrt, edited by Eduard Mall.

*Gamelyn*, The Tale of, edited by Walter W. Skeat. London, 1884.

*Ipotis*, text B, edited by H. Gruber, 1887.

*King Horn*, Das Lied von, edited by Thomas Wissmann. Strassburg, 1881; also *King Horn. Untersuchungen zur mittelenglischen Sprach- und Litteraturgeschichte. Quellen und Forschungen*, vol. xvi.

- Monk of Evesham, The Revelation to the*, edited by Edward Arber. London.
- Ormulum*, edited by R. M. White. London, 1878.
- Pearl*. An English Poem of the fourteenth century, edited by Israel Gollancz. London, 1891.
- Poema Morale*, generally the text of Zupitza, *Uebungsbuch*, pp. 49 ff., rather than the editions of Furnivall, Morris, or Lewin.
- Promptorium Parvulorum*, edited by Way for the Camden Society.
- Robert of Gloucester*, edited by W. H. Wright, London, 1887: also *Der Stil der mittelenglischen Reimchronik Roberts von Gloucester; eine Untersuchung zur Ermittlung der Verfasser dieses Werkes*, by Hans Strohmeyer. Berlin, 1889.
- Shepherds' Calendar*, edited by Henry Morley.
- Sir Beues, The Romance of*, edited by Eugen Kölbing. London, 1885—94.
- Sowdone of Babylone*, edited by Emil Hausknecht. London.
- Speculum Vita*, edited by Ullmann, *Englische Studien*, vol. vii, p. 469.
- Temple of Glas*, edited by J. Schick. London, 1891.
- Thomas of Erceldonne*, edited by Alois Brandl. Berlin.
- Tundale. Das mittelenglische Gedicht über die Vision des Tundalns*, edited by Albrecht Wagner. Halle, 1893.
- Uebungsbuch. Alt- und mittelenglisches*, edited by Julius Zupitza, Fourth edition. Wien, 1889.
- York Plays*. The Plays performed by the Crafts, or Mysteries on the day of Corpus Christi, in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith. London.

## GLOSSARY

[The Glossary serves also as an index to the Speculum. It includes all words important in the evolution of the poem. The N.E. derivative often appears among the meanings distinguished, showing direct or cognate form of the root specified. Discussion of the more archaic or rare words will be found in the Notes.

The sign † marks an obsolete form; etc. indicates that the word cited is used more than three times with the same meaning. Other abbreviations will be readily understood from the context. A notation for grammatical classification is frequently omitted.]

**abide**, *inf.* to await (*tr.*), 256; to abide, remain (*intr.*), 676; abid, *imp.* 982.

**aboute**, *adv.* about, on every side, 190; astir, 515; **abouten**, 196.

ac, but, 4, 13, 102, etc.

**accedie**, accidie† (*see note to line 117*), 117, 121.

**accord**, *sb.* accord, agreement, 513; good will, 893; reconciliation, 843.

**aferd**, *pp.* afeard†, afraid, 685.

**after**, *prep.* after, in imitation of (*Gen. i. 25—27*), 213; in conformity to, 235; in proportion to, 264, 876; according to, 314.

**agaste**, *inf.* to affright, terrify, 866.

**agilt**, *pp.* agilt†, offended, 307.

**agramed**, *pp.* grieved, irritated, 794.

**a;ein**, *prep.* against, in opposition to, 564, 620; contrary to, 616, 705, 892; **a;eines**, 556.

**alday**, every day, at any time, 342.

**alle**, all people, all hearers, 1, 54, 323, etc.; **alle and some**. *See some.*

**allerfurst**, *adv.* first of all, first, 70; **alpere**, MSS. A<sub>2</sub> H<sub>1</sub> H<sub>2</sub>.

**almes dede**, alms-deed, the practice of alms-giving, 95; deeds of mercy, 922, 1007; a gift, 934; **almesse dede**, 1006.

**almesse**, alms, a charitable act, 923.

**almiht**, *adj.* almighty, 476, 614; omnipotent, 741.

**alone**, only, merely, 465; **alone—ac**, 371-2.

**amende**, *inf.* to amend, bring to a more perfect state, 576, 952.

**amendment**, amendment, correction, 56.

**amis**, *adv.* amiss, wrong; **don amis**, erred, 802.

**among**, *adv.* euere —, from time to time, continually, 186, 880.

**and**, if, 89, 387 ?, 649.

**anon**, at once, immediately, 33, 431, 448, etc.; as soon as, 759; quickly, 761.

**anguisse**, anguish, excruciating pain, 183.

**anuid**, *pp.* annoyed, disturbed, hence reluctant, 124.

**aperteliche**, *adv.* plainly, openly, 385, 416.

**ar**, *adv.* ere, before, 531.

**arliht**, *adv.* aright, correctly, 729; in a right way, 825.

**auarice**, avarice, greediness of gain, 115.

**aunter**, *par* —, adventure, perchance, 873.

**bar**. *See bereþ.*

**baylie**, jurisdiction, control, 289.

**bede**, *inf.* to pray, 562.

**behouythe**, 3. *sing.* behooves, needs, 133 (*reading of H<sub>2</sub>*).

**bereþ**, 3. *sing.* bears, carries, 670, (*subj.*) 671; — **witnes(se)**, tes-

- tifies, 345, 412, 566, etc.; **bar. *prt.*** 46.  
**bete(n)**, *inf.* to make amends for, atone for, 175, 270.  
**beyfere**, *plu. gen.* both (= *two-fold?*), 952.  
**bidene**, *adv.* in one company, together, 191.  
**bifalle**, *inf.* to befall, come to pass, 291.  
**bileue**, *sb.* belief, faith, 83; creed, 201, 203.  
**bileue(n)**, *inf.* to believe, 207; to remain, 84, 273; **bileueþ**, 985.  
**binde**, *inf.* to bind, imprison, 482, 495; **bounde**, *pp.* 710.  
**binomen**, *pp.* taken away from, 237.  
**birede**, *refl.* take thought, deliberate, 133.  
**bise**, see, provide, give heed to, 488.  
**bisekeþ**, 1. *plu.* beseech, call on in prayer, 504.  
**bist**, 2. *sing.* biddest, prayest, 554.  
**bitokneþ**, 3. *sing.* betokens, typifies, 363.  
**biþenk**, *imp.* bethink, consider, 578.  
**blame**, *sb.* blame, censure, 784, 812; **falle in blame**, become culpable, 778.  
**blamed**, *pp.* blamed, reproved, 765.  
**blinne**, *inf.* to leave off, 199: to cease, 714.  
**blisse**, *sb.* bliss, pleasure, 32, 113, 188, etc.; supreme delight, 299; glory, 417.  
**bodiliche**, *adv.* bodily, in person, 375; *adj.* human (*i.e.* man's physical), 396.  
**bold**, *sb.* house, dwelling, 154.  
**bold**, *adj.* bold, certain, 819.  
**bonde**, *sb.* the bondsman, the vassal, 893, 894.  
**bone**, boon, request, 988.  
**bote**, *sb.* boot, expiation, 94.  
**bouhte**, *prt.* bought, paid for, 236; redeemed, 26; **ibouht**, *pp.* 160; **bouht**, *pp.* 172, 226.  
**bounde**. *See binde.*  
**bour**, bower, inner apartment, chamber, 152.  
**boxomere**, *adj. comp.* more obedient, 233.  
**bremē**, *adj.* bright, shining, 383.  
**brenne**, *inf.* to burn, be consumed, 368, 451, 808; **ibrent**, *pp.* 360.  
**brenning**, burning, conflagration, 182.  
**bricht**, *adj.* bright, glorious, 406, 639.  
**caicht**, *pp.* *See kacche.*  
**calle**, *inf.* to call, name, 522.  
**can**, *rh.* can, am able to, 343: has the skill, 728; **coufest**, 2. *sing.* 657; **couþ**, *pp.* 814.  
**cas**, *sb.* case, chance, 703.  
**cast**, *pp.* *See kest.*  
**catel**, *sb.* chattel, property, goods, 187, 577, 896; **katel**, 162.  
**certes**, *adv.* of a certainty, assuredly, 850, 861.  
**charged**, *pp.* charged, burdened, 468.  
**charite**, *sb.* charity, Christian love, 55, 83, 324; giving of alms, 95, 680.  
**chasten**, *inf.* to chasten, afflict, discipline, 181.  
**chese**, *inf.* to choose, select, 216, 219; prefer, 222.  
**clene**, *adj.* clean, 816, 824, 848, etc.; unblemished, 364, 365; bright, glorious, 381; pure, 408, 414; **makeþ clene**, cleanses, purifies, 836, 845; **clannere**, *comp.* 826; **makeþ clannere**, 820, 828.  
**cleped**, *pp.* called, 857.  
**cler**, clear, evident, 376: discerning, 736: unclouded, 976, 996; **clene and cler**, glorious, 381.  
**clergie**, *sb.* clergy, learning, science, 43, 290.  
**clerk**, *sb.* clerk, clergyman, 667.  
**clerte**, *sb.* clearty†, splendour, brilliancy, 390.  
**comen**, 3. *plu.* descend, 240; 3. *sing.* 680. **come** (*inf.*) **widinne**, 118.  
**comfort**, *sb.* comfort, relief, 686.  
**comforti**, *inf.* to comfort, encourage, 688.  
**consail**, *sb.* counsel, 63, 653.  
**cost**, expense, 776.  
**coub**, *pp.* known, 814. *See also can.*  
**craftes**, *plu.* crafts, forms of human skill, 212.  
**craue**, *inf.* to crave, beg earnestly, 456, 530, 544, etc.  
**crief**, 3. *sing.* cries, implores, 540.  
**croun**, *sb.* crown, tonsure, 799.

**eruwel**, *adj.* cruel, pitiless, 258; merciless, 559.  
**cumpaignye**, company, multitude, 437: retinue, 638.  
**cursedede**, accursed, condemned, 431, 447.

**dampnacioun**, damnation, spiritual ruin, 787.

**dampned**, *pp.* damned, consigned to hell, 432.

**dar**, 1. *sing.* dare, am bold enough to, venture, 563, 609.

**day**, 250, 251, etc.; **on a day**, once, 49; **in þilke dawe**, at that time, 37; **bi day and niht**, always, 320, 475, 516; **alday**. *See al.*

**deite**, deity, 374.

**dekne**, dean, 41.

**dele**, deal, part; **euyer dele**, every bit, entirely, 1018.

**dempt**, doomed, assigned, 136.

**dere**, *adv.* dearly, at great price, 26, 160, 172, etc.

**derne**, secret, intense, 123.

**deseruing**, deserving, merit, 314.

**destourbaunce**, disturbance, agitation, 572.

**def**, death, 858; **def of soule**, condemnation, destruction of the lost soul, 16.

**deuise**, *inf.* to devise, tell, conceive, 343.

**do in**, to enter into, imprint on, 208.

**dom**, doom, judgment, 256, 415, 766; **domesday**, 257, 745, 868.

**doute**, *sb.* doubt, fear, 899.

**douteþ**, 3. *sing.* doubts, is anxious about, 693.

**drauht**, draught, haul, 18.

**drawe**, *tr. inf.* to draw, drag, 16, 106; to deduce, 945; **draweþ**, 3. *sing.* 800; **drawen on heih**, *pp.* exalted, 633; **drouh**, *intr.* 44.

**drede**, *sb.* dread, fear, *i.e.* apprehension, 20, 493, 695, etc.; fear, *i.e.* reverence, 81, 139, 883, etc.; awe, 380.

**dredē**, *tr. inf.* to dread, fear, *i.e.* reverence, 178; to terrify, 648.

**dred**, *imp.* 999; *intr. inf.* to fear, be alarmed, 747; 3. *plu.* 830.

**drinke**, *sb.* drinks, 155.

**duire**, *inf.* to endure, continue to exist, 281.

**dwelle**, *inf.* to dwell, leave off, 27, 283; to remain, 450; to delay, 762.

**echen**, *inf.* to eke (out), increase, 188.

**eft**, *adv.* afterward, 160; **eft sone**, soon again, 851.

**eging**, eggingt, instigation, 229.

**eize**, fear, awe, 21; terror, 795.

**eize**, eye, 388, 396, 827; **eizen**, *plu.* 841.

**eke**, **ek**, *adv.* also, 243, 436, 439, etc.

**elleswhere**, **elleswher**, 176, 780.

**emcristene**, even Christian, fellow-Christian, 9, 334, 341.

**empti**, *adj.* empty, 1002.

**ende**, *sb.* end, instant, 280; **widouten ende**, eternally, 426.

**ende**, *inf.* to continue, 11.

**ending**, *sb.* ending, 210; death, 278; **ending day**, last day, death, 492.

**ene**, *adv.* once, 366, 815; **enes**, 939.

**enome**, *pp.* *See nim.*

**ensaumple**, example, pattern, 533, 596, 607.

**enuie**, envy, 109; hatred, ill-will, 438.

**eorþe**, earth; **on eorþe her(e)**, 296, 375, 600, 735; **here on eorþe**, 307, 604; **erþe**, 382, 589.

**er**, *conj.* ere, before, 648, 982.

**erere**, *comp.* earlier, before, 140, 168.

**euel**. *See yuel.*

**euere**, *adv.* ever, always, 44, 279, 388, etc.; at any time, 331; **euere more**, for ever more, from this time, 36, 96; **euere mo**, always, 240, 1004; eternally, 273; **euere among**, 186, 880. *See among.*

**euerich**, each, every, 313; **eueri**, 597; **euery**, 1018; **euerichon**, every one, 432.

**fable**, *sb.* fable, idle talk, 3; **widoute fable**, without falsehood, certainly, 525.

**face**, *sb.* face, image, likeness (*Gen.*

- i. 26), 213; countenance, presence, 904, 906.
- fain**, *adj.* fain, gladly, 873; with pleasure, 965.
- fair(e)**, *adj.* fair, spotless, 71; beautiful, 154; pleasing, 682.
- fairnesse**, *sb.* fairness, beauty, 305.
- falle(n)**, fall, 170; befall, happen, 161; **falleþ on honde**, 3. *sing.* 585; **falle lowe**, *inf.* to fall low, be humiliated, 630.
- fals**, *adj.* false, unfair, 110; untrue, 111.
- falschede**, *sb.* falseness, 722.
- fame**, *sb.* fame, renown, 29; reputation, 40.
- fare**, *inf.* to fare, journey, 490; **fareþ**, 3. *sing.* fares, comes to pass, 669, 673, 889.
- feintise**, *sb.* feigning, hypocrisy, 304.
- fele**, *adj.* many, numerous, 675.
- fend**, fiend, the serpent (*Gen. iii. 4, 13*), 229.
- fer**, *adv.*: **fer and ner**, everywhere, 216.
- fere**, *sb.* companions, children, 423.
- fersse**, *adj.* fierce, proud, 623.
- filȝe**, *sb.* filth, pollution, 732.
- fire**, *sb.*: **al on fire**, burning with fire (*E.e. iii. 2*), 356, 359.
- firste**, *adj.* first; **þe firste lawe**, the ten commandments, 358.
- flen**, **fle**, *inf.* to flee, run away from, 134, 748, 833; escape, 850; to fly, 678; **flep**, 3. *sing.* 672.
- flesh**, flesh; **in flesh and blod**, in the body, physically, 573.
- fleschly**, *adj.* of the flesh, carnal, 269.
- folewe**, *inf.* to follow, pursue, 641.
- fondeþ**, 3. *sing.* tempts, 655; *the reading of D and R*, 508.
- fonge**, *inf.* to receive, 265, 508 (*A<sub>1</sub> A<sub>2</sub> H<sub>1</sub>*), 877.
- for**, for, on account of, by reason of, 20, 21, 91, 243, etc.; for the sake of, 246, 247, 248, etc.; **for to**, with the infinitive, 71, 78, 126, 156, etc.; **conj.** for, because, 17, 61, 174, etc.: **for whij**, wherefore, 454; **forþi**, on this account, for this reason: **noht forþi**, 467.
- fordoþ(e)**, 3. *sing.* does away with, destroys, 941, 1007.
- forȝete**, *pp.* forgotten, 193, 764.
- forlorne**, *pp.* lost, condemned, 130 (*See variants*).
- forme**, *adj.* first, 223; **formeste** (*reading of H<sub>2</sub>*).
- forsoȝe**, forsooth, in truth, 391.
- forþ**, forth, forward, 958; **forþ** (*þer*)wid, forthwith, without delay, at the same time, 147, 334.
- foule**, *adj.* foul, base, 24, 61, 117, etc.; ugly, 72; wicked, 635, 654; guilty, 811.
- foule**, *adv.* abusively, 591.
- fourme**, form, person, 349; appearance, 356.
- fre**, free, unlimited (voluntary?), 215; generous, 323 (*reading of H<sub>2</sub>*).
- fredom**, freedom, liberty, 237.
- fuisoun**, foison†, profusion, 994.
- fulle**, ful, *adj.* full, filled with, 87, 260; much, 112; perfect, complete, 310, 318.
- ful**, *adv.* full, very, 66, 166, 298, etc.; **ful iwis**, assuredly, 165, 285, 503; completely, 337; **ful wel**, 503, 517, 548.
- fulfilt**, *pp.* fulfilled, carried out, 308.
- gabbe**, *sb.* gabble; **widouten gabbe**, without lies, without deception, 464.
- gan**, *prt.* began (*used pleonastically*), did, 230, 641, 642.
- gange**, 2. *sing.* go, proceed, 761.
- getestu**, gettest thou, obtainest thou, 545.
- gile**, *sb.* guile, wiles, 61; deceit, fraud, 241.
- gileþ**, 3. *sing.* beguiles, deceives, 880.
- gilour**, *sb.* beguiler, deceiver, 879.
- gilt**, *sb.* guilt, offence, 231; **giltes**, *plu.* 752.
- gilt**, *pp.* sinned, 556.
- glad**, *adj.* glad, joyful, 1019.
- glotonye**, *sb.* gluttony, greed, 115.
- gnede**, *adj.* sparing, stingy, 1025 (*reading of MS. R*).
- god**, *sb.* goods, wealth, property, prosperity, 13, 163; **do god**, 124, 143, 461, etc.
- goddede**, *sb.* good deed, good works, 465, 502, 621, etc.
- godhede**, *sb.* godhead, divinity,

- 371, 379, 397; glory, 417; divine qualities, 886.
- godnesse**, *sb.* goodness, piety, 44.
- gome**, *sb.* man, 645.
- gostes**, *sb.* spirits, souls, 431, 447.
- gostli**, *adj.* ghostly, spiritual, 715, 717, 736, 742.
- grete**, 1. *sing.* greet, salute, 52; *grette*, *prt.* 350, 960.
- greue**, *inf.* to grieve, cause pain, 202, 230, 588; **greueþ**, pains, 388.
- grisli**, grisly, horrible, 442.
- grip**, *sb.* peace, security, 148.
- gruching**, *sb.* grudging, murmur, complaint, 582, 593.
- ȝaf**. *See* **ȝeue**.
- ȝare**, *adj.* yare (*Shak.*), ready, 489.
- ȝarked**, *prt.* prepared, 300.
- ȝate**, gate, 959.
- ȝelde**, *inf.* to yield, pay, 956; **ȝolden**, recompense, 932.
- ȝeme**, *adj.* care, heed, 553.
- ȝerne**, *adv.* joyfully, eagerly, 66.
- ȝift(e)**, gift, grace, favour, 220, 682.
- ȝit**, yet, 90, 164, 851.
- ȝiue**, **ȝeue**, *inf.* to give, 183, 963, 973, 1020; **ȝefe**, 1012; **ȝeueþ**, 3. *sing.* 212; **ȝaf**, *prt.* 215, 227, 234, etc.; **ȝif**, *imp.* 1012.
- habbe**. *See* **haue**.
- halle**, hall, large building, 152.
- halt**. *See* **holde**.
- han**. *See* **haue**.
- handful**, handful, a little, 975.
- haue**, *inf.* to have, receive, 89, 148, 186, etc.; to possess, 151, 309, 471, etc.; to show, 455, 529, 543, etc.; **han**, 295; **habbe**, 463;
- hauen**, 3. *plu.* 558; **han**, 384;
- hadde**, *prt.* 41, 43, 289, etc.;
- hade**, 243; **haddestu**, 579.
- heie**. *See* **heihe**.
- heih(e)**, *adj.* high, almighty, 214; exalted, 379; **heie**, noble, 622; *adv.* 632; **on heih**, on high, above, 633; **heih** of mod, haughty, 624; **hext**, *sup.* 325, 661.
- heinen**, *inf.* to make high, exalt, 627.
- held**. *See* **holde**.
- hele**, *sb.* health, 157; salvation, 2.
- hele**, *inf.* to heal, 774.
- helle pine**, hell torment, 772.
- helpe**, *inf.* to help, relieve, 478; to avail, 561.
- henne**, *adv.* hence, from this place, 297; **hethen** (*reading of R.*)
- here**, *inf.* to hear, 355.
- heriede**, *prt.* herried†, praised, glorified, 66.
- herkny**, *inf.* to hearken, listen, 523; **herkne**, 560; **herkne**, *imp.* 107, 137, 323, etc.; **herkneþ**, *imp.* 1, 790.
- heste**, *sb.* behests, commands, 810.
- hete**, heat, passion, 367.
- heuie**, *adj.* heavy, grievous, 469.
- hie**, *inf.* to hie, hasten, 968.
- holde**, *inf.* to hold, 656; **holde** **lowe**, to humiliate, 179; **halt**, 3. *sing.* values, considers, 166, 171; **held**, *prt.* 593.
- holliche**, *adv.* wholly, entirely, 353.
- honde**, *sb.* hand; **honden**, *plu.* 440; **on honde**, 585.
- honour**, *sb.* honour, possessions, 151.
- hote**, *adj.* hot, raging, 282.
- huide**, *sb.* hide, human skin; **in bon** and **huide**, physically, 157.
- humilite**, *sb.* humility, 88, 651, 658, etc.
- hunger**, *sb.* hunger, famine, 185.
- ibiried**, *pp.* buried, 249.
- iblessed**, blessed, 520.
- ibouht**. *See* **bouhte**.
- ibrent**. *See* **brenne**.
- idon**, *pp.* done, committed, 546.
- iete**, *pp.* eaten, 984.
- ifere**, together; **in fere** (*reading of D H<sub>1</sub> R.*), 295.
- ifiled**, *pp.* defiled, 410, 724.
- ifounde**, *pp.* found (surprised?), discovered, 484.
- ikauht**. *See* **kacche**.
- iliche**, alike, equally, 312, 365.
- ilke**, the same, 362, 799.
- ilong**, depending on, 221; long, 750.
- ilore**. *See* **lese**.
- imeind**, mingled, 372.
- inome**. *See* **nim**.
- inouh**, enough, sufficient, 43, 146, 301, 305.
- inwardliche**, *adv.* intently, 389;

- inwardlichere**, *comp.* more earnestly, 321.  
**ipult**, thirst, 888; **pylt**, 232.  
**irekened**, reckoned, estimated, 869.  
**ise**, *inf.* to see, 288, 342, 402, etc.; **iseih**, *prt.* 369.  
**ishewed**, *pp.* showed, revealed, 399.  
**iuge**, *inf.* to judge, 482; **iuged**, *pp.* judged, condemned, 457.  
**iwisi**, certainly, truly, 807; **ful iwisi**, 337, etc. *See ful*; **mid iwisi(se)**. *See mid*.  
**iwite**, *inf.* to know, 194.  
**iwrouht**. *See worche*.
- kacche**, *inf.* to catch; — grace, to have the inclination, choose, 903; **ikauht**, *pp.* 17; **caicht**, *pp.* 882.  
**katel**. *See catel*.  
**kene**, *adj.* keen, sharp, 439.  
**kenne**, *inf.* to ken, know, perceive, 298.  
**kepen**, *inf.* to keep, guard, 48.  
**kest**, *prt.* cast, turned, 992. *See cast*, *pp.* hurled, 636.  
**kinde**, *sb.* kind, nature, 616, 617, 620.  
**kindeliche**, naturally, according to nature, 817.  
**knowelaching**, knowledge, intelligence, 725.  
**kointise**, *sb.* skill, 303.  
**kudde**, *prt.* made known, showed, manifested, 178.  
**kunning**, *sb.* cunning, knowledge, 303.
- lad**, **ladde**. *See lede*.  
**lasse**, **last**. *See litel*.  
**last**, *sb.* last†, vice, 635.  
**last**, *conj.* lest, for fear that, 778, 887; **lest**, 856.  
**lasteþ**, 3. *sing.* lasteth, endureth, 426.  
**late**, *inf.* to let, give up, 145, 902; to leave, reject, 218; **lat**, *imp.* 143, 315, 496, 777.  
**later**, **neuere þe** —, 842.  
**lawe**, laws, decrees, 38; commandments, 358.  
**leaute**, faith, 403.  
**leche**, physician, 69.  
**lechcherie**, lechery, lewdness, 116.  
**lede**, *inf.* to lead, drag, 19, 104; **ladde**, *prt.* passed, 42; **lad**, *pp.* guided, 62.  
**lef**. *See leuest*.  
**leid**, *pp.* laid, 592; **lay**, *prt.* 249.  
**leme**, light, brightness, 384.  
**lered**, the learned, the clergy.  
**leres**, *sb.* cheeks, 842.  
**les**, *sb.* lies, 519.  
**lesczoun**, lesson (*the Liber*), 58; a passage of Scripture, 500.  
**lese**, *inf.* to lose, 182, 896, 914; **les**, *prt.* 131; **ilore**, *pp.* 715; lorn, *pp.* 130.  
**lest**, *adj.* *See litel*; *conj.* *See last*.  
**leue**, *adj.* dear, 73, 919.  
**leuedi**, *sb.* lady, the Virgin, 363; lady, 833 (*reading of H<sub>2</sub>*).  
**leuest**, 2. *sing.* believest, 189; **lef**, *imp.* 392, 866.  
**lewed**, the lewd, the unlearned, the baly, 400.  
**liȝe**, *sb.* lye, 828.  
**liȝe**, lie, 637, 947; **lye**, *inf.* 1010 (*reading of D*).  
**lihten**, *inf.* — **adoun**, to descend, 261.  
**lihtliche**, *adv.* lightly, easily, 198, 672, 797.  
**liking**, *sb.* liking, pleasure, 269.  
**lioun**, *sb.* lion, 262.  
**listneþ**, *imp.* listen, attend to, 753.  
**litel**, *adj.* little, small, 166, 629, 704, etc.; **luite**, 924; **lasse**, *comp.* 536, 739, 756, etc.; **þe leste**, 1016.  
**lodlich**, loathesome, hateful, 838; *lodely in R*.  
**loke**, *inf.* to look, 786; *imp.* take heed, 488, 758, 768, etc.  
**lomb**, lamb, 260.  
**lome**, *sb.* vessel, 1002.  
**londes**, *plu.* lands, property, 152, 163.  
**long**. *See ilong*.  
**longe**, long, 62, 744; *adv.* 762.  
**lore**, *lore*, teaching, 24, 35, 740, etc. persuasion, 235; (*the Scriptures*), 755.  
**lore**, *sb.* loss, 185.  
**lorn**. *See lese*.  
**los**, *sb.* glory, 158.  
**lofe**, bad, hateful, 76, 447.  
**loude**, *lude*. *See stille*.  
**louerede**, love counsel (= *tokens of love*), loving-kindness, 177.

- lyff**, eternal life, 744; **liue**, 252, 952.
- maidenhed**, maidenhood, virginity, 364.
- mait**, 2. *sing.* art able, 342, 881; **maitou**, 73, 194, 343.
- make**, *inf.* to make, compose, 57, 217, etc.; **maken**, to cause, 182; **made**, *prt.* created, 213, 244.
- manere**, kind, 835; **plu.** 572, 785; way, 628.
- manhede**, human, 372.
- martyrdom**, martyrdom, 622.
- mede**, meed, reward, 622; recom-pense, 933, 938, 956, etc.
- medicine**, remedy, 771.
- meke**, *adj.* meek, 666; gentle, 260, 824.
- mele**, meal, 975, 1000.
- mene**, 1. *sing.* mean, 407; *inf.* 823, 847.
- merci**, mercy, 86, 148, 263, etc.; pardon, 131, 567?, 568?.
- merciable**, merciful, 526, 534.
- met**, *sb.* measure (*Mark* iv. 24), 549.
- mete**, meats, food, 155; **metys in H<sub>2</sub>**.
- mete**, *inf.* to measure, 550; **metest**, metest (*Mark* iv. 24), 549.
- mette**, *prt.* met, 349, 959.
- meyne**, company, brethren (*Matt.* xxv. 40), 1016.
- mid**, with; **mid iwissee**, assuredly, 309, 689.
- mieknesse**, *sb.* meekness, 85.
- miht**, *sb.* might, strength, 134, 253; power, 361.
- mildeliche**, mildly, patiently, 605.
- minde**. *See mynde.*
- misdede**, *sb.* wrong-doing, offence, 829.
- misdoþ**, injure, treat with unkindness, 535; **misdo**, *pp.* 558.
- missee**, miss, make mistake, fail, 120; want, lack, 418.
- misseeid**, *pp.* missaid, spoken evil against, slandered, 538, 591.
- mod**, mood, heart, 14; mind, spirit, 123, 164, 624.
- mourning**, *sb.* mourning, 123, 125.
- muche**, much, important, 102, 150.
- muchel**, much, 664, 665, 668.
- multiplie**, to multiply, increase, 1009.
- murie**, merry, joyous, 159, 905; **muryere**, *comp.* 284.
- mynde**, mind, remembrance, 496; **minde**, 619.
- myrour**, mirror, 505.
- nailes**, nails, 439.
- nam**. *See nim.*
- namlich**, namely, specially, 437.
- naþeles**, nevertheless, notwithstanding, 161.
- nay**, nay, no, 398; **widoute nay**, without denial, 252, 258.
- ne**, not, 20, 189, 343, 367, etc.
- ne**, nor, 21, 626, 862, etc.
- nedful**, needful, necessary, 754, 852.
- neih**, near, 370, 634; **fer and ner**, 216; **next**, *sup.* 326, 662.
- neiheboure**, neighbour, 535.
- nele**, will not, 263, 455, 628, etc.; **nelle**, 272; **noldest**, 659.
- nempne**, to name, enumerate, 101, 108; **nempt**, *pp.* 135.
- ner**. *See neih.*
- neuere þe more**, never again, 470.
- newe**, new, fresh, 760.
- nim**, 2. *sing.* take, 607; **nym**, *imp.* 553; **nam**, *prt.* 246; **inome**, *pp.* 644; **ename**, 646; **nomen**, *pp.* 649.
- nis**, is not, 146.
- noht**, not, 225, 239; naught, of no worth, 32, 171, 195, etc.; nothing, 579.
- nost** (*ne wost*), dost not know, 347.
- noþing**, not at all, 360.
- nouþe**, now there, 107, 199, 283, etc.
- o**. *See on.*
- oftake**, 3. *sing.* repents, 539.
- ofte**, *adv.* often, many times, 170, 493, 496, etc.; **offte**, 125.
- olde**, *adj.* old, ancient, former, 357.
- on**, one, 111, 122, 350, etc.; **o**, 204, 205, 354; **one**, alone, only, 239.
- onliche**, *adv.* only, 145.
- on liue**, alive, 859.
- onne**. *See take.*
- openliche**, openly, publicly, 442; plainly, 822.
- ordre**, monastic order, 41.
- ore**, mercy, compassion, 89, 540.
- orisoun**, orison, prayer, 499; **ory-soun**, 993.

- oþer**, other, 4, 52 : **oþere**, *plu.* 134 : *conj.* or, 702, 706, 734, etc.; **oþer —or**, 175.
- ouercome**, overcome, vanquish, 654.
- ouht**, aught, anything, 316, 558.
- oyle**, oil, 976, 996, 1001.
- par**, through, for (*reading of H<sub>1</sub> H<sub>2</sub>*), 55 ; by (*See aunter*), 873.
- paradys**, paradise, 232, 286, 299, etc.
- parten**, *inf.* to depart; — **henne**, to die, 297.
- paunter**, *sb.* panter†, net, 18.
- penaunce**, penance, penitence, 681; penalty, 770 ; **to don** —, to meet penalty, 92, 474.
- peril**, peril, danger, 170.
- persones**, persons, individuals, 206.
- pes**, peace, 86, 514, 516, 520.
- picher**, pitcher, cruse (*1 Kings xvii. 12, 16*), 975, 995.
- pine**, pain, suffering, 586, 902 ; torment (in hell), 176, 642, 746 ; **helle pine**, 772 ; **strong(e) pine**, 104, 274, 282, 888 ; **peyne**, penalty, 246 (*reading of H<sub>1</sub> H<sub>2</sub>*), 590?.
- pining**, pining, suffering, 899 ; pain (preparatory miseries), 181, 270.
- pite**, pity, 87, 242, 260.
- place**, *sb.* place, 294.
- plawe**, *sb.* play, pleasure, 15.
- plente**, plenty, 1903.
- point**, point, the instant, 278.
- pompe**, pomp; **pompe and pride**, ostentation, 158.
- pore**, *adj.*; **pore of mod**, humble, 164 : **þe pore**, *sb.* the poor, 311.
- poudre**, powder, dust (l. 664, ‘*pulverem*’), 670.
- power**, power, 215 ; freedom, 219 ; influence, 599.
- preie**, *sb.* prayer, request, 68.
- preie**, to pray (to God), 564 ; 1. *sing.* ask (of man), 53, 601 ; **preye**, *imp.* (*the reading of H<sub>2</sub>*), 834.
- present**, present, gift, 1018.
- preued**, proved, 399.
- pride**, pride, 109, 158, 170, 635, etc.; **pryde**, 646.
- profete**, prophet, 948, 950, 981, etc.
- profitable**, *adj.* profitable, beneficial, 4.
- profyt**, profit, advancement, 60.
- proud**, proud, 624, 645.
- prouing**, proving, test, 335.
- prys**, price, value, 166.
- puite**, *inf.* to put; **forþ puite**, to offer, 923 ; **put**, *pp?* 238 ; **putte**, 994 ; *imp.* 476 ; **thrust** (*reading of D.*), 232.
- pylt**. *See ipult.*
- quake**, *inf.* to quake, tremble, 444.
- qued**, *sb.* the evil one, the devil, 654.
- qued**, *adj.* bad, evil, 862 ; **quede**, vile, 1025.
- qwene**, qween, Mary (*see H<sub>2</sub>*), 833.
- reche to**, *inf.* to reach, arrive (at), 98, 142.
- red**, *sb.* counsel, advice, 47, 82, 653.
- rede**, *vb.* to counsel, advise, 647 ; take care of (*see Zupitz, Guy*, 7187), 466 ; **read**, 167, 501.
- redi**, *inf.* to make ready, prepare, 92, 474.
- redi**, *adj.* ready, prepared (*see also Kölbing, Sir Beues*, 3101), 489.
- rentes**, rents, income, revenue, 152, 163.
- repentaunce**, repentance, 473, 769 ; penitence, 91.
- resoun**, reason, 718.
- reuliche**, rueful, sad, 276 ; **rewefulliche**, *reading of A<sub>2</sub>*.
- rewे**, *sb.* on —, in order, one after another, 80.
- riche**, rich, costly, 153, 771 ; highly seasoned, 155 ; the rich, 311 ; **ryche** (*see H<sub>2</sub>*), 837.
- riht**, *sb.* right, justice, 302.
- riht**, *adj.* right, straight, 22 ; correct, 39 ; righteous, 504.
- riht**, *adv.* right, exactly, in the same proportion, 10, 264, 314, etc.; straight, directly, 254, 299, 1017.
- rihtfulliche**, rightfully, justly, 458.
- rod**, rood-tree, cross, 26, 144, 248.
- sarmoun**, sermon, discourse, 57, 137.
- sauh**. *See se.*
- sauter**, Psalter, 460.
- sauuacioun**, salvation, deliverance from sin, 788, 800.
- sauue**, *inf.* to save, to atone for,

- 245; **sauued**, saved, delivered from sin, 128.
- se, sen**, to see, 190, 344, 405, etc.; to look, 389; knowe and **se**, 657, 737, etc.: **sext**, 2. *sing.* 385; **sist**, 553; **sauh**, *prt.* 347, 350, 355, etc. **seþ?**, 817.
- seie**, *inf.* to say, 413, 445, 479, etc.; **seist**, 2. *sing.* 555; **seiþ**, 3. *sing.* 172, 276, 345, etc.; **seiþ**, *plu.?* 339; **seide for sede**, *prt.* 52, 68, 140, etc.
- seke**, *inf.* to seek, search for; **sek**, 2. *sing.* 190; **souht**, *pp.* 196.
- seker**, *adj.* sure, certain, 12.
- seknesse**, disease, 187.
- seli**, blessed, happy, 987; weak, 576.
- seruage**, servage, servitude, 238.
- sethen**, *conj.* since, 69.
- serue(n)**, to serve, 296; to minister to, 966; **serueþ**, 3. *sing.* 735; **seruede**, *prt.* 2. *plu.* 452.
- shaftes**, creations, creatures, 211.
- shame**, *sb.* shane, mortification, 777, 779, 785, etc.; disgrace, 783; *tristitia (Liber)*, 799.
- shappere**, Shaper, Creator, 211.
- shed**, distinction, 217, 721.
- shedding**, shedding, 611.
- shewe**, to show, exercise, 263; to point out, describe, 75, 79, 700; reveal, 294; disclose, 779, 804; **shewede**, *prt.* manifested, 361; **isshewed**, *pp.* 399; **shewed**, *pp.* 780.
- shildeþ**, shields, preserves, 772.
- shining**, shining, radiant, 382.
- shiuе**, slice, piece, 970.
- shone**, shun, avoid, 105, 659.
- shrewes**, shrews, evil beings, 102.
- shrift**, shrift, confession, 681, 761, 790, etc.; **shrifte of mouþe**, 94, 473.
- shriue**, *inf.* to shrive, make confession, 485; *pp.* 758, 768.
- side**, side, 655, 675; **riht side**, 255.
- siht**, sight, presence, 133, 254; appearance, 362, 405.
- siker**, surely, 491, 649.
- sikerli**. *See sikerliche.*
- sikerliche**, surely, 146, 373, 392, etc.; **sikerli**, 468, 1001.
- sinful**, sinful, 149, 708, 727, etc.
- singyn**, *inf.* to sin, 224; **singy**, 714.
- sist**. *See se.*
- siþe**, times, 394.
- siþþen**, *adv.* afterward, 236.
- skile**, reason, 711.
- skilfulliche**, reasonably, 173.
- skorn**, scorn, derision, 592.
- sleuþe**, sloth, 116; **sleuþes**, *gen.* 121.
- slowen**, *prt. plu.* slew, 438.
- smale**, small, a little, 181; **gret** and **smal**, 870.
- sodeyneliche**, suddenly, unexpectedly, 882.
- solaz**, solace, relief, 686.
- some**. *See summe.*
- sonde**, sending, message, 52.
- soþ**, *adj.* true, 519.
- soþ**, *sb.* truth, 464.
- soþfast**, soothfast†, true, 471.
- soþliche**, in truth, 441; truthfully, with truth, 525, 609.
- soþnesse**, truth, 346, 411, 1014; righteousness, 565.
- spare**, *inf.* to spare, refrain, 20, 700, 912; withhold, 924; **sparest**, 2. *sing.* 795; **spare**, 3. *sing.* 898.
- speche**, speech, discourse, 1, 753; sermon (*on the mount*), 569.
- spede**, *inf.* to speed, prosper, 937, 1027; **sped**, *imp.* 865.
- spende**, *inf.* to expend, bestow, 990.
- spille**, *inf.* to be destroyed, perish, 198.
- springe**, *inf.* to spring up, grow, burst forth, 126.
- stat**, estate, condition, 729.
- stede**, stead, place, 561, 597, 604, etc.
- stedefast**, steadfast, unwavering, 85.
- steih**, *prt.* ascended, 253.
- sterne**, stern, 446; unrelenting, 258, 436; fierce, 262.
- sterren**, *plu.* stars, 383.
- stille**, still, silent, 593, 790; lude and **stille**, under any circumstances, at any time, 584; **oþer loude oþer stille**, 706; **noþer loude ne stille**, 891.
- stounde**, stound, time, 709.
- stout**, stout, proud, boastful, 623.
- strong**, strong, agonizing, exerci-

- ating, 104, 266, 274, 282, 449, 888; hard, exhausting, 185.  
**suffraunce**, sufferance, patience, 571.  
**suffraunt**, sufferant, patient, 587, 597.  
**suffre**, *inf.* to suffer, experience, 176, 184; to be submissive to, 583; to bear patiently, 608, 613.  
**summe**, some, certain ones, 825: **alle and some**, all without exception, 643.  
**somwhat**, somewhat, a little, 764, 850 (*see A<sub>1</sub> A<sub>2</sub> R*).
- swete**, sweet, beloved, 555, 569; gracions, 949; consoling, 998.  
**swiche**, **swich**, such, 23, 67, 125, etc. *See alswich*, 549, 550.  
**swinke**, *inf.* to swink (*Spenser*). toil, 156.  
**swife**, *adv.* very, exceedingly, 4, 236, 578, etc.  
**swolewe**, *inf.* to swallow, engulf, 642.
- take**, *inf.* to take, accept, 71, 100, 498, etc.; to choose, select, 218; **onne take**, to assume (be grieved?, appear?). 267; **tok**, *prt.* 47; *refl.* betook, 34; **tak**, *imp.* 770; **tak minde**, 619; **consail** take, 63; **ensaumple take**, 596.  
**tale**, *sh.* tale; **tale telle**, to give an account, 28.  
**teche**, *inf.* to teach of, 2; to instruct, direct, 70, 570, 754; show, point out, 97, 141.  
**telle**, **tellen**, to tell, relate, 138, 284, 285, etc. *See tale*.  
**tene**, teen (*Shak.*), grief, 192.  
**teres**, tears, 827, 841.  
**til** (*MS. R.*), to, 271.  
**time**, time; **on a time**, once, 31.  
**tit**, avails; — **him**, falls to his lot, 807.  
**tok**. *See take*.  
**tokne**, token, symbol, 351; evidence, 354; **tokenyng** (*reading of MSS. A<sub>2</sub> H<sub>2</sub> R*).
- toumbe**, tomb, 249.  
**trauail**, *sh.* travail, labour, 185; trouble, 585.  
**tresor**, treasures, stores of treasure, 154.
- trespas**, trespass, sin, 546, 704; **trespaz**, offence, 685.  
**treuliche**, truly, faithfully, 208; **treweliche**, in truth, 610.  
**trewe**, true, constant, 83; real, genuine, 304, 697.  
**tricherie**, treachery, perfidy, 110.  
**trinite**, Trinity, 206, 352, 430.  
**tristi**, trusty, truthful, 477, 690.  
**trowe**, faith, 1033.  
**turment**, torment, 266.  
**turne**, *inf.* to turn, 127, 435.  
**tweie** (*things*), 141: **tweye**, 785.
- þank**, thanks, expression of gratitude, 933.  
**þar**. *See þer*.  
**þeder**. *See þider*.  
**þenke**, to think, 401, 575: **þenk**, *imp.* 493, 527, 589; **þenk** in **herete**, 601.  
**þere**, there, 23, 33, 37, etc.: **þere**, 273: **þar**, 358: **þare**, 954: **þerfore**, for it, 92, 582, 630: **þermide**, 171: **þerwid**, 147, 762.  
**þewes**, moral qualities, habits, 72, 97, 101.  
**þider**, thither, 257: **þeder**, 261.  
**þilke**, those same, 37.  
**þing**, theme, 200; being, 381; **þinge**, *plu.* 284; **þinges**, 141; **þing**, 836, 883; **ouer alle þing**, 8, 318, 329, etc.  
**þinkeþ**, *impers.* seems, 150?; 159;  
**þinke**, 588; **þouhte**, *prt.* 32.  
**þisternesse**, darkness, 114, 306, 731.  
**þo**, *adv.* then, 65, 981, 1003.  
**þo**, *dem. pro.* those, 111, 239, 557, etc.  
**þolede**, *prt.* suffered, experienced, 590; endured, 594, 605.  
**þolemod**, patient, 574, 612.  
**þouht**, *sh.* thought, meditation, trouble, 31; thought, 315, 409, 559, etc.  
**þouhte**. *See þinkeþ*.  
**þral**, thrall, slave, 238.  
**þridde**, third, 250, 251.  
**þurst**, thirst, 185.  
**þurw**, *prep.* through, 6, 18, 61, etc.
- uertu**, virtue, power, 658; **uertuz**, *plu.* moral virtues, 71, 79, 325, 661.

- vbbreid**, *sb.* upbraid, reproach, 537.  
**vch**, each, every, 133, 655, 675.  
**verray**, very, true, 88, 680.  
**verreement**, verily, truly, 877.  
**vers**, verse, 460.  
**vessel**, vessels, plate 2, 153.  
**vilte**, vility†, contempt, 602.  
**vnboxomnesse**, disobedience, 231.  
**vnclene**, unclean, defiled, 834.  
**vncowfe**, uncouth, unknown, 421.  
**vnite**, unity (i. e. *organic totality*),  
  205; in one, 429.  
**vnimeþ**, difficult, 615.  
**vnriht**, wrong, injustice, 613.  
**voiz**, voice, 446.  
**vp**, *adv.* up, 251.  
**vpon**, *prep.* upon, 995.  
**vre**, our, 363, 506, 595, etc.  
**vse**, use, practise, 82, 90.
- wanhope**, despair, 126.  
**wanten**, to want, be lacking, 316;  
  waste (*1 Kings xvii. 14*), 1000.  
**war**, *adj.* aware, 45.  
**warne**, 1. *sing.* warn, 487, 863.  
**wasshe**, *rb.* wash, 831; **wassheþ**,  
  816, 818, 824, 825.  
**wasshing**, washing, cleansing, 835.  
**waxen**, *inf.* to wax, increase, not  
  fail (*1 Kings xvii. 14*), 1001.  
**wel**, well, 45, 52, 82, etc.; very,  
  117, 160, 198, etc.  
**wemme**, *inf.* to wem, blemish, 367;  
  wemmed, *pp.* 366.  
**wende**, *inf.* to wend, go, 12, 425.  
**weneþ**, weens, believes, 831.  
**wepéþ**, weeps, sorrows, 829.  
**were**, *adj.* be — **were**, beware,  
  645. *See war.*  
**wete**, *imp.* know, consider, 312,  
  1017. *See wite.*  
**wheiþer**, which of two, 219, 536.  
**wher**, whether, 336; **wheiþer** —  
  or, 272.  
**wherþurw**, by reason of which,  
  132.  
**while**, *sb.* while, time, 27, 62;  
  **whiles**, *conj.* during the time  
  that, 184.  
**wicke**, wicked, evil, 101; base, 116,  
  122.  
**wid**, with, 84, 93, 181, etc.  
**widewe**, widow, 951, 955, 959, etc.  
**wil**, wilfulness, 169.  
**wille**, *sb.* will, liking, 19, 326, 662,  
  etc.; desire, 46, 197, 308, etc.;  
  yielding, 594.  
**wilnen**, to desire, long for, 279.  
**winne**, to win, acquire, 5, 78, 132,  
  etc.  
**wisdom**, wisdom, 81, 139, 884.  
**wisse**, to point out, teach, 119.  
**wit**, *sb.* wit, knowledge, 43, 67, 212,  
  etc.; discrimination, 227, 290;  
  **witte**, 339.  
**wite(n)**, *inf.* to know, 225, 327, 377,  
  etc.  
**witerli**. *See witerliche.*  
**witerliche**, truly, surely, 717;  
  **witerli**, 364, 457, 527, etc.  
**witnesse**, witness, evidence, 111,  
  345, 412, etc.  
**wo**, woe, injury, 112, 434; sorrow,  
  pain, 192, 484.  
**woman**, woman, 999.  
**wonder**, *adv.* exceedingly, marvel-  
  lously, 387.  
**wone**, wont, habits, 106.  
**wone**, *inf.* to dwell, remain, 427,  
  660; **wonye**, 634; **woned**, *pp.*  
  accustomed, 259.  
**wonijing**, dwelling, 313; **woni-**  
  *ing*, 317.  
**worche**, *inf.* to work, 859, 874;  
**wrouhte**, *prt.* wrought, created,  
  25; **iwrought**, *pp.* done, 580;  
  committed, 803; **wrouht**, *pp.*  
  759, 791.  
**worþ**, becomes (i. e. *will be*), 128,  
  160, 932.  
**wouh**, wrong, 302.  
**wounden**, *sb.* wounds, 442.  
**wraþful**, **wraþful**, wrathful, angry,  
  262, 436.  
**wraþe**, wrath, anger, 109.  
**wraþeþ**, 3. *sing.* angers, 806.  
**wreche**, wreak, revenge, 618.  
**wrong**, wrong, 222; injury, 600;  
  injustice, 602, 608.  
**wrongful**, harmful, 618.  
**wroþe hele**, misfortune, 129.  
**wrouhte**. *See worche.*  
**wyse**, wise, manner; *in none*  
  **wyse**, 344.  
**ydel**, idle, vain, 463, 466; *on ydel*,  
  568, 668.  
**yuel**, evil, pernicious, 15; god  
  — **yuel**, 217, 228, 720, 739;  
  **euel**, wrong, 901; **þe euel**, 218.

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# George Ashby's Poems.

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EDITED FROM TWO 15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY MSS. AT CAMBRIDGE

BY

MARY BATESON.



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## INTRODUCTION.

No fresh light is thrown on the history of George Ashby by the publication of these poems, for the few biographical notices they contain have already appeared in print. The first poem was written in the Fleet Prison, 1463, and Ashby describes himself therein as for forty years writer to the Signet. The “Active Policy,” written for young Edward, Prince of Wales, “gallant-springing, brave Plantagenet,” was penned when Ashby was “right nigh at mony yeres of foure score,” and in the preface he describes himself as late Clerk of the Signet<sup>1</sup> to Queen Margaret of Anjou. The facts of Ashby’s life, so far as they are known, are recorded in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. A reference, however, may be added to a letter from Margaret of Anjou, 1447—1454, in which she thanks a lady unnamed for her service to “our servant George Ashby, Clerk of our Signet.” It is thought that the lady may have been Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, the possible granddaughter of Geoffrey Chaucer,<sup>2</sup> whom Ashby praises in his “Active Policy.”

The young Edward, Prince of Wales (1453—1471), must have been a model of virtue if he carried out all Ashby’s instructions. These are not dangerously original, but between the lines of Ashby’s platitudes we may read something of the peculiar character of the period. Ashby hints at the “great changes of high estates,” at much division, due entirely to covetousness. In “Time Present” he

<sup>1</sup> Coke, Second Inst., p. 556 [Artic. sup. Cartas, cap. vii.], says, “At the making of this Statute (28 Ed. 1) the king had another seal, and that is called ‘Signetum,’ his Signet. This seal is ever in the custody of the Principal Secretary; and there be four Clerks of the Signet, called ‘Clerici Signetti,’ attending on him. The reason wherefore it is in the Secretaries’ custody, is, for that the King’s private Letters are signed therewith. Also the duty of the Clerk of the Signet is to write out such Grants or Letters Patent as pass by Bill signed (that is, a Bill superscribed with the Signature or Sign Manual, or Royal hand of the King) to the Privy Seal; which Bill being transcribed and sealed with the Signet, is a Warrant to the Privy Seal, and the Privy Seal is a Warrant to the Great Seal.”

<sup>2</sup> *Letters of Margaret of Anjou*, ed. C. Monro, Camden Society, p. 114.

recommends Edward “all rebellion for to suppress,” and, in “Time Future,” to put down “false conspirators,” and all persons “pretending right to your coronacion”; “grete batellis dispiteous” are named, but it seems scarcely possible that Ashby should write so prosily as he does if another king was in fact reigning in Henry’s stead. It is difficult, therefore, to decide at what date this work was written, whether before the Fleet imprisonment, in perhaps 1460-1, or later, perhaps after the reconciliation of Warwick and Margaret, and the temporary Lancastrian successes of 1470.

Ashby appears to have felt a decided respect for history, and constantly recommends Edward to consider what will be said about him in chronicles. Many warnings are given, which may well have arisen from the example of Henry’s misfortunes. He presses the claims of old servants (and from his *Reflections*, he seems to have been one of the neglected); as to money matters, he recommends strict keeping of accounts, and the payment of servants’ wages, that they may not resort to extortion; the king must enrich his subjects, but keep himself always the richest;<sup>1</sup> men of high rank should not be treasurers, as the poorer the man the smaller will be his pay. In the choice of ministers Ashby has advice to give; he recommends a councillor, leech, and secretary; in choosing servants, the king should notice with whom they have been brought up; he is to avoid making many lords; he must be careful in granting fees and offices, and he must not withdraw grants after they have been made. Ashby’s recommendations on the manner in which petitions should be dealt with indicate some of the abuses which then prevailed. But he was no great reformer, and his motto is not “Trust the people.” He bids Edward beware of the commonalty: they must be disarmed, owing to the misuse they make of their arms in private warfare. Maintenance and livery of course are mentioned; compulsory archery is advocated, as also the enforcing of sumptuary laws, and the revival of cloth-making. The king must cherish strangers, pilgrims, and merchants; he is to learn practical economy in buying up goods when they are cheap and in season, and when he can look about him at his leisure. As a Lancastrian he is specially recommended to magnify his ancestry. Ashby approved, we may suppose, of Margaret’s peace policy, for he urges great caution in making war. A king ought to study the past history of disturbed

<sup>1</sup> Henry’s policy was the reverse. Cf. Plummer’s *Fortescue*, p. 12.

foreign possessions, so that he may learn what has always been their attitude in the past.

In his diplomatic teaching, Ashby inculcates such a policy as that which Henry VII put into practice. Tale-tellers are not to be too soon credited, but the tale may be borne in mind, and proof amassed to test its trustworthiness. But it must be confessed that Ashby's instructions have, as a rule, no personal interest, and are only of general application.

The "Dicta et opiniones diversorum philosophorum" were evidently drawn from the same original as that used by De Thignonville for his French version, which Stephen Serope and Lord Rivers translated into English. A copy of the Latin version is in MS. eexli., 127 b, Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Stephen Serope, stepson of Sir John Fastolf, translated the sayings for that knight's contemplation and solace (Harl. MS. 2266), and a copy was corrected after the original (Cambridge Univ. Lib. Gg. i. 34) by William Worcester in 1472. Lord Rivers' translation was printed by Caxton in 1477. There is evidence that these commonplaces had extraordinary popularity in the Middle Ages, but the true origin of this collection of proverbs is still to seek.

Since these poems were in type, Prof. Max Förster has edited the Prisoner's Reflections in *Anglia*, 1897, and some interesting notes on scansion enrich his edition. It is hoped that the present edition of the works of Ashby may prove useful to students of fifteenth-century grammar. My best thanks are due to Miss K. Jex-Blake, of Girton College, for her help in the interpretation and emendation of the scribe's Latinity. I am also indebted to Miss J. E. Kennedy for notes and corrections in the English passages, and to Dr. Furnivall for the side-notes to the *Dicta*, and for the List of Words.

MARY BATESON.

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# George Ashby's Poems.

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## I. A Prisoner's Reflections, A.D. 1463.

MS. R. 3. 19, Trin. Coll. Camb., leaf 41 *a*.

*Prohemium vnius Prisonarii.*

(1)

[A]t the ende of Somer, when wynter began  
And trees, herbes and flowres dyd fade,  
Blosteryng and blowyng the gret wyndes than  
Threw doune the frutes with whyche they were lade,  
Levyng theym sone bare / of that whyche they hade,  
Afore myghemas, that tyme of seasoñ,  
I was commytyd, geynst ryght and reasoñ,

1 The season

Michaelmas,  
when he is  
committed

(2)

In to a pryon, whos name the Flete hight,  
By a gret commaundment of a lord,  
To whom I. must obey for hys gret myght,  
Though I. cannat therto sadly acord,  
Yet I. must hyt for a lessoñ record,  
Ther'yn abydyng without help singler,  
Sauf of god and hys blesyd modyr ther.

8 *Nomen  
prisone.*  
to the Fleet  
prison.  
Cause of im-  
prisonment.

12

14

(3)

But oþ, or other declaracioñ,  
Coude at no seasoñ be herd ne takyñ,  
By no prayer ne exhortacioñ.  
But of all pite and grace forsakyñ,  
Myne enemyes on me awakyñ,  
Takyng awey hors, money, and goodes,  
Pullyng myne houses downe and gret wordes.<sup>1</sup>

19 Ashby's  
enemies.

21

<sup>1</sup> *Sic in MS.* ?woodes.

## (4)

<i>Spoliatio Prisonarii. His spoli- ation.</i>	Because of my draught and my bryngyng vp I haue suffryd thys and other spoylyng, Nat leuyng me worthā dysshī, neyther cup, Of asmoche as myght come to theyr <sup>3</sup> handlyng, Puttyng on me many fals lesyng, Whyche I must suffyr and bere on my ruge, <sup>1</sup> Tyll the trouth discussyd hath god or the inge.	22 26 28
--	--	----------------

## (5)

<i>Nomen Prisonarii. Name of the prisoner.</i>	George Asshby ys my name, that ys greuel . By enprysonment a hoole yere and more, Knowyng no meane there to be releued, Whyche grevethī myne hert heuyly and sore, Takyngh hyt for my chastysement and lore, Besechyngh god I may take my dysease In dew pacience, our <sup>2</sup> lord god to please.	29 33 35
--	---	----------------

## (6)

<i>[leaf 41 b.] Lamentacio prisonarii. His lamenta- tion on the way he is treated by his friends.</i>	Oon thyng among other <sup>1</sup> grenaþ me sore That myne old aqueintaunce disdeyned me To vysyte, / thoughī I haue dooñ to theym more Kyndnes, / forgetyng me and let me be, Ne yeuyng me comfort, ne wold me se, Ne the werkes of mercy remembryng, Ne my kyndnes to theym before shewyng.	36 38 40 42
---	--	----------------------

## (7)

<i>He cannot get out of debt.</i>	The grettest peyne that .I. suffyr of all Is that .I. am put to vnpayable det, Lykly to be therfore a wrechyd thrall, For the enprisonment that .I. am in set, Without goddes grace wol hyt souner let. Wheropon to god .I. clepe, call and cry To help me out of det or .I. dy.	43 47 49
---	--	----------------

## (8)

	What may .I. do ? to whom shall I compleyn ? Or shew my trouble, or myne heuynes ? Beyng in prysōñ, wrongfully certeyñ ; But with dylygence and gret besynes, I beseche god of hys gret worthynes,	50 54
--	--	----------

<sup>1</sup> back.

Me to guyde and rewle to hys most plesaunce,  
And of my wrong to haue humble suffraunce. 56

## (9)

- |   |    |  |
|---|----|--|
| I gan remembre and revolute in mynde                                  | 57 | <i>Seruicium<br/>Prisonarii.</i>                             |
| My bryngyng vp from chyldhed hedyrto,                                 |    | <i>His early<br/>history.</i>                                |
| In the hyghest court that I coude fynd,                               |    |  |
| With the kyng, <sup>1</sup> quene, <sup>2</sup> and theyr vnkle also, |    |  |
| The duk of Gloucetre, god hem rest do,                                | 61 | <i>Kindness of<br/>Humphrey,<br/>Duke of<br/>Gloucester.</i> |
| With whome .I. haue be cherysshdyd ryght well,                        |    |  |
| In all that was to me nedefull euery dell.                            | 63 |  |

## (10)

- |  |    |                                  |
|--|----|----------------------------------|
| Wrytyng to theyr <sup>3</sup> sygnet full fourty yere, | 64 | <i>Writer to<br/>the Signet.</i> |
| Aswell beyond the see as on thys syde,                 |    |                                  |
| Doyng my seruyee aswell there as here,                 |    |                                  |
| Nat sparyng for to go ne for to ryde,                  |    |                                  |
| Hauyng pen and Inke euyr at my syde,                   | 68 |                                  |
| Redy to acomplysshe theyre commandment,                |    |                                  |
| As truly as .I. coude to theyr <sup>3</sup> entent.    | 70 |                                  |

## (11)

- |  |    |                               |
|--|----|-------------------------------|
| And in theyr seruyee I spendyd all my youth, | 71 | <i>[leaf 42 a.]</i>           |
| And now in pryon throwen in myn age,         |    |                               |
| Hauyng of me no pyte ne routh,               |    | <i>Cruel treat-<br/>ment.</i> |
| Reuylng me with vnfyttyng langage,           |    |                               |
| As though I were neyther wytty ne sage,      | 75 |                               |
| Whiche greuyd me sore and was gretly sad,    |    |                               |
| To be in pouert and of goodes bad,           | 77 |                               |

## (12)

- |  |    |                                    |
|--|----|------------------------------------|
| That before was well in goodes and rest, | 78 | <i>His former<br/>good fortune</i> |
| And no man was ayenst me dysplesyd,      |    |                                    |
| And all my dayes was among the best.     |    |                                    |
| And so no creature me dyseasyd,          |    |                                    |
| But at all tymes with me were pleasyd,   | 82 |                                    |
| Thaugh fortune lyft make me ryght sory   |    |                                    |
| Shewyng that thys welth ys transytor.    | 84 |                                    |

## (13)

- |                                       |    |  |
|---------------------------------------|----|--|
| Gef I had iu youth suffred any Payne, | 85 |  |
| By lake of goodes or takyng hardnes,  |    |  |

<sup>1</sup> Henry VI.<sup>2</sup> Margaret of Anjou.

makes his  
fall harder to  
bear.

I myght the better from tene <sup>1</sup> me refreyne, And take my fall the better in swetnes.	
God for hys hyghe grace and gret worthynes Counseyll me in my trobilly for the best, That I may leue hens in quyet and rest.	89 91
(14)	
Now me-thynketh <sup>2</sup> well, yef I had ben euyr In prosperyte and in worldly ioy, And theryn to haue abydyn leuyn Then to haue tastyd of thys peynfull noy, <sup>3</sup> I cast <sup>4</sup> me nat to be neyther stylle ne coy,	92 96
But say as me-thynketh, in verray soth. To haue chaungyd my lyf I had be loth.	98
(15)	
And my wrechydnes nat <sup>5</sup> to know euyn, So well as by goddes grace I shall And the best lyfe take & the wors leuyn, In consyderall that I am mortall, And so to obey hym that ys eternall, And to chaung my lyf to god greable, Both in pacyence and in feyth stable.	99 103 105
(16)	
[leaf 42 b.] Knowyng in serteyn that my punysshing Is other-whyle for my soule profytalbe, For a feth in goddes vengeance ceasyng, Vnto goddes pleasure ryght acceptable, By meke pecyence to vertu able, Therfore punysshment ys other-whyle good, Aswell to low degré as to hygh blode.	106 110 112
(17)	
I thynke to wryte of trouble rehersall, How hyt may be takyn in pacyence, Procedyng theryn for myn acquytall, Though I hane no termes of eloquence, With that I may conclude perfyte sentence;	113 117

The punis-  
ments of God  
are good.

<sup>1</sup> grief.     <sup>2</sup> Before thynketh *thyy* struck out.  
<sup>3</sup> nay *in MS.*, noye, suffering, annoyance.     <sup>4</sup> design.  
<sup>5</sup> MS. na.

Wherfore I counseyll aftyr wordes thyse,  
Euery man to be lernyd on thys wyse.

119      Writes to  
counsel  
patience*Ad sustinendum pacienciam in aduersis.*

(18)

- O thou creature of nature ryght noght !      120  
 Remembre thy sylf, thy lyfe, thy demert,  
 Yef thou to pryon or trouble be broght,  
 Haply by gret wrong and nat of desert,  
 Suffryng iniury and ryght peynfull smert,      124      to those in  
 Nat for that sylf thyng but of iust sentence.      126      undeserved  
 trouble,

(19)

- Or perauenture thou mayst ryght-fully      127      and to those  
 Come to trouble or tribulacion.  
 Yet I counseyll the, suffyr hyt wylfully,  
 Without fenyng or simulacion,  
 Nat the exalting by elacion.      131  
 And thus pacience may the woll *preserue*  
 From gostly sorow, yef<sup>2</sup> thou thys obserue.      133

(20)

- And so, by process of suffraunce long,      134  
 Thow mayst atteyne to verrey knowlege  
 Of thy demeryt, and vengeance prolong  
 By thy lamentyng and prayer mekeleche.<sup>3</sup>  
 And so at last comfort haue trewleche      138  
 Aswell here as hense, by goddes hyghe grace,  
 And perauenture with-in lytyll space.      140

(21)

- And as preeuous gold ys thoroughl puryd      141      [leaf 43 a.]  
 By foul metall led, and claryfyed,  
 Ryght so ys the sowle by trowbyll euryd,  
 And by humble profe, hygh gloryfyed,  
 As in the scrypture<sup>4</sup> ys speyfyed.      145  
 So for soules helth hyt ys a gret grace,  
 To haue here trouble rather then solace.      147

<sup>1</sup> impute.      <sup>2</sup> MS. yet.      <sup>3</sup> meekly.<sup>4</sup> Zech. xiii. 9. Jer. vi. 30.As gold is  
purified,  
so is the soul.

## (22)

What ys trouble or trybulacyon, 148

Vexed wrongfully, or worldly disease,  
Lyuyng here without consolacioñ,

*Uses of  
adversity.*

But callyng of god hymself for to please ?

Wherfore hyt ys best, for thy soules ease. 152

Rather of trouble be mery and glad,  
Than therof be grogyng,<sup>1</sup> heuy & sad. 154

## (23)

Who may haue more heunynges & sorow 155

Then to be welthy and aftyr nedeful ?

Furst to be ryehe, aftyr, redy to borow ?

Furst prosperous and aftyr carefull ? 158

Who ys more comfortable and ioyfull ?

Then take the world in paeyenee and worth,  
Suffryng hit to come and goo playnly forth. 161

## (24)

Set the neuyr thy full wyll here 162

In worldly ioy and in felycete.

*Worldly joys  
are fleeting.*

For all dayes thow mayst both see and here,

In all thy lyfe there ys contraryte ;

Yef thow be ryche thow hast aduersyte, 166

Yef thow haue a feyre wyfe and gret plente,

Moche sorow peraventur' ys sent the. 168

## (25)

Yef thow tak a wyfe to thy frechte, 169

Ryght thoutfull thow art, carfull and pensyf ;

Yef thow lyue aftyr censualyte,

That ys acursyd and vnthryfty lyf ;

Yef thow be weddyd, without any stryf, 173

Thow lakkest chylldren, to be thyne heyres,

Lesyng<sup>2</sup> thy name in market and feyres. 175

## (26)

[leaf 43 b.] Yef thow haue chyldreñ ryght plentenously, 176

Haply suche may be theyr<sup>3</sup> gouernaunce

That they woll dysplese ryght greuously ;

Yef thow be set in holy obseruanee,

<sup>1</sup> grudging.

<sup>2</sup> redeeming.

Peranventure thou hast no temperaunce ;	180	Everything goes by contraries.
Yef thou be set in temporalyte,		
Thy lust ys in spyrytualyte.	182	
(27)		
Yef thou be well, <sup>1</sup> haply thou lackest good,	183	
Yef thou haue good, thou suffrest gret sekenes.		
Thus welth ebbeth and floweth as the flood,		
Neuer welthy, but som maner dystres,		
Neuyr so mery but som heuynes.	187	
Oone thyng lakkyng aftyr thyne apetyte,		
Nat all thynges beyng in pleasaunt plite.	189	
(28)		
Yef thou be forth <sup>2</sup> at large out of prysoñ,	190	
Thow mayst haue sorow ynowgh <sup>3</sup> and gret wrong.		There are sorrows outside of prisons.
Yef thou be ryght welthy for the sesoñ,		
Many pluckers-at thou mayst haue and strong.		
Prosperyte here shall neuer endure long.	194	
So cuyr, whyle thou art on erth lyuyng,		
Som maner thyng lakketh to thy plesyng.	196	
(29)		
Wenest thou to haue here perfeccioñ	197	No perfection on earth.
Of worldly ioy, comfort and delyees ?		
Nay bettyr ys sharp persecucioñ		
For thy synnes, offenses and vyees,		
Kepyng pacience without malyses,	201	
Puttyng thy wyll to goddes volunte,		
So thy spyryt may best in quyet be.	203	
(30)		
Thynke that thy lyfe here ys but pilgremage	204	Life a pilgrimage.
Towardes the hygh place celestiall.		
Wherfore, for any trouble or damage,		
Preve nat thysylf lewde and eke bestiall,		
Seyth <sup>4</sup> thou may be in heuyñ menyall	208	
Seruanut thoroughl thy tryumphall victory		
By mekenes and werkes merytory.	210	

<sup>1</sup> MS. *be ske* written as one word.<sup>2</sup> *be forth* written as one word in MS.<sup>3</sup> Written as two words in MS.      <sup>4</sup> Sith.

## (31)

- [leaf 44 a.] Thow canst nat be so pryve ne secret 211  
 But god ys there present and knoweth all thyng,  
 Therfore be euyr wytty and dyserset,  
 Nat for to do ne say hym dysplesyng,  
 But as thou woldest before hym beyng, 215  
 So by mekenes take all thyng for the best,  
 What that god sendeth, trouble or vnrest. 217

## (32)

- Thynke that worldes welth and felyeyte 218  
 Ys nat euermore in oone abydyng,  
 But transitory ys prosperyte,  
 And no certeynte whyle thou art lyuyng.  
 But euyr as a whele, turnyng and meuyng, 222  
 Knowyng for certayn that thou art mortall,  
 And neuer in thyss world verray rest haue shall. 224

## (33)

- Wytnes of oure lord, almyghty Ihesu, 225  
 Suffryng Reproves and vexacioñ,  
 Thowgh he were clennest in lyf and vertu,  
 Yet no man suffred suche trybulacioñ.  
 And all was for our' alther<sup>1</sup> saluacioñ. 229  
 Yenying vs example for to take trouble  
 In worth, syth he hath suffred the double. 231

## (34)

- of the Virgin, What suffred Mary the quene of heuyn? 232  
 Most pure, most clenuyst, without any syñ,  
 Claryfyed from the synnys senyñ,  
 Ever to plese Ihesu she wold nat blyñ.<sup>2</sup>  
 How be hyt that feare and tene she was in, 236  
 Mornyng, sorowyng, euyr in drede,  
 To opteyne the loue of Ihesu and hyr mede. 238

## (35)

- of St. John, the Evangelist, and St. John the Baptist, What sey ye of seynt Iohñ the Euangelist? 239  
 Of many martyrs and eke confessours,  
 Of holy vyrgyns, and seynt Iohñ Baptist?  
 That here in thyss lyfe suffred many shours,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Of us all. See p. 16.<sup>2</sup> cease.<sup>3</sup> conflicts.

Nat desyryng therof worldly succours,	243
Refusyng all worldly ioy and plesaunce,	
And all trowble for god take in sufferaunce.	245

(36)

Of Iob to suffyr take thou example,	246	[leaf 44 b.]
Whyche pacyently suffred hys gret smert,		of Job,
Who had in thys world of losse more ample?		
Yet for goddes sake he plesyd in her		
With hys trowbelous hurt / put out in desert	250	
As fowle, vyle, abhomynable and wreche,		
Takynghyt in gre <sup>1</sup> and therof nold recke. <sup>2</sup>	252	

(37)

And so to procede in the pacience	253	
Of seyntes, and make therof rehersall		
That suffred trowhyll with out resystence,		
They be infynyte to be wretyn all.		of the saints,
Hyt suffyseth to touche the principall,	257	are number- less.
To thy lernyng and informacioñ		
To be of pacyent condicioñ.	259	

(38)

Right so kyng, Quene, Duke, Prynce and Emperoures,	
Erle, Baroñ, lord, knyght, and many squyers,	
Bysshop, Abbot, Pryour and conquerours,	
And many gret estates and Rewlours,	
Clerkes, marchauntes and eke counseylours	264
Haue be put in trouble and gret greuaunce	
For theyr soules helth by humble sufferaunce.	266

(39)

Was there enyr lord so gret and so sure,	267	All classes of men have had trouble,
Or any gret Clerk lernyd in the law,		
That may not fall in the snare and in the lure		
Of trouble, maugre hys hed and his maw?		
Wherfore hyt may be a lawdabyll saw,	271	
Euery man worshyp god in hys season		
Accordingly to hys law / trouth and reason.	273	

<sup>1</sup> pleasure.<sup>2</sup> reck.

the learned can teach us to bear it.	(40)	
	Euery man may take example and hede	274
	By suche men of good disposicioñ,	
	And by lernyd men that can teche and rede	
	To conforme <sup>1</sup> hym to lyk affeccioñ,	
	To haue of pacience perfectioñ,	278
	To take trouble in worth and in gre,	
	As other men haue do in liberte.	280
	(41)	
[leaf 45.r.]	In conclusioñ of the verrey trouþ,	281
	Euery mañ other fauour <sup>2</sup> and socour <sup>3</sup> ,	
	And of hys trouble haue pyte and routh,	
	And the blesyd men helpe and eke honoure,	283
	Doyng your <sup>4</sup> dylygence and peynfull laboure,	
	The virtuous pepyll for to cherysshe,	
	Suffryng the wykkyd Rather to perysshie.	287
	(42)	
	That all pacience, Riches and science	288
	Come oonly of god and noon other <sup>5</sup> ,	
	Hyt may be prouyd by experiance.	
Unequal riches.	As oone ryche, another pore ; hys brother,	292
	The ryche, slepeth, the pore laboreth vnder.	
	So that Ryches commeth nat by labour	
	Oonly / but to hym that god lyst shew fauour.	294
A prayer.	(43)	
	And syþ all thynges come of Ihesu	295
	And nothyng without hym may avayle,	
	I beseeche hym so full of vertu	
	To guyde me, Rule me / and counsayle,	299
	That by pacience .I. may wyn batayle	
	Of my troubles, and haue the vyctory,	
	Thorough my symple werkes mertyory.	301
	(44)	
	And with humlylte and soburnes,	302
	With feruent loue and feythfull reuerence,	
	I beseeche the, god, of thy worthynes,	
	Yeue me grace, comfort and assistance,	
	Good wyll, good werkes, good thought and eloquence,	

<sup>1</sup> The *m* has an extra stroke.

With loue, charyte and feyth the to please,  
That I may dwell in heuyñ at myñ ease. Amen.

(45) *Lenuoy.*

Goo forth, lytyll boke, mekely, without rous, <sup>1</sup>	309
To folk troubelyd and vexed greuously,	
Steryng theym by thy conseil vertuous	
To kepe pacience thereyñ ioyously,	
Redyng thys tretyse forth ceryously,	313
By the whyche they shall fynde grace as .I suppose,	
To comfortable entent and purpose ;	315

## (46)

Besechyng all folk, though I am no Clerk,	316	[leaf 45 b.]
For to vndyrstand that I nat presume		Apology for
To take opon me labour of thys werk	writing this	
For worldly glory and thank to assume,	poem.	
But vertu to encerase and lewdnes consume,	320	
And namely to take trowble in suffraunce		
Paciently to deseruyd penaunce.	322	

## (47)

Also vndyr protestacion	323	
That I wyll nat kepe presumptuosly		
Any errour' or feynyd opinioñ,		
But me to theym conforme graciously,		
That of hygh connyng haue plenteuously,	327	
Besechyng theym my defaut to correct,		He is open to
Yef any be, and nat to me hyt to areet, <sup>2</sup>	329	correction.

## (48)

But my dyligence and good wyll to accept	330	
In to theyre fauour, support and goodnesse,		
And in no maner me therof except,		
Though .I. haue offendyd in my lewdnesse, <sup>3</sup>		
Vnaduisid and nat of wylfulnessse,	334	
Kepyng euermore vertuous entent		
With discrecioñ that god hath me sent.	336	

## (49)

Wretyn in prysōñ, in oure lordes date,	337	Written in
A thowsand foure hundryd syxty and thre,		the Fleet,

A.D. 1463.

<sup>1</sup> boasting.<sup>2</sup> impute.<sup>3</sup> ignorance.

Thus occupying me, thys was my fate,	
Besechynge the, ou'r lord god in trynyte,	
To take my makynge in plesure and gre,	341
And thereto hau mannys benyuolence,	
To thyne owne preysyng, laude and reuerence.	
Amen.	343

(50)

*Explicit.*

Remarks on Prison.	Pryson properly ys a sepulture	344
	Of lyuyng men, <i>with</i> strong lokkes thereoñ,	
	Fortyfyed <i>without</i> any Rupture,	
	Of synners a gret castigacioñ,	
	Of feythfull frendes a probacion,	348
	Of fre liberte a sharp abstinenee,	
	Lackyng voluntee for theyr' dew penaunce.	350

II. *Active Policy of a Prince.*MS. Mm. IV. 42, leaf 2 *a*, Cambridge University Library.

George  
Ashby, late  
Clerk of the  
Signet to  
Queen  
Margaret,

written for  
Edward,

Prince of  
Wales.

To be divided  
into three  
parts: Past,

[P]resens Libellus compilatus, extractus et anglicatus in Balade per Georgium Asshby, nuper Clericum Signeti Supreme domine nostre Margarete, dei *gratia* Regine Anglie, etc. ex bona voluntate, Amore et cordiali affectione, quos ipse naturali iure gerit, tam erga celsitudinem & regiam maiestatem suam & prepotissimum et excellentissimum dominium suum Edwardum, eadem gratia supremi domini nostri Regis Henrici et eiusdem regine Consortis filium progenitum, principem wallie, ducem Cornubie, et comitem Cestrie, pro cuius amore et complacencia fit ista compilacio . . . . (*illegible*) suum nobilem Sanguinem, sub quo Ipse a iuentute sua huensque & nunquam tota vita sua in alio servicio fuit tentus (?) et nutritus. Dividitur in tribus temporibus, videlicet in tempore preterito, presenti & futuro. Tempus preteritum exortatur, sepius meminire de rebus preteritis, ita bene in legendo sacram scripturam et Cronica, sicut alias speculaciones & experiencias . . . . Ipse potest perfecte condere bonorum factorum

bonitatem & opinionem librorum. Et miserimam ruinam malefactorum & miserorum, . . . nde se sapienter & feliciter gubernare. Tempus presens facit quomodo <sup>Present,</sup> se gerriet (*sic*) in sapiencia & pollicia deo placentibus & populis suis & pro suimet ipsius securitate. Tempus futurum prouidet discrete & prudenter <sup>and Future.</sup> pro rebus futuris . . . diendo se in honore beata fama et bona gubernitate et euitando dampna vituperia et inconuenientia . . . etiam fore activum in pollicia et sapiencia . . . subditorum securitate & bona custodia sub debita et fideli obediencia per aduisamenta edicta & opiniones diuersorum Philosophorum, quorum nomina . . . in tractatu breuiter subscribuntur. (*Much defaced.*)

Opinions of Philosophers.

*Hic Incipit Prologus.*

## (1)

Maisters Gower, Chauueer & Lydgate,	1	[leaf 2 b.] Complimentary notice to Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate.
Primier poetes of this nacion,		
Embelysshing oure englisshe tendure algate,	5	Their use of English and new ballad forms.
Firste finders to oure consolacioñ	7	
Off fresshe, douce englisshe and formacioñ		
Of newe balades, not vsed before,		
By whome we all may haue lernyng and lore.	8	Lament over their death.

## (2)

Alas ! saufe goddes wille, & his plesaunce,	8	Lament over their death.
That euer ye shulde dye & chaunge this lyffe,		
Vnytl tyme / that by youre wise pourueunce ( <i>sic</i> )		
Ye had lafte to vs / sum remembratife	12	
Of a personne, lerned & Inuentif,		
Disposed astur youre condicioñ,		
Of fresshe makynge to oure Instruccioñ.	14	

## (3)

But sithe we all be dedly and mortal,	15	
And no man may eschewe this egressioñ,		
I beseche almyghty god eternal		Prayer for their souls.
To pardoñ you all / youre transgression,		
That ye may dwelle in heuenny mansioñ,	19	
In recompense of many a scripture		
That ye haue englisschede without lesure.	21	

	(4)	
[leaf 3 a.] George Ashby follows them a long way after.	So I, George Asshby, not comparisoñ Making to youre excellent enditing, With right humble prayer & orisoñ, Pray god that by you I may haue lernyng, And, as a blynde man in the wey bloddryng, As I can, I shall now lerne and practise Not as a master but as a p[r]entise ;	22 26 28
	(5)	
	Besechynge almyghti god of support, That thorough his gracious instrucþion I may confourme me aftur the report Of vertuous / and sad construcþion, Without minisshyng or addicioñ, Principally in thentent and substance Of my matere, with all the obsernance.	29 33 35
	(6)	
Ashby is sorry his English is so bad.	And thaugh all thynges be nat made perfyte Nor swetely englissched to youre plesance, I byseche you hertely / to excuse it, So that I kepe intentional substance, While I haue of makyng none assurance, Nor of balades haue experiance, Acceptyng my goode wille & diligence.	36 40 42
He has had no experi- ence.	(7)	
To cavillers.	Some personnes peraventure woll thenke That it myght be saide better thus or thus. For I cannat swym / I stand on the brynk, Wadyng no forther / but as crist Iesus Sendith me konnyng, showing vnto vs That a litle childe may natt so well bere A grete burthen / as a man, withoute dere. <sup>1</sup>	43 47 49
[leaf 3 b.] He has no books or glosses.	(8)	
	Right so though I haue not scieng scripture Of many bookes right sentenciall, In especial of the gloses sure, I woll therfor kepe true menyng formall, Nor right meche delatyng <sup>2</sup> the rehersall,	50 54

<sup>1</sup> injury.<sup>2</sup> spinning out, dilating.

Thaugh I do nat so wele / as thei before, Ostendyng my beneuolence & lore,	56
(9)	
By protestacioñ that my menyng Shall not be wilfully for to displease	57
Any creatures to my konnyng, Principally suche as I ought to please,	
Ner their estat in no wyse to displease,	61
But to my pore power / it to magnifie, And in al my seruiee / it to multiplie.	63
(10)	
Thaugh I be fallen / in decrepit age Right nygh at mony yeres / of foure score	64
I pray god that in my wytt / I ne rage	
But that I may wryte aftur goddes lore, Encrecyng vertuous liffe more & more,	
As myne entente is / and also shalbe, To goddes plesance / & to my dutie.	68
(11)	
Under a support / and beneuolence, With a fauorable directioñ,	71
I woll put to <sup>1</sup> / my peine & diligence,	
After the simplesse of mine opinion,	
To my cunnyng and erudieioñ ;	75
This matier is finisshe to the plesance, Of almyghty Iesu & his suffrance.	77
(12)	
In the name of almyghty Lorde Iesu, To whom heuen erth and helle —yne, <sup>2</sup>	78
Whiche is the grete name / higheste in vertue,	
And in all gracious goodenes dothe shyne,	
Whom I biseche me for to Illumyne,	82
That in my mater I may so proeede	
Without offense / & therin not texcede.	84
<i>De actiua pollicia principis.</i>	
(13)	
[R]ight [high] & myghty prince and my right goode Lorde, Linially eomyn of blode royal,	

He hopes his  
poem will  
vex no one.

He is nearly  
eighty,

but will do  
his best.

[leaf 4a.]

<sup>1</sup> Put to written in one word.    <sup>2</sup> Illegible.    ? inclyne.

Bothe of Faders & moders of recorde, Occupying by grace celestial Thaier Roiaulmes, with grace especial (?) To whom be al honnour and reuerence, Dewe to youre high estate / and excellence,	89 91
(14)	
I mene, to youre highnesse Edwarde by name, Trewe sone & heire to the high maiestie (?) Of oure liege lorde / Kynge Henry & dame (?) Margarete, the Quene / bothe in Charitee Euer though grete was their maiestie (?) Yit they eschewed / vengeance and Rigoure, Shewyng their beneuolence and Favour. <sup>1</sup>	92 96 98
(15)	
[leaf 4 b.] God, verrey Recompenser of goodenesse, Rewarde at large their blessidnesse therfore, And so I dar say / he wil of his Rightwisnesse ; Enlarge theim daily / his grace more & more, Blissed be tyme in whiche thei were bore, Namly for youre birthe of theim discended, In whome al vices ben vilipended. <sup>2</sup>	99 103 105
(16)	
My goode Lorde, trewe hertly affectioñ Compellithe me somewhat to entremete, <sup>3</sup> In fyndyng sum goode exhortacioñ That myght be to you / gracious & mete, Ensuryng youre estate in quiete sete, Whiche may neuer endure but by vertue, According to the pleasance of Iesu.	106 110 112
(17)	
And so youre bringyng vp hath be right sad, In all vertuous disposicioñ, And to the honnour of god / euer ladde, Whome I bische be youre proteccioñ, That ye may abide in suche affeccioñ, Not oonly to youre profite & honnour, But als to oure althre <sup>4</sup> wele & socour.	113 117 119

Prince  
Edward's  
good bring-  
ing up.

<sup>1</sup> This verse is damaged.    <sup>2</sup> thought ill of.    <sup>3</sup> intermeddle.  
<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 8.

## (18)

Besides whiche thre thinges I wolde meve Your high estate to haue in Remembrance, Kepying ( <i>sic</i> ) theim in youre breste and neuer leue, For any busynesse or attendance,	120	Do not forget Time.
Puttyng youre high estate in assurance, That is tyme Passed present and future,	124	
Kepynge thees three tymes with due mesure.	126	

*In tempore preterito.*

## (19)

[O]f tyme passed I wolde ye sholde take hede, Redyng the bible & holy scripture, And there ye may see to what ende dothe lede Vertuos dedys & condutes seure,	127	Importance of reading the Bible.
Principally suche as haue noble cure, For certeyne a blissed entencioñ Must determine wele withoute question.	131	
	133	

## (20)

And other men, in the contrary wise, That be indisposed to righewisnesse <sup>1</sup> Must nedis fal, and al folk theim dispise, Sith their werkes bene without aduisinesse, Hauing no regarde to goode stedfastnesse,	134	
And so who so euere wol preve the sothe, He endithe not wele that wykkidly dothe.	138	
	140	
	140	

## (21)

Seintes of youre noble blode ye may knowe, Diuers many that lyued blessedly, Bothe of this England and of Fraunce ynowe, That yave theire hertes to god Inwardly, Abydy in goddes feith stedfastly,	141	Saints his ancestors,
	145	
Whos pathes ye may beholde & eke see, And theim folowe in theire benignitee.	147	
	147	

## (22)

Beholde eke youre noble progenitours, Howe victorious thei were in corage, How Iuste, how sad & eke wise at al hours, Holdyng theire enemyes in seruage,	148	
---	-----	--

<sup>1</sup> Two words in MS.

Their works  
are chron-  
icled.

- So that thei durst nat so hardy outrage, 152  
 Whos werkes be croniced to their fame.  
 Be suche as thei were, & no man wol you blame.

## (23)

- Ye may rede in cronicles the ruine 155  
 Of high estates and translacion,<sup>1</sup>  
 That to vices and outrage dud incline,  
 For the whiche thei suffred mutacion,  
 Wherof ye haue daili probacion. 159  
 For certeine no persone may longe indure,  
 But he attende wele to his charge & cure. 161

## (24)

- Ther was neuer yet fal / of high estate, 162  
 But it was for vices / or negligence,  
 Were he neuer so high / or eleuate,  
 Withoute he wolde attende wele by prudence  
 To his charge, avoidyng from his presence, 166  
 Men vicious, and namely couetous ;  
 Where thei abide thei distroy euery hous. 168

## (25)

Some recent  
remarkable  
changes.

- Ther hath be in late daies right grete change 169  
 Of high estates and grete diuision,  
 Right meruelous, wonderful & eke strange  
 To myche folk unportable punicion,  
 Sorouful, peineful, and tribulacion, 173  
 Whiche might [haue be] eschewed in this wise,<sup>2</sup>  
 To haue had counsel without couetise. 175

## (26)

- Ther was goode ynough if ther had be hert 176  
 To haue departed therwith in all haste,  
 And sauad many a man that toke smert,  
 But rather thei wolde take the deth is taste  
 Than thei wolde for theimselfe theyr goode oute cast,  
 And so loste there maister,<sup>3</sup> theimselfe & goode,  
 Oonly couetise shedyng their blode. 182

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the meaning is "and of their transference."

<sup>2</sup> Line much defaced.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps he alludes to the death of Richard, Duke of York, 1460.

## (27)

- Howe may any estate be in seurtee  
Of his welthe, prosperite & honnour,  
Or in any wise be in sikertee,  
If couetous folke be in his favour?  
Whiche people wol do / their peine & labour  
Euer for their owne singularitee,  
Charging no personne [h]is aduersitee.

183 Dangers of covetousness.

187

189

## (28)

- The highē estate of oure king god preserue,  
And if denoided had folke couetous  
From his persoune, his people had not sterue  
With suche grete batellis dispiteous,  
Whiche to here & telle is ful piteous.  
For to late the couetous folk toke hede  
To haue holpen theim selfe whan it was nede.

190

The late grievous battles shew they might have been avoided.

194

196

## (29)

- Ful openly shewithe experiens  
To what effect couetise drawith to.  
It is apte to vntrouthe and negligence,  
To falsenesse and subtel treson also,  
Euer for luere, go where he go,  
Hauyng no regarde to trouthe ne worship,  
So he may come to goode and Lordeship.

197 Sins of the covetous.

201

203

## (30)

- Who that herith many Cronicles olde,  
And redithe other blessid Scripture,  
Shall excede al other bi manyfolde  
Resons, and his discrecions ful sure,  
Circumspect in his actes, wytt pure,  
And so to guyde hym in siche cases lyke  
As other men dudde that were polletike.

204 History teaches circumspection.

208

210

## (31)

- Tempus preterit* kepe in youre Remembrance,  
And reuolve in youre cogitacion,  
How mysruled haue fallen in comberance,  
And wele ruled in exultacion.  
Chese the best for youre consolacioñ,

211

215

Euer gracious & blissed entent,  
Maketh to fynisshe wele youre tyme present. 217

*Iam de tempore presenti.*

(32)

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| Tthe ( <i>sic</i> ) god / of his omnipotencie           | 218 |
| Hath brought you now forth to <i>our</i> grete comfort, |     |
| So Iesu encree you, to Iustifie                         |     |
| And rule this present tyme for owre support,            |     |
| That al people may haue cause to report                 | 222 |
| The blessednesse of youre estate Roial,                 |     |
| Pleasyng god and to the wele of vs al.                  | 224 |

(33)

- |                       |  |     |
|-----------------------|--|-----|
| Edward's opportunity. | And also al wronges for to redresse,       | 225 |
|                       | With lauful and dewe moderacion,           |     |
|                       | And all rebellion for to suppresse,        |     |
|                       | Aftur Lust & dewe informacion,             |     |
|                       | All thing doon with consideracion,         | 229 |
|                       | As the case requireth, in his due wise,    |     |
|                       | For to youre highnesse is this entreprise. | 231 |

(34)

- |   |   |     |
|---|---|-----|
| Your works will go down to posterity in history. :- | Suche as ye be, so shall ye be taken,       | 232 |
|   | Youre dedys & werkes shal prove al thing,   |     |
|   | Wele or evyl thei shalbe awaken,            |     |
|   | In eronicles youre Rule rehersyng,          |     |
|   | Either in preisying either in blamynge.     | 236 |
|   | Nowe here ye may chese wherto ye wol drawe, |     |
|   | Best is to confourme you / to goddys lawe.  | 238 |

(35)

- |  |   |     |
|--|---|-----|
|  | Goddys lawe is man to knowe his estate,   | 239 |
|  | And goddis wille haue in dewe obseruance, |     |
|  | And his owne Cure if he be fortunate,     |     |
|  | And thise three euer haue in assurance,   |     |
|  | And so shall he his high estate enhaunce, | 243 |
|  | And his goode dedys be magnified,         |     |
|  | Bothe here and in henyn glorified.        | 245 |

(36)

- |               |                                       |     |
|---------------|---------------------------------------|-----|
| Of magnifice- | To entremete / of youre magnificence, | 246 |
| cence.        | I woll make therof but litil wrytyng, |     |

Aduertising youre estate & excellence Not to be to hasty in youre wyrkyng, Ne to slowe, ne to feint, for no temptyng,	250
Ne to riall, ne in to grete simplesse,	Duty of moderation.
Ne to liberal for no frendlynesse.	252
(37)	
Ne ouer streit for noo necessite, But in a meane bi moderacion, And so youre estate shall encreee & thee, <sup>1</sup>	253
And yet thaugh bi consideracion, Of youre honnour and nominacion,	257
At a point al other ye do excelle, Another <sup>2</sup> tyme ye may it Repelle.	259
(38)	
And euer drawe to youre noble seruice The mooste virtuos folkes and cunnyng, That may youre entencion accomplice, Youre high estate and grete honnour sauynge And suchie ye may haue that cause no blamynge,	260
Suche as a man is / suche drawithe hym to, Either vertuous folk or therto fo.	264
(39)	
And also beware of the couetous, He is nat for youre profett and honnour, He shall appere false and sedicious, Be al quaint socibbilitees and labour, Corruptyng his fellowship bi errorr,	267
Of his false couetous opynion, This is verrey soothe withoute question.	271
(40)	
Take you to liue of youre own properte Of youre Revenues, lyuelode & Rent, Propornouning after the quantite Youre expenses by youre ounre Iugement, Paying all that is to youre estate lent.	274
Thus ye shall oure lorde god & the world please, And all men fayne to leue you at youre ease.	278
280	Keep within your income

<sup>1</sup> thrive.<sup>2</sup> A nother in MS.

(41)

- The wiseman saithe do all thinge with counsel, 281  
 Not biddynge youre counsail do al thing,  
 Right so if ye go youre selfe to batail,  
 All folk woll folowe you in youre helpyng.  
 Do youre selfe and all shall be obeying, 285  
 Truste to no man is execucion,  
 So wele as to youre ounē inspeccioñ.

See to every-  
thing your-  
self.Things to  
remember.

(42)

- Principally I wolde you aduertise, 288  
 The thynges to kepe in youre remembrance.  
 Oon is the vertuous folk to cherisshē  
 And þe vicious to put in grevance,  
 Disseuering theim bi youre ordynaunce, 292  
 Yevyng hym rewarde & other expence,  
 According to his merites and desert,  
 And thus ye shall avoide euery smert. 295

Plato.

- Docet<sup>1</sup> Regem satisfacere / de stipendiis stipendiariis suis  
 Alioquin societas despiciet eum & dominium suum ; hec*  
*Plato.*

(43)

- And paie youre men theire wages & dutee, 296  
 That thei may lyne withoute extorcion,  
 And so wol god trouthe & equitee,  
 And therfore take hertili this mocion,  
 And in their nedys be their proteccion. 300  
 And so shal youre fame encerce & rise,  
 And euery man youre pleasire accomplise. 302

Execution  
before elo-  
quence.

- (44)  
 Be ye rather clept an executer 303  
 Of wisdam, in his deue & formal wise,  
 Than to be proclaimed a wise speker,  
 And nought folowethe aftur that guyse,  
 Of bothe, weldisposed, fame shal arise, 307  
 So youre estate to wisdam do Incline,  
 Wherbi al myshappe fallith to Ruine. 309

(45)

- All thynges aftur wisedam to gouerne 310  
 Is verrey suretee and trusty assurance,

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps for decet.

And pleasith almyghti Jhesu eterne, If ther be put in hym trewe affyance, Whiche ye may obserue in youre Remembrance,	314
That neght eschape in dissolucion, Ne wested by delapidacion.	316
(46)	
And in al thynges kepe order deuly. What is curtesye, trouthe, Reason, pite Or lustice but a true ordre truly?	317 <small>Keep order</small>
All thes vertues returned may be To vices, withoute ordre in his degree.	321
Therfore ordre other' while wol nat speke, But in couenable tyme he wol owte breke.	323
(47)	
That ye must nedis doo bi rightwisenesse, <sup>1</sup> Bi trouthe, goode conscience or Iuggement, Do it with pite & pacientnesse, With no vengeance in youre commandement,	324
For that longithe to god omnipotent,	328
And who that is withoute grace and pite, At last bi reason he shall vnthe. <sup>2</sup>	330
<i>Fundamentum timoris dei est pietas / hec Pitoyoras.</i>	
(48)	
Pite withoute rightwysnesse is folye, Rightwisenesse withoute pite tiranship, <sup>3</sup>	331 <small>One virtue needs another.</small>
The toon withowte the tother withoute any lye May not contynue in myght of Lordeship, But at last it woll come to shenship, <sup>3</sup>	335
Therfore haue herto a goodely respect, That ye be not herein founden suspecte.	337
(49)	
Yeuethe no light credence to euery tale, Ner beleue not euery suggestion, Nor by not euery thyng that is to sale, Ner graunte ye not euery peticion,	338 <small>Sound advice.</small>
But haneth <sup>4</sup> ye consideracion To euery thing, as the cause requirethe, Just, trewe, necessarye, as it semythe.	342 344

<sup>1</sup> Two words in MS.    <sup>2</sup> Not thrive.    <sup>3</sup> Ruin.

(50)

- Do not pro-*  
*crastinate.* Delay no thyng to be doon bi reason, 345  
 Ne deferre it withoute cause resonable,  
 For thing done quykly in his season,  
 Is right worthi to be commendable,  
 And to al creatours laudable. 349  
 Bothe profit and worship shal herby sewe  
 To theym perfourmyg (*sic*) it and never rewe. 351  
*Sitis intra et extra idem ab hiis que loquimini;<sup>1</sup>*  
*ad inuicem ne sit quod linguis exprimitis diversum*  
*ab eo quod reconditis in corde; hec Hermes.*

(51)

- Be secret as*  
*a secretary.* Say nat oon thyng and do the contrarie, 352  
 Lete youre worde & dede be in accordance,  
 Kepe secretnesse as a secretarye,  
 For youre worshippe, proffite and assurance,  
 Withoute langage, speche or vtterance, 356  
 But vnto suche personnes oportune  
 As may be furthering to youre fortune. 358

(52)

- Hear counsel*  
*patiently.* Heere euery man is connseil & aduise 359  
 Paciently & chese therof the best,  
 And than I wold youre highnesse aduertise  
 That ye sholde kepe youre entent in your brest,  
 As ye wolde your owne tresoure in youre chest. 363  
 And so shall ye youre estate magnifie,  
 And youre grete wisdam daily multiplie. 365

(53)

- And kepe no selfe-willed oppunion, 366  
 But to all reason bethe appliable,  
 And allowe als withoute obliuion,  
 Euery man is goode wille / resonable,  
 Thaugh your wytt excelle & be more hable 370  
 To discerne the vtterest Iugement  
 In any case to you appurtenent. 372

<sup>1</sup> The English version runs, "Be all one within and without in that ye shall speak."

*Iam de tempore Futuro.*

(54)

[N]ow of two tymes I wol speke no more,	373	The Future.
It suffiseth to youre discrecion.		
But of futur <sup>t</sup> temps I wol meve therfore,		
Biseching you / vnder youre proteccion,		
That ye wol take herin Inspeccion.	377	
And kepe it in youre noble remembrance,		
For the web of youre estate and surance.	379	

(55)

Be wele ware by discrete prouision	380	
For to suppresse youre false conspiratours,		Conspiracy.
Aftur the lawe & constitucion,		
Established ayenst <sup>1</sup> opyn traiterous,		
Being circumspect as youre progenitours,	384	
In suche caas ( <i>sic</i> ) haue bene to the preseruing,		
Of their Royal estate and preseruyng ( <i>sic</i> ).	386	

(56)

Wolde to god that ye wolde prouide sadly	387	
To subdewe al maner rebellyon,		Rebellion.
Namely of suche countreies that gladly		
Be disposed to insurrecion,		
Wheroft ye may haue intelleccion	391	
Redyng Cronicles, and then ye may fynde		
Whiche places bene to thair deue kyng vnkynde.		

(57)

In euery thyng haneth a prouidence	394	
That no hurt fal to youre noble highnesse,		
Not bi conspiryng ner bi negligencie,		
Exilyng from you slough & simplenesse,		
In suche thing as sholde sowne <sup>2</sup> to youre distresse,		
Hauyng al waies a tendre regarde,		
to youre seuretee sparing for no Reward.	400	

(58)

Almyghty Jhesu was disobeyed,	401	Traitors to Christ.
First by Adam and Eve in paradise,		
Thurgh the fals deuel to them conueiede,		
And in heuyu by lucifer vnwise,		

<sup>1</sup> Two words in MS.<sup>2</sup> tend.

II. *Active Policy of a Prince.*

	And in erthe bi Iudas in his false guyse.	405
	Haue not ye now nedē aboute <sup>1</sup> you to loke?	
	Sith god was deceyvede hy wiles croke.	407
	(59)	
	Be wele ware of falsehoode in felawship,	408
	And namly of corrupte bloode and suspecte,	
	Abidynge in power, myght & lordeship,	
	And be towardes thair rule eircumspeete,	
	And to thaire werkes haueth respecte,	412
	And if thei trespace Lete not theim eschape,	
	Iustly punysshing then & not with Iape.	414
	(60)	
Pretenders.	Oon thyng I warne you, if ye wol be Kyng,	415
	Thurgh goddes grace, of any Region	
	Ye must subdewe with al suppressyng	
	Euery persounе withoute submission	
	Pretendyng right to your coronacion.	419
	Or ellis ye may not regne in seurte,	
	Nor set youre subiettes in quiete.	421
	(61)	
Old servants.	And euer remembre olde Sarueyeres,	422
	Hauyng suche persounes in tendernessee	
	That hathe be feithfull & trewe welewyllers	
	To thair ligeanee withoute feintnesse,	
	Suffryng therfore / grete peine & butternesse ( <i>sic!</i> )	
Beware of reconciled enemies.	And be ye ware of the Reconsiled	
	That hathe deserued to be reuiled.	428
	(62)	
Recent ex- perience.	May nat ye see late the experiance	429
	Howe falshede, mysreule & extorcion	
	Mysguidyng, Robbery & negligence,	
	Withe all ther wiles haue conclusion	
	Of destruction and confusion,	433
	Wherto shal we expresse thair <i>proper</i> name,	
	That so haue perissched to thair grete blame?	435
	(63)	
	The trouthe is not hid, ne neuer shalbe,	436
Chronicles	Cronicles faueurithe no man of Reason.	

<sup>1</sup> Two words in MS.

Their disclaundre shal neuer die of equite That falsly hauē conspired bi treson, Or lyued vngodly in iche seasoñ.	440	do not favour traitors.
Do youre parte as longithe to <i>your</i> highnesse, To avoide prudently suche heynesse.	442	
	(64)	
For truste me, verreyly god wol be knowen, He rewardythe euyer benefet, And punyssheth bothe high & eke the lowe, Be he neuer so queinte or countrefet, His rightwise Iuggement he neuer let,	443	
Thawe he delay it of his diuine grace, For a tyme of better leiser and space.	447	
	(65)	
Muche folke wissheñ hertely to be alorde ( <i>sic</i> ) For grete plente, worship & reuerence Takynge no hede what sholde therto accorde, So thai-hane thair pleasir and complacens. To whiche entent god neuer yauē suche sentence,	450	Duties of lordship.
But that thei sholde be in chageabe ( <i>sic</i> ) cure, To directe other vndur dewe Mesure.	456	
	(66)	
Also take this for a note and Lesson, Yf ye be put in high estate & cure, But ye reule deuly at tyme & seasoñ, Accordyng to right, as seith the Scripture, A wreche shall reule theim withoute mesure,	457	
To a grete punisshyng and chastement To be at a wreche is commaudent.	461	
	(67)	
Prouide you sadly for youre sowles is helthe Of a Confessour in discrecioñ, Of a goode leche for <i>youre</i> body is welthe, Of a Secretarie withe Inspectionoñ, Secrete, sad, and of goode Intencion,	464	Pave a Confessor,
That can accomplissh <i>your</i> commaundement. To thonnour and profit of youre entente.	468	Doctor, Secretary.
	470	

(68)

	Also chese your servantes of goode draught,	471
	That wol attente and be seruiable,	
Servants	Remembryng with whom thei haue be vpbraught,	
	For to suche thei shalbe appliable.	
	Whether thei be good or nat vailable,	475
	So take herin a goode direccioñ,	
	To haue seruice withoute suspcion.	477

(69)

of all ranks.	Looke that youre servauntes be of the best,	478
	Bothe Knygħtes, Squiers, Cleres & yomen,	
	And eueriche in his degré vertuest	
	Whiche shalbe to <i>your</i> glorious fame then,	
	In all countrees that men may you ken,	482
	As well in greto strength, profit & honnour	
	As to al youre trewe Soubgettes socour.	484

(70)

Buy things when in season.	Prouide bifore for al thing in seasoñ	485
	In youre estate, householde & other thing,	
	And ye shall haue better chepe bi reason	
	Of youre prouision in the bying,	
	Than whan ye may make therof no taryng,	489
	For whan a thing must right nedys be had,	
	It must be receiued, goode, chepe or bad.	491

(71)

A stitch in time.	A peny spent bi wise prouision	492
	Auailith two in time seasonable,	
	And in lyke wise the execucion	
	Of dedlys by tyme is right profitable,	
	Where in taryeng it is mutable,	496
	Therfore some thinges oons by tyme doon	
	Ben worthe twyes / other thing ouergoon.	498

(72)

	Prouide that <i>your</i> Communes may be welthy,	499
	In richesse, goodes and prosperite,	
	And to occupacion theim applye,	
	Vndur drede of the lawe is Rigourstee.	
	For of what condicion that he be,	503

And he be of goodes right plentuous, He dar not be to lawe contrariions.	505	The comfortable are the most law-abiding.
(73)		
For he that nought hathe is nat vnder drede,	506	
Neither of lawe, ne of punicion,		
For in other place / he may his nede spede,		
No thing rechygng of transgression,		
Ne willyng to come / to submission.	510	
For he that hathe of goodes no substance,		
He may the soner make than auoydanee.	512	
(74)		
It hath be, and yet is a comyn sawe,	513	A proverb.
That Poverte departithe felaship.		
Therfor vnder rule & drede of the lawe,		
Kepe youre Comyns bi helpe of your lordeship,		Keep your commons,
That they may growe to richesse & worship,	517	
And than at tyme of nede thei may you aide,		
As often sithes as they shalbe praied.	519	
(75)		
Prouide that lawe may beexeercised,	520	and provide laws
And executed in his formal cours,		
Aftur the statutes autorised		
By noble Kynges youre progenitours,		
Yaving therto youre aide helpe & socour.	524	
So shall ye kepe folk in subieccion		
Of the lawe and trewe dispocision.	526	
(76)		
Yif ye wol bryng vp ayen <sup>1</sup> clothe makynge,	527	to revive cloth making;
And kepe youre Comyns oute of ydelnesse,		
Ye shull therfore haue many a blessyng,		
And put the pore people in busynesse,		
Bi the whiche thei shal come to grete swetnesse,		
And robbery lafte by that excercise,		
And strumpetry als by this entreprise.	533	
(77)		
Lete nat the pouer Comyns be dysguised	534	pass sumptuary laws.
Nee haue precious clothe in theire Vesture,		

<sup>1</sup> Two words in MS.

Commons not to bear arms.	But in thair excesse be ther supprised And obserue a resonable mesure In their arraye, with oute chaunge but tendure,	538
	Accordyng to degree of Laborours, Aftur statute of youre / progenitours. <sup>1</sup>	540
	(78)	
	Youre Comyns shude nat bere dagger, ne Lance,	541
	Ne noon other wepins defensife, Leste therby thei cause debate & distance,	
	Yeuynge other occasions / of Strif, Swhiche wepyns haue made folk to lese their lif.	
	And if this statut <sup>2</sup> were executed Meche folk sholde be Laufully rebuked.	547
	(79)	
	Also gentilmen shuld nat yeve clothyng But to their howshold meyne, for surance	548
	That no man be their power excedyng, Ne maynteine no people, by youre puissance,	
Liveries  and mainten- ance.	Ner false quarels take thorough maintenance,	552
	But euerry man lyve of his owne in rest,	
	And that pleasithe god and man most best.	554
	(80)	
Liberty and Licence.	Euery man ought to lyve vnder <sup>3</sup> a lawe,	555
	And namly cristennmen that wold god please,	
	And for drede therof to lyve under awe.	
	For miscreantes, for drede of disease,	
	Bene obedient to their lawe doutelesse,	559
	And muche more rather to be obseruante <sup>3</sup>	
	Of cristen lawe we shulde yeve attendance.	561
	(81)	
	What region may Lyve withoute a reule ?	562
	Or abide quietly In assurance,	
	Thaugh he were an asse hede or a dulle mule,	
	He myght not lyve wildly at his pleasure.	
	But at last ye shall falle in grevance,	566
	As ye may bi experience it se,	
	Mysruled folk evyll doon thrive or thee. <sup>4</sup>	568

<sup>1</sup> 37 Ed. III. c. 8-14.<sup>3</sup> MS. obseruance.<sup>2</sup> 2 Ed. III. c. 3.<sup>4</sup> flourish.

## (82)

By lawe euery man shold be compellede To vse the bowe and shetyng for disport, And al insolent pleies Repellede, And iche towne to haue Buttes for resort Of euery creature for their comfort, Especially for al oure defence Establisshed before of grete prudencie.	569	Compulsory archery.
Butts.		
	573	

## (83)

If any people put to youre highnesse Billes of complaint or petition Onswere theim in haste with aduisinesse, Werto they shal trnst withoute decepcion, Aftur the trouthe & Iuste perfeccion That folke be nat delaied friuolly, Otherwyse then the ease askith iustly.	576	Treatment of subjects' petitions.
	580	
	582	

## (84)

My lorde al men shuld be vnder your drede, That bene vnder your reule & obeisance. So must ye vnder god in worde & dede, In eschewing his wrathe & displeasance. He wol be deled with in sad constance, Neither with Iapes, mokke ne scornyng, But Iustly, truly, even & mornyng.	583	
	587	
	589	

## (85)

No man reuleth god, be ( <i>sic</i> ) he reulith al, Bothe heuen, erthe, and also helle. What man is he that is terrestial But of hym thus sadly wol speke & telle ? Al kyngeſ & princes he dothe excelle.	590	The ruling of God.
	594	
	596	
	597	

## (86)

And for most especial Remembrance Thinketh that men be earthly & mortal, Ner there is worldly Ioy ne assurance But in almyghti Ihesu eternal, Bi whos myght & power especial,	597	You are His subject.
Reignen kyngeſ, and be to hym soubget, And hym to obey is thaire deutee & dette.	601	
	603	

(87)

- Oon thing kepe right stedfastly in your mynde, 604  
 Requite services, or show you don't forget them.  
 If any man do thinge for youre plasance,  
 Acquite you ayein<sup>1</sup> of natural kynde,  
 Though ye wil nat hym therfore auance,  
 Yit lete hym wyt that ye haue therof rememberance,  
 Whiche is to hym a sufficient Reward,  
 And ever to please you wol haue regarde. 610

(88)

- What classes to cherish.  
 And als euer amonge cherisshe straungers,<sup>2</sup> 611  
 Marchandes, pilgrymes & great Clerkes,  
 In especial suche as be makers.  
 Thise may exaltat youre name & werkes,  
 Proverb. Aftur the oolde dogge the yonge whelpe barkes ; 615  
 Study euer to haue men is fauour  
 By vertue, or elles lost is youre labour. 617

(89)

- A Tudor policy.  
 Whan any man tellethe you any tale, 618  
 Serche it priuely to haue trewe knowlege  
 Whether it be soothe, and to you no bale,  
 And than kepe it in secretnesse treuleche,  
 Til ye haue youre ful entente feithfullyche, 622  
 And so ye may ful many thynges knowe,  
 Where bi blabbynge thei may be overthrowe. 624

(90)

- Enrich your descendants in moderation.  
 Oon thing kepe in youre noble memorie, 625  
 Do magnifie & enriche youre descent (*sic*),  
 And thaugh al other ye do modifie,  
 I holde it a prouision prudent,  
 Lete not theime be to you equiuolent, 629  
 Neither in myghti pouer ne Richesse,  
 In eschewyng hapley youre ounе distresse. 631

(91)

- Do not make many lords.  
 To make many lordys bethe aduised, 632  
 But thei be of youre lyue or cause vrgent,  
 Leest the Realme be charged & supprised,  
 And therbi the folke haue cause to repent.  
 God hathe you grace and plentuous wit sent, 636

<sup>1</sup> Two words in MS.<sup>2</sup> Sic in MS.

Take this lesson to noon obliuion, For many folke holde this opinion.	638	
(92)		
Make knyghtes, squiers & gentilmen riche, And the pore Comyns also welthy,	639	Lessons learnt from Henry VI.
But to youre richesse make neuer man liche, If ye wol stande in peas and be set by.		
So wol god and polleci sykerly, Lyke as ye in estate other excelle,	643	
In propre richesse ye sholde bere the belle.	645	
(93)		
Yf god sende you children plentuously, As I truste to god he wole right wele,	646	Teach your children.
Do theim to be letted right famously Wherby thei shall reule bi Reason and skele,		
For leude men litle disreecion fele.	650	
Who that is letted sufficiant[ly], Rulethe meche withoute swerde obeiceantly.	652	
(94)		
<i>Satis cito sit quidquid bene<sup>1</sup> sit.</i>		
Euery day be ware of that extremitie Not to be to hasty in mandement,	653	
But medle th[e]rwith youre benignite, Being to high and lowe Indifferent.		
For youre Lawe is to bothe equiuolent,	657	
Lyke as al other ye do Rectifie, Right so god wol youre highnesse iustifie.	659	
(95)		
Euery day cons shewe your high presence Before the Comyn people opynly,	660	Show your- self once a day to your subjects.
To thentente that ye may yeve audience To al compleintis shewid perfity,		
Yeuyng theim lauful remedy iustly, Defendynge the pore from Extorcion,	664	
Withe al your power / myght & tuicion.	666	
(96)		
Oure nature desirith to haue a man To reigne here vpon vs with gouernance,	667	

<sup>1</sup> MS. benet.

## II. Active Policy of a Prince.

Circumspecte of tymes than & whan He shal execute thyng in assurance, Quykly & iustly to godlys plesance,	671
Not as a wreche, Tirant ne oppresour,	
Nor in subtel wiles a Coniectour.	673

(97)

Grounds for going to war. [ <sup>1</sup> MS. a any]	I wold fain ye wolde kepe in remembrance To be right wele aduised by goode sadnesse, By discrete prudence & feithful constance Er ye begynne werre for any <sup>1</sup> richesse, Or of fantesie or of symplenesse. For werre may be lightly commensed, Doubt is how it shal be recompensed.	674 678 680
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(98)

I mene nat for vnthrifty Cowardise, Whiche is in al Realmes abhominable, But of wilfulness people to surprise, That mieht otherwise be recouerable, By iuste meanes to god acceptab[le], For man knowith nat what he bygynneth, Howe fortune of vntrifte werre endith.	681 685 687
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(99)

Seven curses. Do unto others as you would be done by.	Wo worthe debate that never may have peas. Wo worthe penance that askithe no pite. Wo worthe vengence that mercy may nat sease. Wo worthe that Iugement that hathe none equite. Wo worthe that trouthe that hathe no charite. Wo worthe that Iuge that wol no gilte save. Wo worthe that right that may no favour haue.	688 692
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*Ficias aliis quod tibi vis fieri & non facias aliis  
Quod tibi non vis fieri; hec Socrates.*

(100)

If forgotten be al lawe positife Remembre the noble lawe of nature, Obse[r]uyng it / al daies of your lif, And ye shal kepe equite iust & suer, As to ministre to iche Creature	695 699
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Suche misericorde, iustice & eke grace, As ye wold be doon to in semblable case.	701	
(101)		
What is wisdam, no to be this day wise, And for to be a fole a nother day,	702	Wisdom.
But euermore to a bide in wise guise In wordes & dedis to goddes pay.	706	
And in al thing that men wol hym assay, Neither in malice, ne in Cruelte,	708	
Nor owte of tempre for aduersite.		
(102)		
On al wise if your counsail aduise you To do thing for your profit and honnour,	709	The Council.
Yet heere þair reason & cause why & how, Thei be to you suche a Solicitour,		
Nor for mistruste but for better favour. For perauenture, al thyng discussed,	713	
The case bi you may be better trussed.	715	
(103)		
A mater discussed & wele betyn And reasoned by goode discrecioñ,	716	Importance of thorough discussion.
The sadnessse therof men may owte settен. In the contrarie men finde decepcion,		
Thurgh thaire owne simple intelleccion.	720	
For who that many Reasons wol wele here, May chese the better & with hym it bere.	722	
(104)		
Amonges other I wolde you aduertise To be wele aduised in your grauntyng	723	
Any fee or office in any wise That it securly <sup>1</sup> stande withoute resumyng.		Grants of offices or fees.
Suche variance hathe be grete rebukyng To many folk, that haue be preferred,	727	
And aftur of their' livelode differred.	729	
(105)		
A man to be preferred to honour Of fee or office to his grete makyng,	730	Resumption of grants dangerous.
And aftur to be put to dishonnour		

<sup>1</sup> MS. serurly.

By resumyng of graunt or forsakyng, Better had be neuer be suche takyng. It is nought a man to be cherisshed, And aftur for povertee perissched.	734
(106)	
Your servants' good opinion.  Studie how ye may stande in ful conceite Of youre owne seruantes beneuolence, Bothe in love & in drede withoute deceite, That thei may haue comfort of your presence, For your manly & wytti diligence, In Iustly rulyng with circumspencion Bothe high & lowe with deue direccioñ.	737 741 743
(107)	
Than your seruauntes wol bere oute your fame, That in this world It shal nat quenched be, And renoune your glorious & goode name, Spryngyng it for the to eueryche degree, Blissyng you daily with goode hert & free, Whos worship shal be croniced sadly Yn remembryng your goode workes gladly.	744 748 750
(108)	
Virtue not its own reward.  Looke þat your maters be with god standyng, And ye shalacheu / your blessed entent, The contrarye shal mischeue in al thing. He endith not wele that vngodly ment, Withoute a reconciled amendment. A man of goode wille shal determinye wele, A malicious man evel shal fele.	751 755 757
(109)	
How to listen to tales.  Whan any man maketh suggestion A yenst another for any greuance Heerithe hym wele & make sad question How his tale may be had in assurance. But yeueth therto no trusty affiance, Vntil tyme that ye haue herde the tother. Thaugh it seme sothe / it may be founde other.	758 762
(110)	
Danger of light credence.  Light credence hath done muche harme & damage In this world, and euer more herafter shall,	765

While men wol billeue wilde folk & sauage Withoute examynyng lytil or smalle.	
Many men haue had / therby a grete fal, He that is warned is not deceived ;	769
Yene no credence / til trouthe be perceiued.	771
(111)	
If I shal speke of the vniuersal And the comyn wele of this Region̄,	772
I wol aduise you in especial To haue goode guidyng & Inspeccioñ To euery trouble in this nacion,	The common weal.
For though by a litil it begynnyth, It may distroy vs al or it endithe.	776 778
(112)	
My lorde, if any man hathe offended And is brought to the lawe at your owne wille,	779
Of what maner bloode he be discended, Thaugh ye be above & high on the hille,	
Yet lete not people vtterly spille,	783
If any gracious misericord Wol helpe & it to god & man accord.	785
(113)	
I mene not / this mercy generally, But to suche people that by lyckelyhede	786
Bene wele disposed vniuersally, To goode gouernaunce & vertuous dede.	Use of mercy.
If it be so, ye may deserue grete mede, This I commyt / to youre discreccioñ,	790
As the case askith in submissioñ.	792
<i>Inferas cito penum malefactoribus terre ex quo tibi constiterit de delictis (illegible) impediet regnum tuum, decapita eum publice vt alii terreatur;</i> <sup>1</sup> <i>hec Hermes.</i>	
(114)	
And if thoffence touche the subuercion Of the Realme, puttyng it in disturbance,	793
Procede sharply to deue execucion Aftur lawful and rightful ordynaunce, In eschewynge al suche mysgouernaunce.	Proceed sharply with treason.
<sup>1</sup> MS. terrenant.	797

	For in such case mercy is nat nedefull, Neither for the Realme, ne for you spedeful.	799
	(115)	
	Truste me verely, & take it for trouthe,	800
	That ye shul moe people hertis conquere Bi compassion & piteuous routhe	
	Accordyng to god and his moder dere, Than bi crueltee, & rigorousete.	804
	So lawe & mercy must be discerned, That it be suer to god concerned.	806
	(116)	
The Treas- urer should not be a lord.	My lorde, lete neuuer temporal Lorde	807
	Be your tresourer, ne your Receyvour, For a meane personne wol therto accorde	
	More mete & a bitter ( <i>sic</i> ) solicitour, More availeable in actiffe socour.	811
	For a lordis rewarde is infinite, A mene persone may be content with lite. <sup>1</sup>	
	(117)	
Choice of Council.	Loke that youre counsil be rather godly set,	814
	Wele aged, of goode disposicion, Than worldly witty & no vertue knet. <sup>2</sup>	
	Vicious men yeve no gladly inicion To gracious werke ne goode direccion,	818
	But often theire purpose & their entente Comyn to nought when they be euil ment.	820
	<i>In deum statuas principia tuorum negotiorum &amp;</i> <i>fines ; hec Gregorius.</i>	
	(118)	
	Take this for general conclusion,	821
General con- clusion.	In euery case where counsail is lackyng Committ you to goddes direccioñ,	
	And your matiers shall haue goode begynnyng, And consequently come to goode endyng.	825
	For that thyng that is bi god comenced Shal fynyssh wele with hym so inseneed.	827
	<i>Cum inceperis aliquid bene operare incipias deum</i> <i>rogare quod tibi bene succedat ; hec pitagoras.</i>	

<sup>1</sup> Little.<sup>2</sup> Quaere.

## (119)

- In al your maters, er ye bygynne,  
Thenke what ende wol be the conelusion. 828 Think at the beginning what will be the end.  
In suche guidyng ye shal grete prudence wynne,  
And eschewe mischife & confusion,  
In wise foresight & goode discussion, 832  
In althing take god at your commencement,  
And al thing shal folowe after your intent. 834

## (120)

- Be wele ware that ye haue not by wissches,  
Wissing that ye had doon or lefte suche thing, 835 Good intentions alone are not enough.  
Suche maner reule is nat worthe two Russhes,  
To haue cause of repenting your doying.  
Therfore in iche thing at the begynnyng, 839  
Studie sadly by goode disrecencion  
How ye may take a goode direccioñ. 841  
*Aspectus ostendit quod iacet in corde plus quam verbum ; hee Omerus.*

## (121)

- Auoide alwaies frownyng Countenaunce  
Being fressh, not disguised, ne deyuous, 842 A king's countenance.  
Ay gladsom and chierful with sad constance,  
To the wele of your people amerous,  
And þereto with al youre hert desirous, 846  
Attempryng you als betwyx colde & fire,  
Kepyng your selfe from Angre, wrathe & Ire.

## (122)

- Retoriq & musyk been two scoles,  
Right miche commendable in their nature, 849 Moderation in rhetoric and music.  
Without restreint many may be fooles  
That rekke not to take herin goode mesure.  
Neither of thise withoute reule wol be senre, 853  
Musyke is disposed to grete lightnesse,  
Feire speche for the most parte to grete falsenesse.

## (123)

- Feire speche I mene i-peynted withoute trouthe, 856  
With flatering speche to blere a man is Ie,  
Suche personnes to cherisshé it were routhe,  
For grete parte of their langage þei do lye

II. *Active Policy of a Prince.*

	So craftily that is harde theim tespie.	860
	Feire speeche mesurably & godly ment, Accordith to goddis commaundement.	862
	(124)	
In doubt, await God's guidance.	Whan ye be in doubte of any Reulyng, For to say, do, commaunde or determyn, Better is of al thise to make eesing, Until time that god you illumine. Of al the certente bi wisedam fine,	863
	Thus <sup>1</sup> ye may obserue goode auisement, And the more surly topteine youre entent.	867
	(125)	
Do not trust the Com- monalty.	Put no ful truste in the Comonalte, Thai be euer wauering in varianee, But in god feithfulnesses and equite, In plaine trouthe, Iustice & goode gouernaunce, Men haue be bigiled in affiance,	870
	For al other truste is decepcion, Brynging men to a false conclusion.	874
	(126)	
	Loke that ye kepe alway attemperance In youre langage & eke commaundement, Auoidyng al vengeance & displesance With al mansnetude <sup>2</sup> conuenient, This is to your estate expedient.	877
	So the mekenesse in your hert may habonde To the people of god & of your londe.	881
	(127)	
Good wishes.	I biseche almyghti god of his grace To sende you longe lif with prosperite, Hertly comfort, reioysyng & solace, And in al your daies tranquillite. Yet think ther is no suche feli[ci]te,	884
	But al is transitorie and passyng, Sauf your vertues & godly menyng,	888
	(128)	
	Whiche bene enchauneed <sup>3</sup> in Erthe & also In heven lastyngly glorified.	891

<sup>1</sup> MS. This.    <sup>2</sup> gentleness.    <sup>3</sup> See 55/284, 58/339.

To your noble blode grete whorship þereto Where no Ioy may be now certified, Than in thise wise to be sanctified,	895
For vertu shalbe lauded & preised, And misrule atte laste disobeyed.	897
(129)	
Saint petur saithe þat soubgettes shold be Buxom <sup>1</sup> to thar lorde, goode or vñworthy, Right so a lord shold be in equite, Be-tuyx the high & the lowe Rightfully Procedyng & in iche ease equally,	898 1 Pet. ii. 18. <small>A lord should deal justly by low folk as well as high.</small>
Hauyng no respecte to grete alliance, Ner therfore dredyng manne-is displeasance.	902 904
(130)	
Whan al lawe, Reason and disrecpcion, Wisdam, prudencie, counseil & secretnesse Faile & dispere / in ymaginacion, Than ther may be noon other stabilnesse.	905 <small>When human powers fail, trust God.</small>
But trustyng to god & his feithfulnesse There is verrey relief and goode seurte.	909
Sith it is so, lete vs to hym trewe be.	911
(131)	
Thinges past, remembre & wele deuide ; Thinges present, considre & wele governe ; For thinges commyng, prudently provide ; Al thinges in his tyme peise & discerne, That to trouthe & worship it may concerne,	912 <small>Remember the past ; manage the present ; provide for the future.</small>
Avoidyng from you al Impediment, Showing ayenst al vertuous entente.	916 918

<sup>1</sup> obedient.

### III. Dicta & opiniones diversorum philosophorum.

Non exponas te ad dormiendum donec consideres opera que fecisti eadem die vt scias si errasti, et in quo, et si feceris quod non debuisti, et si inuenieris quod male feceris, tristeis, et si *quod* bene leteris et per hoc peruenies *quod* sis circa deum ; *hec Aristotiles.*

(1)

Before you  
go to bed,  
examine your  
day's be-  
haviour.

Euery day before ye go to youre bede,	1
Serche wele al youre quidyn <sup>g</sup> <sup>1</sup> by remembrance.	
Yf it be Il, pray god of better spede,	
Yf it be goode, to god be the plesance.	
Thus ye may knowe your selfe in assurance,	5
How ye stande with god and with his goode grace.	
And daily better you while ye haue space.	7

Rex iustus bene regit. Rex faciens re(c)turn & seruans iusticiam regit volunt[at]es populi et ille qui facit iniusticiam & Violenceam regimen illius querit aliis qui regnet pro eo. Oportet dominum rectificare prius seipsum quam populum suum ; *hec Zelon.*

(2)

Truste nat oonly in men is multitude,  
but in God.

Truste nat oonly in men is multitude,	8
Ne in thair myght, ne in Comon clamour,	
But in god & in goode consuetude	
Of trewe iuste, without any rigour,	
Otherwise than god wolde, owre Saueour :	12
A Kynge, Reulyng al thynges rightfully	
With lawe reigneth with al folk plesantly.	14

<sup>1</sup> guiding.

Decet Rem agere de nocte cogitare in bono regimine et in die perficere cognatum; et qui seruos habet seu subiectos & eos bene gubernat hunc super tuam miliciam statue principem, et qui hereditates possidet et eas decenter proenrat super prouenientibus tuis ipsum prouera[u]torem constitutas; hec Plato.

## (3)

Bethink in the nyght of goode ordennance,	15	At night, plan. By day, carry it out.
And in the day execute thy thynkyng.		
And suche folk as be in goode gouernance,		
Lete theim bene aboute you awaytyng;		
And suche folk as mysreule theire spendyng,	19	
Exile theim and other in heritage,		
Rulyng wele, take theim for wytty & sage.	21	

---

Iusti nullum timent; qui heret iusticie non habet vnde aliquem v[er]eatur; quare dixerunt aliqui quod iusti non habent ex quo deum non formident ex quo quod Imita[n]tur et suo obediunt mandato. Et si Rex iustus non est, non est Rex sed predo & violens spoliatur; hec Aristoteles.

## (4)

Yf ye live aftur god & righfull lawe,	22	If you live justly, fear no one.
Iustly, truly, after goode gouernance,		
Be not in drede ner in no man is awe,		
For god hathe constitute an ordennance.		
Yf man showe in his lif a grete substance,	26	
Of his werke being goode & vertuous,		
Drede nat al othre þereto odious.	28	

---

Gubernare populum non conuenit pueru, nec ei qui est mundanorum negotiorum ignarus, nec suam immutanti concupiscenciam, nee ei qui plurimum vincere concupisicit. Non est *differencia* inter puerorum etate & puerorum moribus, quia mores hominum non pendent ex tempore, sed ex eo quod in suis actibus concupisencias mutantur. Qui concupisencias ubi quum quantum et ut conuenit, non mutatur bonus ad gubernandum existit; hec Aristoteles.

(5)

Age is no proof of discretion.	Thage of man preuith not disrecioñ,	29
	Ner the youthe of man shewith not madnesse,	
	Of thise two ye may take inspeccioñ :	
	Whiche guidith hym wisely / with goode sadnessse,	
	He is the verray man of Stedfastnesse ;	33
	For that man that childly hym gouerneth	
	Is a childe, while he that reule obserneth.	35

(6)

A childish man is not fit to rule.	So he that hethe childis condicioñ	36
	Ys not acceptable to gouernaunce.	
	For he that aught to haue subjeccioñ	
	Of the people and verrey obeissaunce	
	Must put hym selfe in witty assuraunce.	40
	As ye may oft see bi experience,	
	He that shal reule must hau grete diligence.	42

Recorderis semper anime tue ut stet in nobili cogitatu.  
 Pauei enim sunt allegantes aduersus hunc sublimem  
 statum ; hec Pitagoras.

(7)

Set your mind on noble thoughts.	Lete you[r] mynde be euer in noble thought,	43
	In blessid menyng of goode gouernance,	
	With al other vertues of god sought ;	
	Than ye shal acheue al in assurance ;	
	Otherwise your werkys gone to mischanche.	47
	Al thyngis begonne wele & godly ment	
	Comyn to goode ende withoute repent.	49

Cauete ab eis qui non gubernant se veritate, sed  
 tamen audiunt eam & non operantur per illam. Et non  
 pareatis Laqueos vt noceatis hominibus nec conemini ad  
 dampnificandum eos nam ista est res que non abscon-  
 detur que licet non cognoscatur a principio cognoscetur  
 finaliter ; hec Hermes.

(8)

Beware of evil livers.	Beware of theim that lyve not truly,	50
	In iuste gouernance & operacion ;	
	And noyes no man ne hurte hym wilfully ;	

For thangh ther be no demonstracion At begynnyng by nominacion,	54	
The ende shall showe euerie thinge as it is, Truly instly, or els falsly iwyss.	56	The end shows what everything is.

Infelix in hoc mundo & malus<sup>1</sup> est qui caret sensu  
Sapiencia & doctrina ; hec Hermes.

## (9)

He may be clept wele an vnhappy man	57	A man without wit and teaching is unhappy.
That is <sup>2</sup> withouten wytte, wisdam and doctrine,		
Withoute whiche no personne wele guide hym cañ.		
Therfore euerie man ought to do his peine,		
The saide vertnes to han and opteine,	61	
Principally suche as han gevernance		
To kepe theim selfe & other from greuance.	63	

Conuenit vt honores quemlibet iuxta condicionem suam & ipsius discrecionem et iuxta sui scienciam publicando honorem quem feceris ei vt populo manifestentur bona merentes ; hec Hermes.

## (10)

Eueri persone, cherissē ye & honoure	64	Honour every one as he deserves.
Aftur his merite & discrecion,		
Publisshing to his connyng your fanour,		
Causyng other to take direccio[n]		
To goode & blissed disposicione,	68	
Coraging al people to take grete hede		
To guide theim wele, & to vertue theim lede.	70	

Honoranti fit honor. *Aristoteles.*

## (11)

Worship euerie man in his degre,	71	Honour every man in his degree.
Lordis, knyghtes, Squiers and other men,		
Some for thair goodnesse & benignite,		
Some for manhode that men of them telleñ,		
Some for grete wisdam that ye in theim sene ;	75	
So it shal rebonnde to yonre honour,		
Causyng you to stande in men-is favour.	77	

<sup>1</sup> MS. malio.<sup>2</sup> MS. it.

Non infligas incontinentे penam peccatori *sed* intermittas<sup>1</sup> spaciū ad exculpandum : hec Hermes.

(12)

Don't be too hasty to punish.	Set you neuer to hasty to corre[c]te, Or punnissh a-noon eueri trespassour, But with leisour theim do protekte, Til ye haue of the trouthe better savour. Then ye proeceede after the clamour Justly, truly as the ease requirethe, Punisshyng hym that falsely conspireth.	78 82 84
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Quando rex non potest exprimere suas cupiditates, qualiter potest cupiditates reprimere aliorum ; et qui non potest suos defectus proprios reprimere non poterit suum reprimere populum a se distantes. Ergo decet Regem incipere dominare sibi deinde intendere dominio aliorum ; hec Hermes.

(13)

You can't stop covet- ousness in others, unless you suppress it first in yourself.	Howe shold a kynge that can nat wel represse His owne eouetise, in his owne persone, Other men is eouetise suppresse, That ben many, and selfe but a-lone. Yef ye wol remedie this mater sone, Ye must pure youre selfe fyrist withoute blame, And than proeceede to youre glorious fame.	85 89 91
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Te non rectificato prius tuum populum rectificare non potes, nee gubernare ipsum poteris te errante, / nam qualiter poterit eucus alium dueere pauper ditare alium, Inhonorus seu honore carens aliquem honorabit & debilis qualiter poterit suis viribus debilem confortare ? Certe numquam poterit aliquis alios dirigere<sup>2</sup> nisi qui sciat & dirigat principaliter seipsum. Igitur si immundicias aliorum volueris abstergere primo eor tuum illis abstergas eo quod anima tua existente inmunda, non poteris alium expiare nisi agere velis ut melieus qui a morbo quo periuntur eurare nititur alium, et seipsum ab eodem eurare non potest ; hec Aristoteles.

<sup>1</sup> MS. intermittere.<sup>2</sup> MS. diligere.

## (14)

A principale note / and direction	92	If you want to check vice in sub- jects, see that you've none yourself.
To gourne youre soubgettis,		
To euery vice making obieccyon,		
Looke that the same be not in you, Iwys,		
How may youre selfe correcte that is amys,	96	
And the same be founde in your persone?		
Reule youre selfe first and than al other sone.	98	

---

In vetendo vt non debet dominio Inuidia oritur. Inuidia mendacium prouenit, mendacio odium, odio, vero, iniusticia nascitur, iniusticia, inimicicia erumpit, inimicicia bellum, bello lex perit, et heredita[tes] perduntur et in vetendo vt debetur vero dominio veritas procreat, veritate procedit iusticia et iusticia amor pululatur. Amore<sup>1</sup> vero dona procedunt et tutela eum quibus lex manutenetur et mundus populis adangetur. Aristotleles.

## (15)

A prinee to misuse his owne Auctorite,	99	
Grete inconuenienceis sewe <sup>2</sup> therbi,		
Grete mischeif et ( <i>sic</i> ) muchie enormous,		
Many recuperable treuly.		
He that vsith his power Rightfully,	103	The just Ruler shall prosper.
Shal prospeire in his vertuous levynge,		
To his famous honnour & grete preisyng.	105	

---

Quomodo adquiruntur amici? honorando eos cum presentes fuerint & benefaciendo eis & commendando eos cum fuerint absentes; hec Zelon.

## (16)

By thre meanes ye may Freindes purchase :	106	Three ways to get Friends.
Firste, when they be present, do theim honour;		
And do wele vnto theim in euery case;		
When thei be absent, prayse theim with fauour.		
This ye aught to do your peine & labour,	110	
The higher that ye be in high estate,		
Obserue ye this if ye be fortunate.	112	

---

<sup>1</sup> MS. Amor.<sup>2</sup> ensue, follow.

*Qui est bonorum morum, est bone vite & secure, & homines diligunt eum ; et qui est malorum morum, est male vite, & fugiunt eum homines ; hec Socrates.*

(17)

- All folk love  
well-mannered  
people.  
Wele manered people bene of goode lif, 113  
And al folk theim loven for thair goodenesse.  
Euel named bene often in striff,  
And men fle theim for thair vnthriftnesse.  
Thus ye may eschewe many a distresse 117  
Taceompaignie you with folk vertuous,  
And avoide from you people vicious. 119

*Qui dominatur hominibus necesse habet habere memoriam semper trium. Primum est gentis plurime que subest ei. Secundum est quia licet sint sub suo dominio liberi sunt & non serui. Tertium est quod sua dominacio durare non potest nisi modico tempore ; hec Hermes.*

(18)

- Three things  
for a lord to  
bear in mind.  
A lorde aught to hau thre thinges in mynde, 120  
First, nombre of folk in his governance.  
Seconde, that they be free, nat bonde in kynde.  
The thirde that he hathe no sad assurance  
Of his lordeship in longe contynuance. 124  
So ye may Reuolue in cogitacion  
That here ther is no longe habitacion. 126

*Sciat's quod populus obedit benefaciensi sibi, nec potest accidere Regno bene nisi quum benefacias populo; nam quum populus<sup>1</sup> carebit eo erit dominus sui tamen ; hec Hermes.*

(19)

- Folk obey  
those who do  
them good.  
The people haue a goode condicion, 127  
To yeu to theire goode doer obesance ;  
Take this for a trewe erudicion,  
The roiaulme may neuer be in assurance,  
Bot folk bene wele doon-to without distance. 131  
Kepe theim laufully in peas & in rest,  
This<sup>2</sup> they shall obey youre highnesse most best.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *dominus* ; but the English version runs, "For when the people is gone, the prince abideth lord of himself alonlie."

<sup>2</sup> This = thus.

Non egrediatur ex ore vestro Indignacionis tempore verbum turpe, *quia* hec est Res dehonestans, et ducens ad penam ; *hec* Hermes.

(20)

In any tyme of Indignacion,  
Or in other reason of displeasance,  
Withowte al other excusacion

134 Never use foul or angry rebukes.

Tuche not of fowle rebukyng speche vtterance,  
Nor of no maner vengeable semblance. 138  
But rather attende with mansuetude  
Tamende folk, than to fere<sup>1</sup> with wordes rude. 140

Melius & nobilius in hoc mundo est bona fama & in alio mundo exclusio a pena. Valencius est tacere quam loqui cum ignorantē & solitudinem querere quam iungere se malis. Sapiencia adquiritur humilitas bona voluntas pietas & priuacio peccatorum ; *hec* Hermes.

(21)

The best thinge in al this wide world is this,  
For to be renouned in blessed fame.

141 A good report is the best thing in this wide world.

Who wol this haue, must be wytty & wise ;  
By vnthriftnesse, men lesen theire name.  
Speke not to folis that bene in diffame ; 145  
Stablishe you in your hert to grete wisdām,  
Withoute whiche lost may be a grete kyngdam.

Qualis sit sensus ostendit eloquium ; *hec* logmon.  
Et ex abundancia cordis os loquitur ; *hec* Omerus.  
Et os ostendit quod iacet<sup>2</sup> in corde ; *hec* Socrates.

(22)

To be of to myche speche is a grete vice ;  
To be of to litle speche is Fooleship.

148 Much talking is a great vice.

Ches<sup>3</sup> therfore þe best if ye wolbe wise,  
Bestowyng your wordes to your worship  
Truly, wisely longyng to your lordeship. 152  
Suche as people bene, suche is thair vsance,  
After thair hertes þei make thair vttrance.

154

<sup>1</sup> frighten.<sup>2</sup> MS. iacit.<sup>3</sup> MS. Thes.

Tribus de causis honorantur Reges, ex legum Institu-  
tione bonarum, ex bonis Regionibus conquerendis et ex  
desertarum populacione terrarum; *hec Aristotiles.*

(23)

A king gains honour—  
1. by good laws; 2. con-  
quering lands;  
3. peopling deserts.

- By thre thinges is honnoured a kynge, 155  
 Fyrste for makynge of lawe acceptable,  
 Seconde for many landes conqueryng,  
 The thirde to make desertis habitable,  
 With myche people þere to couenable ; 159  
 Thus a goode kynge is taken as he is,  
 And renouned here, and in heuyn blisse. 161

*Opera hominum non ad vnguem discueias, quia cum homines non possunt erroribus omnino excludi si multum examinentur et districte confundetur tua discrecio ; igitur a aliquibus eorum auertendi sunt oculi, ad indulgendum eisdem. Hiis enim penes te existentibus corda dirigentur ipsorum & procedent ad melius facta tua.* Aristoteles.

(24)

Don't blame  
folk too  
much.

- Blame never people to the vtterest, 162  
 Ner never examine thaim to straitly.  
 Withowte blame or errour is not the best ;  
 Sounctyme ye must forgue graciously,  
 And thus ye shall wynne hertes stedfastly. 166  
 Euyer man-is traspasse be not lyke ;  
 Considre theim wele as man polletyke. 168

*Ignorancia hominis tribus causis cognoscitur. In non habendo cogitatum in rectificacione sui ipsius, & non repugnando suis cupiditatibus, et gübernando se consilio sue consortis in eo quod scit & quod nescit ; hec Socrates.*

(25)

A man's  
ignorance is  
shown by—  
1. not cor-  
recting him-  
self; 2. not  
hating covet-  
ousness;  
3. following  
his wife's  
advice.

- By thre thinges a man-is ignorance 169  
 Ys knownen, hymselfe not rectifie,  
 To couetise to haue no repugnance,  
 Bi his wiffe his conseil hym to fortifie :  
 Thise thre thinges no man may Iustifie. 173  
 Therfore take goode hede and sad attendance  
 To eschewe the mischeif of this dance. 175

Decet regem cognoscere adherentes sibi quorum quemlibet statuat suo loco iuxta cuiuscumque discretionem Sapienciam et felicitatem, prouidens vnicuique iuxta exigenciam meritorum; nec sint talia dona que non acceptentur nec placeant; hec Hermes.

## (26)

A kynge sholde knowe al his owne seruantes,

176 A king must  
know his  
servants,

Their rule, ther gidyng and condicion;

and reward  
them accord-  
ing to their  
deserts.

And to eueriche of theim make his grauntes,

Afteir their wisdam & discrecion

180

To their merites make prouision,

In eueryche degree mete to their desert;

182

Acceptable & plesant in thair hert.

Hillaritas est intelligendum signum & e contra; hec  
Hermes.

## (27)

To dissimile, sum men holde a wisedam,

183 Don't dis-  
similate,  
except under  
necessity.

And it may be in some herd distresse,

But for the moste in euery kyngdam,

Suche as ye be by your chere expresse,

Either in hate or in loue showe thexcesse.

187

And so men shall knowe you bi countenaunce

How men shall guide theimself to your plesance.

Decet hominem non odire nec offendere illum qui  
eum offendit; immo bene faciat & mitiget motus &  
verba eius; hec hermes.

## (28)

If your servauntes displea (*sic*) your highnesse,

190 If folk dis-  
please you,

As every man is nat in that seurte

To guide hym perfitely in stedfastnesse,

Yet showe hym louely your benygnite

be gracious  
to them.

Withoute hatefull wrathe of your dignite.

194

A Soubget may nat bere your displeasance

But your grace be showed to your grevaunce.

Quando errabit amicus penes te non recedas ab eius  
amicicia donec remaneat ad in eo quo (*sic*) ipsum videris  
posse Rectificari; hec Aristotle.

(29)

If ye haue any friende in your Favour,	197
Thaugh he erre or do to you displeasance,	
Make not of his defaute to meche clamour	
While he hathe any power or substance	
To rectifie his defaute or greuance,	201
Puttyng hym in his aquital & peyne	
To aveange hym, ye muste your self refreyne.	203

Rex sapiens imperat cum mansuetudine & placabilitate ; quod non imperat displicitate & superbia & perpere<sup>1</sup> cum bonis propter illud quod putat facere iusticiam rectam et equam ; *hec hermes.*

(30)

Obserue mekenesse in youre maundement	204
With al benignite and mansuetude,	
Takyng this goode blessid aduertisment,	
Neuer in displesant consuetude,	
Ne with rigorous wordes, ne with rude,	208
Yeu no charge ayenst goode people, namely	
While ye wot Iustifie theim equally.	210

Si Rex aggregavit thesaurum & non expenderit illum vbi conuenerit, aut perdet illum aut Regnum ; *hec hermes.*

(31)

If ye make of tresour aggregacion	211
By any maner meanes possible,	
To youre estate & nominacion	
But thexpende therof be incorrigible,	
Conuenietly to men visible	215
Bestowed, either loste is the treasour,	
Or elles the Roiaulme bi men is clamour.	217

Duo sunt laudabilia & bona, lex & Sapiencia, quia lege cohibemur a peccatis et Sapiencia adquiremus eunctas bonitates ; Rex est bonus qui non permittit vnum alium offendere ; *hec Aristoteles.*

(32)

Two thinges be right goode and commendable,	218
That bene, Lawe & Wisdam in temprance.	

<sup>1</sup> MS. *propre.*

Lawe constreineth folk from offence culpable, And wisdam guideth al goode assurance. Al thise two thynges kepit in substance,	222
And rectifie iche man in his degree, That noon hurt oþer by Iniquite.	224
	<hr/>

Non rideas multum, nec irasperis, quia ista sunt duo  
opera fatuitatis. *Aristoteles.*

(33)

Two thinges bene signe of grete foleship̄, The toon is laugh myche in compaigni The tother is to wax wrothe in shenship, These two bene the vices of grete folie Causyng many other to multiplie.	225
Therfore guide your selfe in suche blessednesse That the people may Ioy of your highnesse.	229

Decet Regem ad sua seruicia sucepere qnem prius-  
quam regnaret bonum et fidelem cognouit. Cum Rex  
postquam regnauerit non valet eos bene cognoscere quia  
omnes ei postmodum adulantur & honorantur eundem ;  
hec Socrates.

(34)

A kynge sholde take of his olde acquaintance, His familiier seruauntes vertuous, That he knewe before his Regne of Substance, Wele disposed, trewe, not malicious. When he reigneth, eche man wolbe Ioyous	232
To glose hym, to please hym with al circumstance : Harde it were to knowe than their variance.	238

Qui reputat omnes Homines equaliter, Amicos habere  
non potest ; hec Socrates.

(35)

Oon thing I wolde aduertise your hignesse,	239
Take not euery mañ in oon qualite :	
Oon is wise and a nother in lewdenesse,	
Sum be in welth, sum in aduersite,	
Sum be mery and sum in nyeyte ; <sup>1</sup> [^ folly]	243
Who that cannat disseure wise from bad	
Shal haue no verrey freendes þat be sad.	245

Too much  
laughing and  
too much  
wrath are  
signs of  
Folly.

A king  
should em-  
ploy old  
servants  
whom he  
proved before  
he reigned.

Don't think  
every man is  
the same,  
(some are  
wise; some,  
fools;) or  
you'll have  
no true  
friends.

Qui gubernat bene seipsum, expedit esse gubernator ;  
*hec Plato.* (36)

A good  
Governor is  
he who can  
rule himself.

In this wise ye shul knowe a gouernour	246
Hable to reule & guide in euery place,	
That can be in hym self a goode myrrour,	
Guidynge hym selfe aftur oure lordes grace,	
Shewyng euer a playne & a trewe face.	250
He that can not his owne personne gouerne,	
How shuld he other folkes therin lerne ?	252

Tribus de causis dolet homo, de diuite qui venit ad paupertatem, de honorabili qui dispcionem incurrit, & de sapiente quem ignorans derisit ; *hec Plato.*

(37)

Three things  
to grieve a  
man.

Of thre thinges a man may be heuy :	253
Riche man for to come to pouerte ;	(1)
A worshipful man in dispite reuly ; <sup>1</sup>	(2)
A wiseman, <sup>2</sup> of the ignorant to be	(3)
Scorned or mocked, þat folk may it se.	257
So this world is not certeine ne stable,	
But whirlyng a bowte and mutable.	259

Non expectes merentibus benefacere quoisque requirat illud, sed eis benefacias a tempore ; *hec Plato.*

(38)

If a man has  
deserved re-  
ward, give  
it him at  
once, before  
he asks for it.

If any man haue deserved rewarde	260
For his meritis & goode gouernance,	
In his hasty recompense be toward,	
Competently betyme by your puissance,	
Er it be askad withoute daleance,	264
And by your selfe lete it be doon frely :	
That shal be best, and the more price sette by.	266

Non iraseeris subito, *quia si facere consueueris dominabitur tibi Ira.* Cum posse habes vites Iram que non permittet rei inspicere finem ; *hec Plato.*

(39)

Don't get  
angry sud-  
denly.

I counsel, be nat sodenly wrathfull :	267
And ye be accustomed so to do,	
And ofte displeased & also Ireful,	

<sup>1</sup> ruefully.<sup>2</sup> MS. A wiseman man.

It shal ouercome you when ye wold nat so,  
That ye may not tempre your self therfro. 271

Therfore guide youself in suche pacience,  
That wrath ouercome you nat for negligence. 273

Be patient.

*Si volueris scire naturam alieuius super aliquo, consulas eum, et ex hoc cognosces suam iniuitatem vel equitatem, & suam bonitatem vel maliciam ; hec Plato.*

(40)

Yef ye wol knowe euery man is nature, 274

Wit, purpos, entente and condicion,  
Counseil with hym of sum thyng in grete Cure ;

To know a man's nature, consult him on a matter of importance.

Anoon ye shall knowe his entencion

Of goode or Il his disposicioñ, 278

And whether he be set to equite,

Or ellis to false iniuite. 280

*Scias quod inter dei dona, Sapiencia excellencior est.  
Dilige sapienciam, et audias sapientes, et obedias deo ;  
hec Plato.*

(41)

Of al the yeftes that euer god made

281 Wisdom is the best gift that God made.

Wisedam is the most excellent by name,  
By whiche vertue wol encree and not fade,

And most is enchaunce worship & fame,

And most eschewith vices & eke blame, 285

And bryngith a man best to goddes plesance,

And kepith best in worldly assurance. 287

*Aduersarium tuum contra te machinantem, nitaris ad equita[te]m reducere, pocius quam procurare vindictam ; nam vindicta est utriusque dampnosa, & preservans equitas utilis est utriusque ; hec Plato.*

(42)

Be neuer disposed to grete vengeance,

288 Don't long for Vengeance.

Yf ye may other wise do by Iustice,  
But entrete folkes to obedience,

By meke & gentil wordes in feir guise.

Win folk by gentleness.

Thus men shalbe wommen to your seruice. 292

Vengeance is nat often prophitable,

But the contrary is commendable. 294

Reduc homines ad equitatem suauiter; al[i]oquin  
eris in labore & pugna cum eis; hec Plato.

(43)

Use gentle- ness first;  then, force.	<p>Reduce your subgettes to equite, Firste swetely and by meanes Resonable ; Yf thei wol rest in their iniquite, Compelle theim bi vigour couenable, Fyghtyng a-yenst theim til they be stable, Kepyng your self ever in trewe justice, And doubt not your entente thei shal accomplishissh.</p>	295  299
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*Qui non mansuescit vel aequiescit castigacione blanda, fac eum mansuefieri correpcione turpi vel aspera ; hec Hermes.*

(44)

If a man won't yield to persua- sion, punish him sharply.	Yf ye can not bryng a man by mekenesse, By swete glosyng wordes and feire langage, To the entente of your noble highnesse, Correcte him sharply with rigorous rage, To his chastysment and ferful damage ; For who that wol nat be feire entre[te]d, Must be foule & rigorously threted.	302 306 308
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Noli seruiri ab aliquo de eo quod non est a natura sibi licet debite teneatur, *qui* plurimum tecum turbabitur, eum labor[ar]e oporteat in faeiendo eo ad quod non est aptus; *hec* Plato.

(45)

Let folk serve you according to their nature.	Consider ye euery man-is nature, A[nd] aftur their ounе disposicion, Receyve theire seruice & put theim in cruse <sup>1</sup> ( <i>sic</i> ), Acordyng as shal be expedicion To bothe parties in admission.	309 314
	To chose a man nat apte to youre seruice, How shold he your ful pleasure to accomlice?	

Non tuearis illum qui *per te* defendi intendit in eo  
per quod tua bonitas minuatur vel minus appreeieris.  
Propterea ymmo in aliis rebus promoneas & iuues eun-  
dem; *hec* Plato.

1? for "cure"

## (46)

Protecte ne defende no man by your myght,	316	Don't protect wrong-doers.
That by you to holbyn antendith,		
That shold mynyssh your goodenesse or ellis right,		
For any pite that he pretendith.		
Resonable wisedam god you sendeth	320	
To diseure right from wronge prudently;		
Therfore support never wronge wyttingly.	322	

Modicum non reputes vnum Inimicum habere, quia malum magis quam cogites tibi poterit oriri ab eo. Res que est contra naturam, vires habet in suo inicio forciores, et res naturalis forciores suo fine; *hec Plato.*

## (47)

Repute neuer oon enemye litel,	323	Never think a foe too small.
For he may hurt you more bi his malice		
Then ye wolde wene þat a wreche & fykel		
Might greve or compasse for to accomp[1]ice.		
In-disposed <sup>1</sup> men myche hurt can deuise.	327	
Of youre enemye take goode attendance		
þat he hynde <sup>2</sup> you nat by his greuance.	329	

Non est conueniens prauorum dominium, quia licet bonum videatur aliquo tempore, ad malum tamen deuenit finem; *hec Plato.*

## (48)

Lordeship of Shrewes is nat accordant	330	The role of Shrews is an evil.
Ne conuenient to be cherisshed;		
Thaugh at sun tymes it semith plesant,		
Euyl thinge at eend is perisshed,		
And comyth to nougħt & is vanyshed,	334	
Where goofdnesse abideth in assurance,		
And evel is reward with myschance.	336	

Magis detrime[n]tum quod regnum habere potest, est propter elatos corde habentes meliorem quam merentur statum; nam alios se meliores despiciunt, et tali modo ordinacio Regis perueritur et turbatur; *hec Plato.*

<sup>1</sup> ? a genuine word, or for 'ill-disposed.' See 'wele-disposed,' 67/967, 75/710.

<sup>2</sup> hinder.

(49)

Pride is the  
greatest  
harm to a  
realm.

Of al the detrimentis, hurtis & hyndrance	337
That may betide to a Roiaulme, is pride	
To be enchaunced to grete gouernance	
A-yenst desert, and other put aside.	
The better he wold euer ouer-ride,	341
And peruerte al the kynges ordenaunce,	
And auenture it in great distourblance.	343

Salus est qui seruit Regibus in fidelitate, & cum  
pietate populo; nec status in quo est decipit eum, nec  
propter bonum quod possidet, nec propter malum  
aliquatenus desperat quo grauatur; *hec Plato.*

(50)

He who  
shows pity,

is lovd every-  
where.

He is seure and saufe that seruith kynges,	344
In fidelite shewyng grete pite	
To al people in his doings.	
His estate shal come to prosperite,	
Whether he be in welthe or aduersite.	348
Lerne this lesson, to be right piteuous,	
And ye shul come to loue in euery house.	350

Consulas in negotiis equalem tibi, quia ipse maxime  
intelligit quod opus est tibi; *hec Plato.*

(51)

Take counsel  
of your  
equals.

Aske counseil of a man to you equale,	351
In your grete nedys and meche besynesse.	
He can yeve you best counseil & moost formal;	
He knowethe what longeth to your prowesse,	
To your estate, honnour & noblenesse.	355
Suche lessons haue otherwhile in mynde,	
In whiche wisdам & profyt ye shul fynde.	357

Moderata verecundia facit hominem omitti quod non  
competit sibi; nimis superflua facit omitti quod competit  
sibi, sed diminuta et modica, ad quod non competit  
cogit incedi; *hec Plato.*

(52)

Modesty is  
ielpful.

A moderate shame makith men to leve	358
Many shameful thinges & vnfyttyng;	

Ouer moche shame makith men to bileyve To leve that thing þat were to hym fytyng. Goode discrecion take to youre lernyng, What is to [be] lefte & what to be doon, And guide you aftur goode diserecion.	362 364	Don't be too shamefast.
Non vtaris operibus cum verba sufficient; hec Plato. (53)		
Use neuer for to execute in dede, Where ye may haue deue execucion Bi wordes, and al folkes iustly lede. What nedith Rigour in submission Of hym amendyng his transgression ? He that may reule wele bi benignite, Leue Rigour, or in vnrest shal he be.	365 369 371	Don't act, when a word is enough.
Res regi prohibita censemur ebrietas. <i>Quia Rex regni sit custos : quam turpe erit ipsum sui custodia indigere. Inter Reges est felix ille, in quo dominium predecessorum dirigitur ; &amp; infelix est ille, in quo ipsum subsiditur &amp; priuatur ; hec Plato.</i>		
That king is ful blessed & happy That can kepe hym from mysreule & dronkship, And direete his leuelode profitably, Encreasyng his heritage and lordeship. What dishonnour is to hym, & shenship, That mysguideth his liuelode & lesith, <sup>1</sup> And al his reuenues mysvseth !	372 376 378	The king is happy who doesn't mis- rule and get drunk.
Non te intromittas ad aliquid faciendum quousque sensus prouiderit illud delectabiliter faciendum ; hec Plato. (55)		
Neuer entremete you of ertylhy thinge Til your wise wytt haue prouided before How it may be doon to a goode endyng. Than accomplishe it with hert more & more. He that dothe nat soo, is lewde & a poore. A thing foreseien is light texecute. Unauised men, foles bene repute.	379 383 385	Don't begin till you've secured a good ending.

<sup>1</sup> loseth.

Oportet iudicem non rigidum esse sermone contra maleficii patratores, *quia si non se haberet hoc modo abuteretur auctoritate scensoris*; hec Plato.

(56)

Judges should not speak too savagely to ill-doers.	A Iuge shold not be in worde rigorous A-yenst malefactours in eny wise. He is to þat power contrarious, If he any boistorous worde deuise ; But in gentil and most piteous guise He must attempre wcle his Iugement, That no bousterous Rigour þere be ment.	386 390 392
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Qualis Rex, talis *populus*. Cupiditates & hominum voluntates reperiuntur *iuxtu Regum* cupiditates & voluntates ipsorum; hec Plato.

(57)

Like king, like folk;	Suche as the kynge is, suche bene al other, Bothe in wille & also in couetise ; The toon may not be withoute the tother ; For the kynge hath the charge theim to surprise, That wolde surmonte, or in vices arise.	393 397
bad or good.	The kyng may make his people as hym liste, Either evil or vertuous & iust.	399

Quid est quo cognoscitur iustus? Ex eo quod non agat aliquid dampnosum alicui, nec loquitur mendacium ob sui profectum; hec Plato.

(58)

A just man harms no one, and lies not for gain.	A Iuste man shalbe knownen in this wise, To do no man Iniuri wilfully, Ner ly not for his profett in suche guise That it shuld harme any man skilfully. Thus euery man sholde lyve rightfully, And euer to haue God before his face, By the whiche he shal Ioy & blisse purchase.	400 404 406
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Si Rex omittit inuest[ig]are populi sui facta milicie sue & inimicorum, non vno die securus de regno suo; hec Hermes.

(59)

- Yf a king serche nat the condicōn 407 Unless a king  
Of his people, knyg[t]hode, & enemy, finds out his  
And al thair dedes bi discrecioñ, folks' state,  
He may nat be sure of his regne treuly, he can't be  
Not oon day, but he attende prudently 411 sure of his  
With circumspicioñ and gouernance reign for a  
To put al thise thinges in assurance. 413 day.

Quam bene est populo, cuius Rex est bone discretionis  
& boni consilii, et sapiens in sciencieis ; & quam male  
est ipsi quum ad eo predictorum deficit ei ! *hec Hermes.*

(60)

- How goode & blissed is that Regioñ 414 How blest is  
That haue a king wise, discrete, & witty the land that  
Bothe in science & circumspicioñ, has a wise  
That can guide al his soublettes seurely ; king !  
And if he be the contrary treuly, 418  
Al gothe at<sup>1</sup> hauoke and mysgouernance,  
And the Roiaulme diuided & in distance. 420

Quando Rex despiciet aliiquid modicum de quo facere  
debet, augebitur illud, sicut debilis infirmitas corporis,  
cui non occurritur cum medicina, magnificabitur, &  
totum corpus molestabit ; *hec Hermes.*

(61)

- That king that reputeth that he shold do 421 If the king  
For litil or nought, It shal multiplie neglects a  
As a litil sykenesse dothe in man ; so small ill, it  
Where first with litil he might modifie, will grow like  
And with litle labour it rectifie ; 425 disease in a  
For of a little sparkel a grete fyre  
Comyth, displeasaunt to many a sire. 427

Interest regis informare filium sciencieis qualiter suum  
Regnum conseruet, et qualiter sit rectus in populo suo,  
et qualiter dirigat miliciam suam ; nec permittit eum  
multum vti venacione nec aliis vagac[i]o[n]ibus ; & in-  
struat eum loqui composite, & vitare faciat vanitates ;  
*hec Hermes.*

<sup>1</sup> MS. As gothe &. Mr. H. Bradley suggests 'Al gothe at' as a possible emendation.

(62)

A king's son should rule with knowl- edge, do justice, and not hunt too much.	A king sholde enfourme his sone in this wise, <i>With science to conserue his Region,</i> And to be rightful to folk in goode guise ; Knyght-hode to put in goode direcczion ; To moche huntyng haue none intencion, <i>Ner to wanderinges, ne to vanite ;</i> And to speke ornatly with equite.	428 432 434
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Interest Regis *quod* sua beneficia in bonis viris apartant, et in hiis qui scire intuentur<sup>1</sup> vt ob hoc ad predicta melius mutantur ; hec Hermes.

(63)

A king should help virtuous folk.	It longithe to a king For to auance And to do wele to goode men & vertuous, And thei shal wille wele his profitt & assurance ; Where misgoverned men and vicious, And delicate men and delicious, Wol tendre thair owne proper volunte, Hauyng no regard to other bounte.	435 439 441
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Interest Regis, cum vult sibi seruiri ab aliquo de suo ministerio, scire prius mores ipsius & qualiter se gubernet, & domum suam et socios. & si percepit eum esse bonorum morum, et gubernatorem status sui, & observatorem legis, & tollere<sup>2</sup> pacienter qui contingunt sinistros euentus, faciat sibi seruiri ; si non, de[te]stetur eum ; hec Hermes.

(64)

A king should take as servants, only those whose life he knows to be good.	A kynge sholde take sermantes famulere ; First knowe their maners & thair gouernance, How thay reulen their howse withoute dere, And to thair feliship in assurance, Yf thei be wele named in substance, Wele demeaned, & of lawe a keper, Pacient, take thaim for feithful louer.	442 446 448
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Purum Animum diligentem te dilige, meliorem enim fratre ex patre et matre optante mortem tuam vt hereditet bona tua. Hec Hermes.

<sup>1</sup> MS. intuitar.<sup>2</sup> MS. tolleret.

(65)

Yf ye finde a pure freinde, Louyng and sure, Constant, wele-willed and benevolent, And eke stedfastly a-bide and endure, And euer his actes to you wele ment, Accordyng to your pleasire and entent, Do cherissh hym better than your brother, So that he excelle in loue al other.	449	Cherish a true Friend
	453	
	455	better than a Brother.

Qui deficit in eo quod tenetur Creatori suo, quanto magis deficit in omnibus aliis bonis operibus. Hec Hermes.

(66)

He that lackythe for to do his duetie To al myghti Iesu, oure creatour, In al tymes of his necessite, And displeasith ofte owre Sauiour, Standyng owte of goddes loue & fauour,	456	He who does not his duty to Jesus,
Must nedis lakke myche more oþer goode werke, Wytnessyng hermes, the noble, goode clerke.	460	

In multum dormiendo non est profectus *sel* dampnum. Assuesce igitur benefacere nocte et die, ad hoc quod medium vite tue in ocium non expendas.

(67)

To slepe miche, is no profytt ne availle, But hurte, damage and derogacion.	463	Too much sleep is hurtful.
Therfor, for remedie and aquitaile, Accustome you bi goode probacion For to do wele withoute mutaeion,	467	Do good constantly,
That the myddyl of your liffe be not spent In ydelnesse, ne in vnthrifte myswent.	469	so that your life may not be wasted.

Beatus est ille Rex qui mutat suas leges in melius ; et melior & nobilior est Rex qui in regno suo commutat legem malam propter bonam ; hec Hermes.

(68)

That kynge is blissed and honourable That chaungeth his lawes for the better,	470	The Im- prover of Laws is blest ;
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but the  
Changer of  
Bad to Good  
is more  
glorious.

In goode actes & statutes laudable,	
By the whiche <sup>1</sup> whiche ( <i>sic</i> ) he is gretter & gretter,	474
That can of Injury be a letter, <sup>2</sup>	
Into his glorious fame Renommed,	
So often that it may not be sommed.	476

(69)

In al your noblay and prosperite,	477
In your worshipful richesse & blessed name,	
Kepe ye thre things for your moost seurete—	
Goode conscience and vnablemysshed fame,	
By the whiche ye shul be kepte from grete grame;	
And from al dishonour and vice coarted, <sup>3</sup>	
And to grete worship þere-by exalted.	483

*hec Ouidius.*

Dic bona de amico tuo cui vis occurrere, eo quod inicium amoris est benedicere, et Inicium odii maledicere ; *hec Socrates.*

(70)

Say goode of your freinde in al freenly wise.	484
The begynnynge of loue is to say wele ;	
The begynnynge of hate, with evil guise.	
Thus man-is tongue shewith swetnesse or felle. <sup>4</sup>	
Of al thinges the tongue berith the belle.	488
The tongue breketh boon, thaugh he be tendre,	
And shethe <sup>5</sup> many men thaugh he be slendre.	490

Maior rectificacio est dirigere Regem elongare se a malis, ne mala que fiunt imputentur eidem ; *hec Socrates.*

(71)

The most grettest Rectificacion	491
Ys, from evel things to directe a kinge,	
Leest vnto hym fal Reprobacion	
By his euil doyng or mysguidyng.	
Meche people awayte vpon his reulyng :	495
Yf it be goode, people greetly reioise ;	
Yf he be euel, for suche thei wol hym noyse.	497

<sup>1</sup> ? text corrupt ; needs 'But he is the gretter' &c.<sup>2</sup> hinderer     <sup>3</sup> forced     <sup>4</sup> cruel     <sup>5</sup> shoots (? sleeth, slays).

Rex est uelud est magnus fluuius, nascens de paruo ;  
vnde, si dulcis est, dulces sunt omnes parui ; et si  
salsus, omnes erunt salsi ; hec Plato.

(72)

The king is a grete and a myghti Floode,	498	The King is like a mighty River.
Ascended and comen of many smale.		
Yf the floode be swete, douce, fresshe & goode,		If he is sweet, his subjects are too ;
Of suche sauour & Fresshnesse bene the vale.		
If it be salte, of suche taste withoute tale	502	if salt, so are they.
Bene the tother, by al maner nature.		
As the kyng is, suche bene al in his cure.	504	

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Non iudices priusquam vtrosque audias contenden-  
tes ; hec Plato.

(73)

In any striff, make neuer iugement	505	Don't judge till you've heard both sides.
Til ye haue herde bothe parties wisely,		
Leest after ye haue cause to repente,		
For lack of Foresight and serching treuly.		
A kynges worde muste nedys stand iustly ;	509	
Therfore in al thing be wele approved,		
That nought eschape, digne to be reproved.	511	

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Cum habueris amicum, expedit quod sis suimet Ami-  
cus ; nec expedit quod sis inimicus inimici ipsius ; hec  
Plato.

(74)

If ye haue a frende, be frendly to his ;	512	Be a friend to your Friend's friends ; and don't be a foe to your foes.
If ye haue an enemy comberous,		
Ye aught nat to be his enemy I-wis,		
But euer in charite vertuous.		
Thus ye may betuyxe bothe be Ioyous,	516	
And set youre selfe in quiete & Rest ;		
And thus ye may demene you moost surest.	518	

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Si pius es, non cum ea pietate que conuertatur in dampnum. Et penam merentibus inferre non differas ; et ad roboramam Legem labora, quia in ea dominii timor constat. Aristoteles.

(75)

Don't let  
your Pity  
turn into  
harm.

The fear of  
God consists  
in keeping  
the Law.

If ye be disposed to grete pite,	519
Lete not that into harme be conuerted,	
Ner differred peine to theim that worthy be	
To be punisched in vice pernuered.	
Ner lete nat your lawes be subuerted,	523
But theim mayntene and sustene rightfully,	
In whiche the drede of god standith iustly.	525

Debiliorem ex inimicis tuis, forciorum te reputas, eo modo requirens tuam miliciam,<sup>1</sup> velud qui ex magnis causis emergentibus egens ad sui tutelam Requirit eandem ; hec Aristoteles.

(76)

Think your  
least Foe  
stronger than  
yourself;

and keep him  
under your  
foot.

Youre leest enemy, Repute ye strenger	526
Than your selfe in his fals Iniquite,	
Suppressyng hym, leest he a-bide lenger	
in his feruein malice and subteltee ;	
Puttyng your personne euer in seurte ;	530
And kepe your enemy vnder your fote ;	
To be in rest, þere is noon other boote.	532

Si sapiens Rex fieri volueris, ad Rudos & inscios nou auertas, Sed ad illos qui sapiencia te transcendunt ; hec Asseron.

(77)

The Wise  
King must  
keep clear  
of Fools,

and draw to  
the Wise.

If a kynge wol be wytty and eke wise,	533
He muste abstene from Rude & Unkunnyng,	
And al suche vnthrifte folkys despise,	
To th[e] moost wytty & wisest drawyng,	
By whome he may be in wisedam lernyng.	537
Right as a king is grettest in noblenesse,	
So is wisdam moost best to his hignesse.	539

Mundus<sup>2</sup> non est perpetuus ; ergo, cum poteritis bene facere, non differatis nitentes ad habendam famam bonam ; hec ypoeras.

(78)

The world  
won't last.  
So do good  
at once.

The worlde is [not] in perpetuite,	540
Therfore, for to do wele, make no delay ;	

<sup>1</sup> MS. maliciam.<sup>2</sup> MS. Mundus.

And if ye wolbe in felicite, Put you in peyne and deuour To be in blissed fame while that ye may.	544
It is a comon sawe, he that doth wele, Shal haue it by goode lawe, Reason & skyle.	546

He who does  
good, shall  
get good.

Non sis dissipator sicut ignorans *quod habeat*; nee  
sis *parcus* vt non fias seruus; sed in omnibus habeas  
moderanciam, quia in *omnibus* utilis est mensura; hec  
Pitogoras

(79)

Be nat in youre expenses ouer large,	547	Don't be a spendthrift or niggard,
Ne to sea[r]ee by maner of nygonship. <sup>1</sup>		
A goode mesure, kepe euer in your charge,		but ever moderate.
Worshipfully longyng to your lordeship,		
Eschewyng al dishonour & shenship,	551	
That your blessed name may spryng & florish.		
[ . . . . . <i>line omitted.</i> ]	553	

Ne sis suspiciosus; quia suspicio inter te & amicorum  
quemeumque, amorem abscindit; hec Logmon.

(80)

Amonges many thinges, oon thing kepe,	554	Don't be too suspicious,
Not to be ouer meche suspicio[n],		
Ner compasse, ner wade therin ouer depe,		
For that is a conceyte sedicious,		
Bryngyng many a man right vertuous	558	or you'll lose folk's love.
To departe from the grete affeccio[n]		
That he was of by goode entencio[n].	560	

Amicus cognoscitur in necessitatibus, quia in gaudio  
quilibet est amicus; hec Diogenes.

(81)

A Freende is knownen in necessite;	561	Need proves Friends.
In Ioy, men may haue frendes plenteuous.		
A man whan he is in felicite,		
To please hym, al men be right studious.		
In aduersite, men be nat Ioyous	565	A Friend in need shows his worth.
To be frendly, withoute he be right goode,		
Wele disposed, and of natural bloode.	567	

<sup>1</sup> niggardliness.

Regna perduntur propter quatuor. Quia si a Rege  
 (1) negligantur Radices / et solummodo ad Ramorum gubernacula intendatur, Regna perdiunt ; & vt fortuitis attendatur fiducieis que expedirent omissis operibus Regna perduntur ; et vt ad populacionem terre minime intendatur, Regna perduntur ; & propter diuternitatem bellorum, Regna perduntur ; hec Plato.

(82)

A land is lost  
by 4 things :  
1. attending  
to Youth, not  
Age ; 2. Re-  
bellion ;  
3. trust in  
Luck ;  
4. want of  
care of  
People.

By four things, loste is a Region : 568

Tattende to youthe, and not to men of Age,  
 And daily batel by Rebellion,  
 And truste to fortune / with-owte werke sage,  
 And not tentende (thaugh he be high in sage) 572  
 To the landes goode populacion.  
 Thise four / bene a Roialmes is destruccio[n]. 574

Tua beneficia bonis collata, Retribucionem expetunt,  
 et impensa vili ad plura petenda inducunt ; hec Plato.

(83)

Your gifts  
to good folk  
are repaid  
you : those  
to bad folk  
make them  
ask for more.

Your benefetis genen to goode men, 575  
 Asken daily grete retribucion.  
 That goode that is to euel folk geuen,  
 Asken gretter multiplicacio[n] ;  
 For thei take not in reputacio[n] 579  
 No-thynge as goode, vertuous men wol do ;  
 Therfore goode men bithe (*sir*) applicable so. 581

Non oportet Regem in eum despiciensem confidere,  
 nec in avido<sup>1</sup> multum, nec in eo pro quo (*sic*) meruit  
 pena[m] et commisit errorem, nec in illo quem dominio  
 priuauit et bonis, nec in eo qui suo regimine passus est  
 dampna, nec in eo qui amiciciam contraxit cum inimico ;  
 ymmo necesse est talib[us] nullam concedere potestatem ;  
 & si est possibile eorum carere suffragio in nullo eis  
 incumbit ; hec Asseron.

(84)

A King  
shouldn't  
trust one who  
despises him.

A kyng shulde neuer put his confidende 582  
 In any creature hym despisinge,  
 Ner in a covetous man-is sentence,

<sup>1</sup> MS. opido, but the English versions have "in him that is covetous ;" and the following phrase is not rendered.

Ner in a man erryng, peine deseruing,		
Ner in hym that hathie be of goode pruyng, <sup>1</sup>	586	Whom a King shouldn't trust.
Ner in hym that is hurt for his trespassse,		
Nor in hym that is in your enemyes grace.	588	

Decet Regem studiosum siue solicitum esse, Requirere suum Regnum et suum populum, sicut dominus orti suum Ortum requirit. & conuenit Regi quod sit primus ostendere leges pertinentes populo, in bonum exemplum populi; hec Pitagoras.

(85)

A kynge shude be right besy and studious	589	A King should govern his Realm well,
To gouerne his Roiaulme & his people pure,		
As a Gardyne is right laborous		
To kepe his gardeyne clene from wedys seure,		

Leuyng <sup>2</sup> wele in Rightfulnesse to endure.	593	
A kyng sholde be fyrist kepynge his lawe;		and keep his Laws him- self.
Al other must doo the same for his awe.	595	

Decet regem non multum appreiare seipsum, nec gubernari suo consilio, nec vti frequenter venacione, nec incedere semita quam ignorat, nec angusta, nec nocte obscura; et quod sit hillaris vultus, & aspiciens libenter homines, & salutet eos et quod placite conuersetur, quia *populus* multum attendit ista; hec Pitagoras.

(86)

A kynge sholde not sett hym selfe in myche price,	596	
Ner his counseil haue of hym gouernance,		
Ne ofte use huntyng, kepiug wele his trice. <sup>3</sup>		A King should not hunt too much,
Ner take any newe way by ignorance,		
Ner greuyng, ne by myght for surance,	600	
But gladsom of chere, al folk salutyng;		and should be civil to his folk.
Thanne al men wol be his highnesse blessyng.	602	

Fac omnia cum consilio; hec Salomon.<sup>4</sup>

(87)

By advis and goode counseile to gouerne	603	He shouldn't let his Coun- cil rule him.
Is goode, but not to be in gouernance		
Of his counseil, but of theim for to lerne,		

<sup>1</sup> depriving.     <sup>2</sup> Believing.     <sup>3</sup> Station in huntyng.

<sup>4</sup> Caxton's Salon.

A King  
should con-  
sult wise folk.

- And texecute your selfe in al substance ;  
Thus ye may guide your selfe in assurance. 607  
And asketh of wise people ofte ;  
And that shal kepe your high estate a lofte. 609

Causeas a comedendo & bibendo a manu multum *ho-*  
*bencium zelotipiam*, et ab aliis vilibus, nisi ab illis de  
quorum *securus* est credencia et sensu, et qui diligit  
eum & dominium suum ; hec Pitagoras.

(88)

Don't eat and  
drink with  
jealous or  
poor men.

- And be ye ware of your etynge & drynkyng, 610  
Principally of men of gelousye,  
And of symple wreches pourely lyuyng ;  
But drede never theim þat can rectifie  
Theim selfe, & wittily theim Iustifie,— 614  
For suche personnes bene of grete credence,—  
Ner theim that ye loue with grete diligence. 616

Si cum volueris aliquem corrigere, non te geras velut  
homo optans de alio *habere vindictam*, ymmo agas velut  
volens curare seipsum ; hec Diogenes.

(89)

Punish to  
cure, not to  
revenge.

- If ye wol do any correccion, 617  
Behaue you not as ye wolde do vengeance,  
But as ye wolde cure hym from Corrupcioñ,  
And so ye shal deserue of god pleasance,  
And kepe your selfe in blissed assurance. 621  
For ye be a leche of Iniquite,  
Chast[en]yng wronge bi felicite. 623

Sciatis pro certo quod timor dei est maior sapiencia  
& maior delectacio & est illud a quo fluit omne bonum  
& aperit portas intellectus et sensus legis et non poter-  
itis esse iusti nisi haberitis timorem dei. Vt amini  
sapiencia & sequimini legem assuescat mansuetudinem  
et ornatis vos bonis documentis & cogitatis bene in  
vestris rebus et excludentur anime vestre a seruitute  
ignorancie et seruitute Iuventutis ; hec Hermes.

(90)

The fear of  
God is the  
best wisdom.

- Knowe for certeyne that the dre[de] of Iesu 624  
is the grettest wisedam & dilectacion,

- Of whiche springeth al goodenes & vertue,  
 Of wise vnderstandingyng exultacion,  
 And of goode guidynge dominacion. 628  
 So who that wolbe wytty & eke wise,  
 Drede god, and he shal haue it in best guise. 630  
 Fear God,  
 and you'll  
 grow wise.

Fae filios tuos a sua prauitate addisere, priusquam  
 preeclant multum & trahantur a malicia, & non pecca-  
 bitis in eis ; *hec Hermes.*

(91)

- Suche childred (*sic*) as ye hane in gouernance, 631 Train chil-  
 dren while  
 they're  
 young,  
 Whether thei be your owne or other men-is,  
 While thei be yonge, put theim in assurance  
 Of lernyng & vertuous doinges,  
 Leeste in age thei wol make eschewyngis, 635 or they'll go  
 wrong when  
 old.  
 And ye therof haue the synne & the charge,  
 When first ye were at libertee & large. 637

Cum festa celebrabitis existe[n]s hyllares in domibus  
 vestris cum familia, Recordemini pauperum, largientes  
 elemosinas & beneficia, & confortemini angustuosos &  
 tristes ; Redimatis captiuos, curetis infirmos, induatis  
 nudos, cibetis famelicos, sientes potetis. Recipiatis  
 perigrinos, satisfaciatis Creditoribus, tueamini iniuriam  
 pacientes, non addatis afflictionem afflictis, ymmo con-  
 fortejmini & mutetis eos placitis et ornatis operibus ;  
*hec Hermes.*

(92)

- Ay the werkys of mercy haue in mynde, 638 Be merciful  
 to the poor.  
 Especially the poure & the heuy,  
 And lete not god fynde you herin vnkynde,  
 But in obseruance herof beth besy,  
 Whiche ye [are] bounden to do sekerly. 642  
 For on a day ye shul make rekenyng,  
 How of thise dedys ye haue made guidyng. 644  
 One day you  
 shall give  
 account of  
 your deeds.

Canete a societate malorum & inuidiorum, ebriorum  
 & ignorantium ; *hec hermes.* (C.)

Malo te non associes, quia tua natura absque tui  
 noticia aliquid subripiet de natura ipsius ; *hec Plato.*

(93)

Don't asso- ciate with envions or drunken folk.	<p>Associe you nat with men envious,  Dronkelowe, ignorant, ne of Il nature,  But with the best, ay most vertuous,  Of whom ye shal haue no shame ne lesure ;  Of Il, ye may haue of vertue rupture.</p>	645
	<p>Yf ye desire to come to famous name,  Kepe this as ye luste to esche your blame.</p>	649
		651

Non iurare faciatis mendaces, *quia* participes eritis peccatorum quando scietis eum veritatem denegasse. Eciam decet Regem non vti homine men[daci] nec prauo ; hec Hermies.

(94)

Don't make a liar swear.	<p>Yf ye knowe a lesyngmonger and fals,  Make hym not swere ; he is of no credence ;  Yf ye do, ye be in synne als ;</p>	652
Banish all such.	<p>Exile al suche owte of your high presence ;  Suche doon many tymes grete diligence  To make discorde, debate &amp; variance,  When goode vnite sholde be &amp; pleasance.</p>	656
		658

Si percipiatis in aliquo aliquam lesionem vel aliquam maculam, non dehonestatis vel derideatis eum, sed recedatis ad deum *quod* omnes estis creati ex vna materia ; & *qui* deridet, non assecuratur, vt ad tempus non incidit in idem, *quia* decet, quum videritis, eleuare oculos ad deum, gratifica[n]tes eidem de salute vobis concessa, & petentes misericordiam, *quod* vos custodiat & caue[at] a derisione, *quia* per hoc nascitur odium ; hec Hermes.

(95)

Don't laugh at a disfig- ured man.	<p>Yf ye finde any spotte, fylth, or lesion<sup>1</sup>  In any persone or in creature,  Dishonnour hym not with derision :  Ye be nat in suche suerte ne mesure,</p>	659
	<p>But that the same may happ to you ful sure.  Therfore, if ye stande in ease resonable,  Thanke god that ye nat therof culpable.</p>	663
		665

<sup>1</sup> injury.

Tria sunt opera sapientis, facere de inimico amicum,  
de nesciente scientem, de malo bonum; hec Hermes.

(96)

Thre thinges longen to a wytty man,	666	A wise man
That is, in wisdam & sapience,		
To make of an enemye, a frende that can be lovyng with a frendeli diligence;		turns foes into friends,
And of vnkonnyng, to be in grete science;	670	fools into wise men, and ill-dis- posed folk into good ones.
And of il disposed in wykkednesse, To be reconciled to blissednesse.	672	

Nullus debet dominari, nisi pius. Decet reges non  
dare posse, nec dominium, nisi pietatem habentibus; et  
ex hoc diligit omnes, sicut bonus pater, bonos filios;  
hec Hermes.

(97)

A king aught not to geue auctorite,	673	Give author- ity only to merciful and just men.
Might, power, lordeship, ne also puissance,		
But to piteous men of Equite,		
For no praier, grete requeste or instance.		
Rigorous men make grete disseuerans.	677	
Ye shul loue al forlkes ( <i>sic</i> ) in charite,		
As the fader the sone with grete pite.	679	

Vita hominis est tam breuis quod quis non haberet<sup>1</sup>  
alium in odio; hec hermes. Et tractetis amicos<sup>2</sup> vestros  
eum amore vero, nec ostendatis vna hora signum odii.  
Socrates.

(98)

Considre that your liff is shorte and brief	680	As your life is short
In this transitory world and passing;		
Therfore, for a goode & blessed relief,		
Ye aught not to haue other in hatyng,		don't hate any one, but cherish all.
But hertely cherissh theim withoute prating,	684	
Neither wronging theim bi extorecioñ,		
Ner plukking theim als bi compulsion.	686	

Qui non bene faciat Amicis cum potest, deserent eum  
cum indigebit eisdem; hee Plato.

<sup>1</sup> MS. haberent.<sup>2</sup> MS. tragemicos.

(99)

Cherish your  
friends, and  
show your  
love to em  
daily.

- Cherissh wele your freendes while that ye may, 687  
 As wele in worde as preferring,  
 Showyng theim semblance of love euery day,  
 Corogeng theim to be to you loyng.  
 Thus your glorious fame shal be springing 691  
 To high & lowe, of your noble kyndnesse.  
 Who is he that wold nat please your highnesse?
- 

Tria sunt que Regibus obsunt, superflua vini potacio,  
 Musicorum frequens auditus, & amor nimis mulierum;  
 hec hermes.

(100)

Kings must  
not drink too  
much, hear  
music too  
often, or care  
greatly for  
women.

- Thre things bene contrary to a kyng, 694  
 To be in superflue drinkyng of wyne,  
 And of musyke to haue to ofte hering,  
 And to be to women in love-is pyne,<sup>1</sup>  
 Whiche hath brought many a man to Ruyne. 698  
 Al suche thing noyant to your high estate,  
 Eschewe al wey, if ye be fortunate. 700
- 

Rex qui suum regnum statuit serum legis, debet  
 regnare; et qui legem subiectam Regno efficit, Regnum  
 angustiatur propter eum; hec Aristoteles.

(101)

The King  
that enforces  
just laws,  
shall reign  
in peace.

- That kyng that maketh his Regioñ 701  
 To be obedient to his iuste lawe,  
 That<sup>2</sup> reigne feasibly in an vnyoñ.  
 He that makethe his lawe souget to awe  
 Or to his Roialme, his wyt is not worth a strawe.  
 He that dwelle in grete prosperite,  
 Must obey lawe, and therto subget be. 707
- 

Quando volueris consulere aliquem super factis tuis,  
 Inuestiga illum qualiter seipsum gubernet in suis; quia  
 si videris eum non dirigere animam suam, nec studere,  
 quod alias bonitates adquirat, multo plus tui negligens  
 erit, cum te minori precio reputet quam seipsum; hec  
 Socrates.

<sup>1</sup> anguish<sup>2</sup> i. does. *The* to do. See en-the 78/784. Or is *That* for *Shal*?

## (102)

- If ye wol aske counsaile of any mañ,  
    708   Don't consult  
    Serche fyrste of his owne proper gouerna[n]ee.  
If he be not wele disposed, ner can  
    Putte hymselfe in goode assurance,  
    How shuld [ye] put in suche oon affiance ?  
    That<sup>1</sup> can nat be to hym selfe proffitable,  
    He shal not be to other availeable.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Sis vigilans in tuo consilio, quia dormire in eo est  
participare cum morte ; hee Pitagoras.

## (103)

- In your counsail be quick and ay wakyng.  
    715   Be watchful  
    Who shold tendre so meche your owne availle  
As your self? or els more Reasons making  
    To your entencion that myght prevaille,  
    And therto with al diligence travaile,  
    That best knoweth your estate & pleasance,  
    And how it may best be had in assurance,  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Caeas ne innitaris tui *tantum consilio, sed* consulas  
qui fuerit bone discrecionis & etatis proueete, qui in  
pluribus est expertus ; & plurium vtaris consilio &  
inuento, quod rectum sit in aliquo eorum, illud assumas,  
alioquin vtilioribus consilio comprehensis ab omni  
habito per te dirigas, et deus te diriget ; hee Hermes.

## (104)

- Trust neuer to your owne wytte, ne in Counsel,  
    722   Trust only  
    But of aged men in discrecioñ,  
Being experte of thrifty antiquaile ;  
    And by meche aduis and inquisicioñ  
    Of the moost wisest, take<sup>2</sup> discrecioñ,  
    That nought eschape bi Innocençye,  
    Neither bi negligence, ne by foly.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Quare sensatus petit consilium ? Quia sui volun[ta]-  
tem veretur, que suo sensui sine racioni misetetur ; hee  
Soerates.

## (105)

- Why dothe a wytty man aske counsaile ?  
    729   A sensible  
    For he is ashamed of his owne wille,

<sup>1</sup> That = who, he that.<sup>2</sup> MS. tate.

- lest his own  
wits fail him.* Leest his owne wytt & Reasoñ do hym faile,  
And bryngē hym to grete shame and for to spille,  
Sith his owne Reason wil his owne wille fille. 733  
A wise Man wol nat put great affiance  
In his ounē discretion ne constance. 735

*Non est danda potestas super se,<sup>2</sup> quia si dederis  
potestatem amico, vt suos pedes tuis pedibus superponat,  
superponet in crastinum collo tuo ; hec Diogenes.<sup>1</sup>*

(106)

- Don't set any  
one over you,* Yeue neuer power ne auctorite 736  
To no maner personne on erthe lyvynge  
Vppon your self for any freilte.  
If ye be to any man lencyng  
To set his fote vpon youres areryng, 740  
He wol after set his fote vpon your nekke.  
[ . . . . . *line omitted.* ]

*Oportet dominum secedere a populo suo, & non familiariter conuersari cum eis. Alioquin despicietur, cum de natura populorum sit despicere se inuicem, & conuersantes cum eis, unde quemlibet conuersantem unum et idem Reputant sibi Ipsius.<sup>2</sup> Nimia familiaritas<sup>3</sup> parit contemptum ; hec Plato.*

(107)

- A Lord  
mustn't be  
too familiar  
with folk.* A lorde shold nat be over conuersant 743  
With folke, ne in familiarite,  
Leest they be to his honnour repugnant,  
And haue hym in despite of freilte,  
After nature of theire Iniquite. 747  
For to meche humblesse, vsed of olde,  
Makethe meche people to be over bolde. 749

*Non intromittas te nisi de veris rebus, vt sint tua  
opera veritas & non derisio ; hec Hermes. Et assume  
illos in amicos qui veritatem sectantur ; hec Pitagoras.*

(108)

- Take part  
only in true  
things.* Entremete you neuer of other thing 750  
But of trewe withowte any soubtelte.

<sup>1</sup> Caxton gives this quotation as applying to wives particularly.<sup>2</sup> Underlined in MS.<sup>3</sup> MS. familialitas.

And that your werkes be of trewe meanyng, Withoute derision or nyctete,	754	
Whiche shal put you in grete tranquillite.		God is Truth.
For god is trouthe, & louthit moost best,		
And of all vertues is most surest.	756	

Sapiencia adquiritur humilitas, bona voluntas, pietas & priuacio peccatorum. Non recte agit qui querit Sapientiam non legendo; et ille qui cogitat habere eam cum multa habilitate, est ignorans; hee Hermes.

(109)

By wisdam is gotten humilite;	757	Wisdom begets Humility,
And of many synnes priuacioñ,		
Meche other grete vertues & pite.		
Wisdam must haue grete applicacioñ		
In meche redyng and other laboracioñ.	761	
It wol not be gotyn bi Ignorance,		
But with diligence & goo[d] gouernance.	763	and is got only by Diligence.

Bonum consilium ostendit In principio finem rei;  
hee Socrates.

(110)

Goode & trewe counseille is of this nature:	764	Good counsel sees at first how a matter will end.
In every mater atte begynnyng,		
The eende is knownen perfittely & sure,		
Wheder it wol perissh or be duryng,		
The verray sothe in al thinge concludyng.	768	
Therfore goode Counseil is necessary,		
That wol guide hym wele, & not misery.	770	

Qui obseruat Secretum est discretus & qui patet facit est insipiens. Oportet hominem occultare Secretum quod si reuelatur (*sic*) & magis gratus est ille, qui occultat licet ex secreto non obligetur, et occultare secretum est nobilitas anime. *Cum tuum secretum cor tuum non continet multum minus tenebitur in cordibus aliorum;*<sup>1</sup> hee Socrates.

(111)

To be secrete is a noble vertue;	771	Secresy is a noble vertue.
And he that is a blabber is nat wise.		

<sup>1</sup> Underlined in MS.

Secretnesse pleasith almyghti Ihesu ;	
Where the contrari men greatly despise,	
A secrete man is discrete in that guyse.	775
He that can not kepe his owne secretnesse,	
How shold a nother kepe it in sadnesse ?	777

If you don't  
keep your  
own secrets,  
who else  
will?

Cotidie addisicit homo experiendo que contingunt ;  
sufficit homini scire que intuctur de contingentibus  
mundo, & per id die quolibet potest nouam scienciam  
habere ; *hec Socrates.*

(112)

Al day men may lerne by experience	778
To se of euerie werke the conclusioñ.	
Of goode guylyng & blessed diligence	
Sewith worship and goode direccioñ.	
Of vnthriftnesse is despeccioñ.	782
Therfore euerie man may wele knowe & se,	
As he dothe, so shal he thriue or vntre.	784

Honour  
follows good  
guidance,  
despising  
bad.

Deum recto amore diligens & amans sapientiam ipsius  
et opera bona. Deus honorat eum, & curiosus est bene-  
ficiit eidem ; *hec Aristoteles.*

(113)

Suche men as louen god with Rightful love,	785
And his wisdam and goode werkes also,	
God wol honnour theim, & set them aboue,	
And is curious, doyng wele theim to,	
Endowyng theime with plentuous graee so,	789
That god wolbe euer thair protectour,	
In al tymes of nede and dependour.	791

God honours  
those who  
love Him.

Alium rectificare si poteris cupiat sicut cupis rectifi-  
care te ipsum, quia honor est & nobilitas anime tue.  
*Aristoteles. (C).* Oportet dominum rectificare prius se-  
ipsum quam populum suum ; *hec Zelon.*

(114)

Rectifie a noþer, if that ye may,	792
As ye wolde your selfe be rectified.	

And rectifie youre selfe first euery day,

Set others  
right, as you  
would be set  
right.

Thus blessedly to be Iustified,	do right,
By whiche grete noblessé is multiplied,	796
Bothe in honnour, rightfulnesse & grete fame,	
Purchasyng you <sup>1</sup> therby a blessed name.	798 and win a blessing.

---

Si amorem tuum volueris cum aliquo durabile esse,  
eum bene agendo informes ; *hec* Enesius.

## (115)

Yf ye wol that your loue be with man durable,	799	To make folk love you, do good to them.
Enfourme hym to do wele with grete stering,		
For vertue shal euer be pardurable,		
Where vice shalbe abhorred & hatyng,		
And euer be in trouble & erakyng. <sup>2</sup>	803	
Loue standith in god & in his swetnesse,		
And wol not be had but in blessidnesse.	805	

## (116)

Amonges your other soubgettes al,	806	Prefer your own servants before out- siders.
Your owne seruantes preferre & avaunce,		
Bothe spiritual and eke temporal,		
Suche of your owne bringyng vppe in substance,		
In whom ye may stande in trewe assurance	810	
Of body and goode their l[i]ffes duryng,		
Redy at al tymes to youre pleasyng.	812	

---

*Potens est homo suos dirigere cum agnoverit seipsum,<sup>3</sup>* nam excellentis est sapientie hominem sui ipsius habere noticiam, nec ex dilectione quam habet in seipso fallatur et bonum se reputet cum non sit ; videmus enim plures reputare se robustos et liberales, cum non sint, et vniuersaliter, quasi omnes disreciores aliis reputant. Et qui in se cogitat ista, minoris disrecioniis existat : hee Galienus.

## (117)

To knowe hymself is a vertuous thing,	813	Know your- self,
First to godward & to the world also ;		
Than he is myghty hym self directyng,		and then you can rule others.
Bryngyng al other goode gouernance to,		
With many noble direccions, so	817	

<sup>1</sup> MS. *your.*    <sup>2</sup> *crying out.*    <sup>3</sup> Underlined in MS.

Want of self-knowledge  
brings an ill name.

That it shal be to his glorious fame,  
Where not to knowe hymself may haue Il name.

---

*Quis est iustus et quis sensatus?* Justus est ille qui potest iniusticiam agere, & non agit; & sensatus sive discretus est Rex omnis[us] qui nouit id quod humana natura sufficit; hec Galienus.

(118)

He is just, who can do wrong, but does right. He is dis- creet, who knows men's nature.	Who is iuste, who is discrete & wytty?	820
	He is iuste, that may do wronge, & dothe right.	
	He is discrete, that knoweth perfity	
	Al thing after Manne-is nature & myght.	
	Therfore alwey, in euery man-is sight,	824
	Attempre you to be iuste & discrete,	
	Whiche bene to your high mageste mete.	826

---

Vt non irascatur homo, memoretur assidue qualiter sua non interest vt obediatur ei continue, sed vt quisque obediat, nec vt serviatur ei iugiter, sed vt aliqui alteri seruiat, nec vt inferatur eidem; et quod deus circumspicit omnia quibus consideratis non vexaberis ira, vel modico turbeberis si turberis; hec Tesilius.

(119)

You are not alway to be obeyed,	Ayainste wrathe & Ire is a remedy	827
	To remember, that it is nat leful	
	Not to contynue in obstinance	
	To be obeyed, but to-beie <sup>1</sup> rightful; [to obie]	
	Ner to be serued, but serue skylful	831
	Thinges, & to be in obedience	
	To god and man in their deue existence.	833

(120)

If a man offends in one thing, don't hold him all bad.	Yf a man haue offended in oon thing,	834
	Repute hym not in al thinge culpable.	
	There is no man so wele hym behauyng,	
	But he may be in some thyng chargeable;	
	Yet the ease may be Remediable.	838
	So considre euery man for the best:	
	Thus ye shul lyve cheritably in rest.	840

*Cum inimico pacificare studeas, licet fortitudinis et  
tue potencie sis securus ; hec Maedarges.<sup>1</sup>*

(121)

To pacifie your enemye, be studious,	841	Strive to make peace with your foe.
Thaugh of youre strength & power ye be seure,		
Whiche is a diligence right gracieous,		
Causyng you in tranquillite tendure		
In confourmyng you to holy scripture.	845	
Syche as a man sekythe, so shal he haue ;		If you seek Peace, God will save you.
If he seke peas and Rest, god wol hym saue.	847	

*Si rex egerit iustum & Rectum populi sui, principabitur animis ; et si iniustum & iniquum commiserit ipsum suum Regem ostendit exterius, sed ad alium principantem ipsorum corda dec[l]inant (sic) ; hec Enesius.*

(122)

Yf a kyng do iustly & Righ[t]fully,	848	A King who does right is lov'd; one
He standithe wele in the peoples conceyte.		
Yf he do wyckedly & wrongfully,		who does wrong is tolerated but not lov'd.
He purchasethe hym in grete deceyte,		
And for kynge they wolde haue hym in Receite,	852	
Howe be it that they hane hym not in love,		
Willyng that he shold never he a-bowe ?	854	

*Qui te bonum existimat, eum stude Reputare veridicuum ; & pro bono<sup>2</sup> habeas qui te pro bono elegit, siue sit humilis siue altus. Non potest multis p[re]cipere, qui anime sue non precepit cum sit vna ; hec Enesius.*

(123)

Yf any people holde you vertuous,	855	If you're thought good, strive to be good.
Goode, gentil, kinde, curteise with al mekenesse,		
To repute hym trewe be right labourous,		
Whether he be lowe or in grete highnesse.		
He that hathe grete labour & besynesse,	859	
How shold he reule and gouerne many moo ?		
[. . . . . line omitted.]	861	

*In mundo nihil deterius est quam generositate &  
doctrina carere ; hec Maedarges.*

<sup>1</sup> Caxton's Sacdarge.<sup>2</sup> MS. bone.

## (124)

The worst  
thing is lack  
of learning  
and gentle-  
ness.

The worst thing of al this wide World is <sup>1</sup> this,	[1 MS. in]
To lakke doctrine and also gentilnesse.	863
Uncunning sheweth grete lewednesse, y-wis	
Gentilnesse considerereth al goodenesse,	
Who that lakkithe it muste falie in distresse.	866
These vertues haueth wele in your mynde,	
That the profittes of them ye may fynde.	868

---

Oportet quemlibet assidue scrutari opera sua, & seire nisi quod refrenantur de eo vicini, et hii specialiter qui mercantur et conuersantur cum eo, & in quo vituperant aut laudant eundem: quia cum incedit tali via, non latebit eum aliquid viciorum suorum: hec Aristotiles.

## (125)

Find out  
what folks say  
of you,

and amend  
what is  
wrong.

Men shuld serche often the opynyon	869
That men wol saien of there gouernance.	
Eyther preising or makyng obieccio[n],	
Wherof thei shuld be in ful assurance	
Of what reule þei be in substance,	873
Where-vpon thei may guide theime in suche wise	
To amende theime, and to be holden wise.	875

---

Serve God in  
10 wayes:

1. 2.
3. 4.
5. 6.
7. 8. 9.
- 10.

Decem modis de[o] seruitur, & sunt hii: *Gratias age si aliquid impenditur tibi: Si male habueris, sustine pacienter: Si loqueris, loquare veritatem: Qued promiseris, perfice. Si iudicaueris, Recte iudica: mensuram habeas sicutum potes: Benefacias priusquam requiraris; Amicum honora, Indulgeas amiei & inimici errori. Non nisi quod tibi vis, amico consideres; hec Arcules (sic).*

## (126)

1. Suffer  
patiently.  
2. Speak  
truth.  
3. Perform  
promises.  
4. Judge  
justly.  
5. Be moder-  
ate.  
6. Give before  
you receiue.

In ten Maner wise god must be serued,	876
Euel thinges suffre patiently,	
For to speke truly must be oserued.	
Yche promise must be performed truly;	
Iche iugement must be deuided iustly.	880
Kepe euermore conable mesure:	
Er ve required, doo goodenesse sure.	882

## (127)

Showe to al maner freindis grete honnour,  
 Thankyng god of his yefte & benignite ;  
 And pardon freendes & vnfreendes errour ;  
 And desire neuer of your frende to be  
 Other than ye wolde the same in you see.  
 And thisen ten thinges kepe euer suerly.  
 Thus keping your self to god demeurly.

- 883 7. Honour  
your friends.  
8. Thank  
God.  
9. Forgive  
friend and  
foe.  
10. Expect no  
more than  
you'd give.

887

889

*Cum tua discrecio prohibuerit aliquid te facturum,*  
*inobediens esse non debes ; quia maius peccatum quod*  
*potest accidere est quod investiget te id agere quod*  
*vetauit ; hec Plato.*

## (128)

When your discrecio forbedith thing  
 For to be doon in eny maner wise,  
 Therto ye shuld not be disobeying ;  
 For it is gretter synne, I promisse,  
 To do ayeinst conscience in suche guise,  
 Whiche shal frete and gruge in your soule &  
 mynde,  
 And daily to grete repentance you bynde.

- 890 When you  
forbid any-  
thing, don't  
do it yourself.

894

896

*Ex tribus cognoscitur sapiens,<sup>1</sup> quod per ea que nouit ;*  
*quod non se magno habeat precio, nee ob vituperantem*  
*aliquem irascatur, nee cum laudatur fiat elatus ; hec*  
*Plato.*

## (129)

By thre thinges is knownen a wiseman,  
 That he repute not hym selfe in grete price,  
 And that from wrathe he him self restreine can  
 Whan he is set at nought & holden nyee ;  
 And whan he is preised in noble wise,  
 Not to be elate ne in pride therfore,  
 But in grete pacience & mekenesse more.

- 897 A wise man  
is known  
by—1. not  
thinking too  
much of him-  
self ; 2. not  
getting angry  
at dispraise ;  
3. not being  
put up by  
praise.

901

903

*Cum rex vincit suos inimicos, oportet eum sequi*  
*bonas consuetudines, scilicet in iusticia, in largitate*  
*pecunie, in pacientia, in diligencia, et in aliis consu[e]-*  
*tudinibus bonis ; hec hermes.*

<sup>1</sup> MS. sapience.

(130)

If a King his conquers his foes, he must be liberal,  patient, just, and diligent.	Yf god sende you in this world victory Of your enemyes by your manhode, Ye muste kepe in your noble memory Goode noble custumes vsed of olde : In largenesse of money be right bolde ; In pacience, iustice and diligence, Do your peyne to haue true experiance.	904 908 910
--	---	-------------------

*Cum seruieris alicui domino, noli fieri equalis sibi, nisi in fide, in sensu, in pacientia, in aliis vero nequam quam caueas, ne te aspiciat sibi equalem in statu, aut vestitu, aut in suis deliciis ; hec Plato.*

(131)

Let a servant equal his lord in Faith, Wit, and Patience,  not in State, Dress, or Luxuries.	A seruaunt shold nat be euen equal To his lorde, but in thre thinges trewly, That is, in feithe, wytte, & pacience al, Not in estate nor clothinges richely, Ner in other delites excessely ; But iche man knowe hym self and his degré, Non excedyng for possibilite.	911 915 917
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*Si quesieris facere facere (*sic*) despecionem inimico ; non offendas teipsum pro inimico ; hec pitagoras.*

(132)

If you despise your foe,  take care you don't hurt yourself by it.	Yf ye propose to make despecioñ To youre enemy bi any greuance, Beware ye make no suche offencioñ To hurte your self for suche wilful vengeance ; But kepithe in your noble remembrance, To attemper you in suche maner wise That no hurte of your enemy arise.	918 922 924
---	---	-------------------

*Bonus gratificat de bonis receptis iuxta possibili[t]atem conferentis et satisfaccionem recipientis. vilis vero non gratificat nisi iuxta qualitatem benefactorum ; hec Plato.*

(133)

A good man thanks every giver accord- ing to his ability.	A goode man thanketh euery benefete, After the yeuers possibilite. Vile & euel men be other-wise sett,	925
---	--	-----

For to thanke aftur the quantite Of benefit, what euer it be ; So goode men hane gentil condiccion, And Il men other dispocision.	929	A bad man looks only to the quantity of the gitt.
	931	

Aliqui Reges habent pro bono conseruare semper statum vnius generis ex subditis tantum, et in hoc valde falluntur et errant, quia unum genus hominum non necessario est in condicione & statu eodem, ymmo minnuuntur, bonitas ipsius assimilans terre in qua seritur continue semen vnius generis, quod temporis processu corruptitur et imitatur ; hec Plato.

(134)

Sum kynges conseruen <sup>1</sup> alwey ooñ kynde Of your ( <i>sic</i> ) soubgettis, & theime meche preferre Oonly, and noon other hane in theire mynde,	932	Some kings favour but one kind of their subjects,
Wherin thei be deceyued and meche erre, For men of other kynde may be more derre.	936	tho' others may be better.
Man-is kinde is right meche chaungeable, <sup>2</sup> As sede often sownen is mutable.	938	

Bonum est loqui dicere modicum Racione, completum est respondere laudabiliter et confessim ; hec Aristoteles.

(135)

Grete wisdam is, litil to speke, Pronuncing wele & complete of reason, Anoon with laudable aunswere & make, Hauing regarde to iche tyme & season ; To meche language hauith in geason <sup>3</sup>	939	To talk little is wisdom.
Alweyes spekyng with aduisement, Bestowyng your vttrance to goode entent.	943	
	945	

Fornicator laudari non potest, nec esse *hillaris iracundus*, nec *liberalis inuidus*, nec *cupidus esse diues* ;<sup>4</sup> hec Aristoteles.

(136)

A fornicatour may not be preised, Ner a Ireful man to be meche gladful, Ner a liberal man to be seised	946	Don't praise a fornicator.
--	-----	----------------------------

<sup>1</sup> MS. corseruen.<sup>2</sup> MS. claugeable.<sup>3</sup> The adj. meaning "scarce" used as a substantive.<sup>4</sup> Underlined in MS.

*Man is purifiēd by his works.*

- In envye, nor the couetouse richeful.  
 Thise thinges be thus ordeyned righful ; 950  
 For, as golde is pured by fire craftly,  
 So is man bi his workes feithfully. 952

Sapiencia exornat diuitis diuicias, et pauperis pauper-tatem occultat ; hec Aristoteles.

(137)

*Wisdom adorns riches, hides poverty,*

- Wisdom exorneth nobli the richesse 953  
 Of a Richeman, and hideth pouerte  
 Of a pore man, being in wretchednesse.  
 What may be more felicite  
 Then to be wytty in prosperite ? 957  
 When ye haue serched al the worlde aboute,  
 Wisdam excellithe other withowte doubte. 959

Hominis lingua sue discrecionis est Scriba ; quia quidquid dici voluerit, ipsa scribit ; & compescere linguam est virtus prima ; hec Aristoteles.

(138)

*and excels all else.*

- The first vertue is to kepe man-is tong, 960  
 For it is scribe of his discrecioñ ;  
 For what it wol say, it writhit at longe.  
 By sure tonge, al noble direccioñ  
 Ys assured, and al<sup>1</sup> correccioñ, [P MS. al &] 964  
 Thaugh it be bi the swerde or bi iustice.  
 The wise tong commanndeth þut shal suffice.

Non est apud Regem minus decencius quam predari,  
 cum Regis intersit vice patris se gerere ; hec Aristoteles.

(139)

*Plundering by a King is disgraceful.*

- On erthe ther is no thing so vnsemyngh 967  
 As a kynge to be in predacioñ,  
 Or by compulsion to be taking,  
 Sith in hym shold be al saluacioñ,  
 And as a fader in probacioñ ; 971  
 Who shold be the people-is protectour,  
 But oonly the kyng & their defendour. 973

Mali timore obedientiunt, boni beneficio ; ergo hos duos modos agnoscens, libenter vni beneficia ; Reliquo vero penam infligas ; hec Aristoteles.

## (140)

Euel men, for drede done obedience ;	974	Bad men obey for fear ; good, to do good.
Good men doon soo for benefete truly.		
Of thise too thinges hauing experience,		
Doo to the toon, benefettes freely,		
And to the tother, punysshment iustly.	978	
Thus, bi your witty dissenerance,		
Ye shul make men tobey their legeance.	980	

---

Benefaciendo populo domineris, *quia tuum dominium durabilius erit, prouide quam aggrauando eosdem*; nam *cum eorum dominareris ante corporibus, deinde domina- beris animis propter beneficia que concedis.* & seias *quod populus dicto presumptuosus, facile ad factam collabitur;* igitur nitere *quod non labatur ad dictam,* & sequitur *quod non ad factam labetur;* hec Aristoteles.

## (141)

In dowyng wele to the people ofte tyme,	981	Be kind to your folk, and you'll reign long.
Your maieste shal be more durable		
Than in grevyng theime, theire dedis to lyme. <sup>1</sup>		
For where their bodies were appliable		
To youre highnesse in al thinge prophetable,	985	
Now thei shul be in body & soule		
For your benefite in feire & fowle.	987	

## (142)

For certaine, the people presumptuos	988	People pre- sumptuous in word, will soon be so in deed.
In wordis, wol slyde to dedys lightly ;		
Therfore be ye therin right laberous,		
That folk slyde nat to wordes wykedly,		
In eschewyng theire dedes iniustly :	992	
A king aught to haue a wise prouision		
To kepe his folk in goode direccioñ.	994	

---

Observatores fidei siue leges Fideles promoueas, et ex hoc Reputaberis in hoc mundo compositus, et in alio finem consequeris optatum ; & malos refrena, quia, cum hoc, et leges diriges & populum ; hec Aristoteles.

<sup>1</sup> limit

(143)

Promote  
keepers of  
faith and  
law,

and you'll  
have your  
realm in  
peace.

- Cherisshe kepers of the feithe & iuste Lawe, 995  
 Referryng them to grete promocioñ,  
 And refreine Ivel men with fere & awe ;  
 And thus ye make goode direccioñ  
 Of the lawe, & kepe folk in subieccioñ, 999  
 An[d] eke kepe your Roialme in tranquillite,  
 Restful peas, comfort & felicite. 1001

Quam turpe est pronunciare aliquod, et opere non complere; & quam pulcrum apparere operibus prius dictis; hec Tholomeus.

(144)

How bad it is  
to speak good  
and not do it!

- How fowle, how vnhappy it is, to speke 1002  
 Perfityl, & not be in dede ;  
 And how feire, and how goode and polletlike,  
 Firste the people to goode werkes theim lede,  
 And therafter to speke, is right grete mede. 1006  
 Whan euery goode man-is dede is before,  
 Than euery goode speche accordeth therfore. 1008

Philosophi dixerunt Alexandro imperatori, quomodo in etate tam tenera<sup>1</sup> potuisti, & vt regna perquirere. *Respondit: quia* reconcilians inimicos amicos feci, & amicis beneficiis satisfecii; hec Tholomeus.

(145)

Alexander  
said

he got his  
Realms  
by reconcil-  
ing his foes,  
and doing  
good to his  
friends.

- Philosophers asked a questioñ 1009  
 Of kyng Alex[an]dre, the Emperour,  
 How in his tendre age in possession  
 Hathe gotten mony Realmes with fauour.  
 He answered, by two meanes with honnour, 1013  
 Oon to reconcile his enemyes,  
 Another to do wele to his freindes. 1015

Si regis consultor & phisicus eiusdem in eunctis vota sequantur, dampnificabitur semper, et erit infirmus continuo boni finis exspec[tatione] fraudatus; hec Asseron.

(146)

If a King's  
adviser and  
doctor follow  
his will,

- Yf a Counselor or phisicion 1016  
 Of a kynge folowe his wille & entente,

<sup>1</sup> MS. teneri.

- At al tymes of his direccioñ,  
The king is nat suer of goode Aduisement,  
Ner of his body helthful amendment. 1020  
Therfore thise two personnes haue grete charge  
To be trewe & playne to thair king at large. 1022
- 

he'll get  
neither good  
advice nor a  
healthy body.

Decet Regem sua negotia illi committere quem fidem  
et sensu probauit; et si talem habere non poterit, qui  
cum sapientibus & bonis<sup>1</sup> conuersatus est, illi com-  
mittat; hec Asseron.

(147)

- A king sholde wisely his nedes committe 1023 Kings should  
To hym that he had often approved employ only  
wise folk,  
In grete witte and wisedam, & hym not remitte  
Vnto no folkes to be reproved.  
Yf he cannot to suche folk be confourmed, 1027  
Than, to suche folk as be conversant  
With goode men and wise, to Il repugnant. 1029  
or those  
knowing  
them.
- 

Qui sp[il]endide vinit eum Rege et persistit magnifice, Impossible est in aliquem non conuenire defectum, propter quod, Regem Sapientem esse oportet vt enī aliquem audierit de suis contra se commisso delictum. Hora non transeat quin de veritate aut falsitate constet eidem. Et similiter de quant[it]ate delicti, & si conscientia fuerit aut errore commissum, et si condicionis est talis quod ad illud redeat, vel non indulgendo; hec Asseron.

(148)

- Who that is wele cherisshed with a king, 1030 Kings'  
And is with hym grete & splendiferous, grandest  
nobles won't  
And hathe al thinge at his commaunding,  
It is impossible to be laborous  
To finde any grete defaulte odious. 1034 find out hate-  
ful defects;  
Therf[or]e a kinge must make prouision  
To haue lowe men to that entencioñ. 1036 but lower  
men can.

(149)

- A wise king aught to haue trewe knowleging  
Of al thinge a-yenste hym conspired, 1037 Kings ought  
to know of  
all conspira-  
ties against  
them.

<sup>1</sup> MS. bonus.

No time  
should be  
lost in put-  
ting down  
rebels.

Withoutte delaye, not oon houre over passinge,

And that no tyme be leste ne exi red,

Of the trouthe as it shold be required,

1041

Aftur the quantite and condicion,

Either for peine or remision.

1043

Regi famulantibus expedit suam ostendere virtutem  
et fidem et nobilitatem generis, vt conscient Rex status  
et condicionis vn[i]us cuiusque ipsorum, cum eis poterit  
sua promouere negocia, & vt expedit execucioni mandari.  
Et si Rex obedienti & fideli, & e contra de merentibus  
pro meritis non respondet, vt aliqui ob retribucionem  
vtantur, & alii terreantur acerbitate penarum, nee Rex  
reputari debet, nec agendorum director; *hec Asseron.*

(150)

Kings must  
reward true  
men, and  
punish trans-  
gressors.

But a kynge rewarde euery man-is trouthe,

1044

And in lyke wise punysshe a trespassoure,

His direccio[n] ellis were grete Routhe.

To take goode & Il in lyke fauour,

Accordithe not wele to a Gouernour.

1048

So take euery man aftur his deserte,

Either in cherisshinge or in smert.

1050

Qui Regem a fraude non<sup>1</sup> eripit, & medico ueritatem  
occultat, et debitum pandere secretum non pandit amico,  
interimit seipsum; *hec Asseron.*

(151)

He who hides  
ill from a  
king, or the  
truth from  
his doctor,  
damages  
himself.

Who that in Il chalengeth not a King,

1051

And hidithe to his leche the verite,

And hidethe secretnesse from frende louyng,

He must slee hymselfe, or ellis vnthe.

To be playne & trewe is grete libertec;

1055

For trouthe at longe shal never be shamed,

Thaugh he be other while Iuyl gramed.

1057

Si Rex felix constiterit, sua bene agentur negocia;  
et si sapiens, sapientia suo in tempore roboratur; & si  
verus, letabitur populus; & si iustus, sua regnacio durat;  
*hec Asseron.*

<sup>1</sup> MS. nor.

## (152)

Yf a kyng be <sup>1</sup> blisseed, al his nedes [1 MS. be be]	1058	The benefits of a King's being blessed, wise, true, and just.
Bene done wele to his profit & honouur ;		
Yf he be wise, al thinges spedes ;		
Yf he be trewe, he is in man-is fauour ;		
Yf he be iuste, of right a supportour,	1062	
His Roialme & Region is durable,		
And his direcccion commendable.	1064	

---

Plurimum est graue Regnum adquirere, sed est scire  
grauius conservare ; hec Asseron.

## (153)

A king, any Region to conquer,	1065	It's hard to conquer a land; but harder to keep it.
Is right costlowe, harde, painful & greuous ;		
But to conserue a Roylme is me more fere,		
And more wislame & wytt, & more laborous,		
Gretter prouisioñ, and more tedious.	1069	
Better were a thing never to [be] had,		
Than in handes to quaile & to be badde.	1071	

---

Expedit sapienti qui Regi adheret, vt si viderit eum  
aliquid agere sibi aut Regno aut populo suo nocium,  
recitare historias & exempla que simili negocio con-  
tingunt, vt a tali facto desistat, Eo tamen referat modo  
quod ille percipiat enunciata pro eo ; hec Asseron.

## (154)

To a wise man with a kyng is spedeful,	1072	If a wise man sees a King do wrong,
If his kinge do meche derogacion		
To hym self, his Roialme or folk vnrightful,		
To shewe to hym demonstracion		
Of Stories exemplificacion	1076	he must show him, by stories, what harm 'll come of it.
Playnly, that he may vnderstand the blame,		
To eschewe of mysgouernance the name.	1078	

---

Bonos honora, ex hoc enim populi optinebis amorem ;  
hec Aristotiles.

## (155)

Put you in peine & denoire euermore	1079	Honour good men, and your folk 'll love you.
The goode men to honouur & reuerence ;		
And that shal encreec goodenesse more & more,		

So ye shal gete louely beneuolence,  
 And stande in grete loue bi this wise prudence, 1083  
 Causyng many oon to be vertuous,  
 Eschewing many a werke vicious. 1085

Bone discrecionis est, & fortis animi & laudabi[li]s fidei, qui tolleret aduersitates cum venerint ; *quia* qualis sit homo in prosperitatibus, non probatur ; Confortare igitur ex eo quod frater est tibi, et eo quod dominus te absoluit a pestibus, et que tibi contulit non abneges dona ; *hee* Aristotiles.

(156)

- |  |   |                              |
|--|---|------------------------------|
| A strong-<br>sould man<br>can suffer<br>adversity. | It is of goode and noble discrecioñ,<br>And of right stronge soule & laudable,<br>And right of a goode feithful entencioñ,<br>That can suffer aduer[si]tise greueable.<br>That a man is, he is not prouable<br>In prosperite, ne in felicite.<br>So goddes yefte forsaken wol not be. | 1086<br>1089<br>1090<br>1092 |
|--|---|------------------------------|

Liberalitas est concedere indigenti & merenti iuxta possibilitatem donantis ; *quia* qui vltra possibilitatem concedit, liberalis non est, sed vere vastator ; et qui non indigenti concedit, non est acceptus, sed est velud qui aquam spergit in mari ; *hee* Aristoteles.

(157)

- |  |  |                      |
|--|--|----------------------|
| Men can't be<br>tested in<br>prosperity. | Liberalite is a graunt to ned<br>And to al maner people deseruyng,<br>After his power there to be redy.<br>To graunt ouer his power is wastyng.<br>And who that to [un]nedy wolbe graunting,<br>Is not accepted as for man witty,<br>As wastyng water in the see, gilty. | 1093<br>1097<br>1099 |
|--|--|----------------------|

Bonitatum Inicia Insipida sunt. Fine tenus vero sunt Dulcia. & prauitatum principia du[ll]eia ; fine tenus vero sunt amara ; *hee* Plato.

(158)

- |                                       |  |      |
|---------------------------------------|--|------|
| Giving to the<br>unneedy is<br>waste. | Two thinges haueth alway in mynde,<br>The begynnyng of goodenesse is bittyr,<br>The ende is right swete, of natural kynde. | 1100 |
|---------------------------------------|--|------|

The begynnyng of shreudnesse<sup>1</sup> is swetter,  
But the ende is of bitternesse the gretter.

1104

Evil is, first,  
sweet; then  
bitter.

So of goode begynnyng is goode endyng,  
And of shreudenesse comethe Il concludyng.

*Ex consuetudinibus, vnamquamque rem quidam ma-*  
*lam reputant, quidam bonam, preter fidelitatem quam*  
*reputant omnes bonam ; hec Plato.*

(159)

Sum men reputen of consuetude

1107

Some think  
all things  
good; others,  
all ill.

Euery thinge goode, & sum Il, by nature.  
But euery man trouthe for goode wol conclude,  
And lengest wol laste & eke best indure,  
And to euery man metest & moost sure ;

1111

But Truth is  
best.

Therfore kepith euer fidelite,

In eschewyng sclaunderous enormyte.

1113

*Bonorum bonitatem inuicem bonos cogit diligere ;*  
*malorum tum malicia in alios inuicem cogit odire. Nam*  
*videre potes quod ueridicus veridicum diligit, et fidelis*  
*fidelem. Mendax vero abominatur mendacem, et*  
*latro latronem capit nullam cum eo, cupiens propter*  
*iniquitatem societatem habere ; hec Plato.*

(160)

The goodnessse of people<sup>2</sup> compellith

1114

Goodness  
brings love;

Goode folkes to be [to]gider lovely ;  
The malice of evil men Rebellith,  
And makithe theime to lyve odiously.  
Trewe men and feithful loue their lyk sadly ;

1118

malice brings  
hate.

Lyers and theves haten iche other,

And the toon wolde fayne vndoe the tother.

Sis legalis committenti se tibi, & fidelis ei qui tui  
gerit fiduciam, et eris securus vitandi malum finem ; &  
propter veritatem et legalitatem, honorabunt te tui  
amici ; et propter omittendum quod non profitat, com-  
plebitur tua bonitas ; hec Soerates.

(161)

Be lauful to eueryche man committing  
Hym self to you bi any submission,

1121

Keep faith  
with those  
who trust  
you.<sup>1</sup> wickedness<sup>2</sup> MS. pleople

And be feithful to iche man you trustyng,  
 And ye shul please god in *your* direccioñ,  
 And be suer of bille<sup>1</sup> conclusion. 1125

For your  
truth, your  
friends 'll  
honour you.

A[nd] for trouthe a noble legalite,  
 Of *your* free[n]des ye shul worshipd be. 1127

Non potes reuocare quod dixisti nec *quod* fecisti ;  
 ergo prouideas ante tibi ; *hec* Socrates.

(162)

You can't  
recall your  
words or  
deeds.

Suche a man may nat reuoke his saying, 1128  
 Ner that he hath doon with his honeste ;  
 He hathe grete cause to make prouidynge  
 Before, while he is at his liberte.  
 For thing doon or saide a-yenst equite, 1132  
 Purchaseth vilany & dishonoure,  
 Makynge many a man therfore to loure. 1134

3 pitiful  
things :

(1)

(2)

(3)

De tribus quibusdam esse pietas ; quorum vnu est bonus, qui est in Reginine mali et iste est<sup>2</sup> dolorosus semper super eo *quod* videt et audit ; et alter est sensatus gubernatus per prauum, qui semper est in labore et tristicia. Tertius est liberalis, quem oportet petere<sup>3</sup> ab auaro, *quia* est in magna angustia ; *hec* Socrates.

(163)

Ther bene thre thinges right meeche piteus : 1135  
 A goode man to be longe in Regiment  
 Of an Il man, whiche is right dolorous ;  
 A wytty man to be in gouernement  
 Of a shrewe,<sup>4</sup> disposed to il entente ; 1139  
 A liberal mañ, of the couetous  
 To aske often meeche money plentuos. 1141

3 evil things :

(1)

(2)

(3)

Incedunt male negotia hominum, cum bonum consilium fuerit in eo qui non auditur ; & Arma in eo qui non utitur ; & Diuicie in eo qui non expendit ; *hee* Socrates. (164)

1. Good ad-  
vice in one  
who isn't  
heard.

Thre thinges be in a right simpul knot ; 1142  
 First, goode counsel in hym that is not herde ;

<sup>1</sup> registered      <sup>2</sup> MS. ist.      <sup>3</sup> MS. peterere.

<sup>4</sup> A wicked man, not fem. as in the next century.

And armour in hym that vsith it not ;	2. Armour on him who doesn't use it.
And Richesse in hym that kepit it herde :	3. Riches in one who hoards it.
Of thes thre thinges ye may be a-ferde,	1146
But ye bestowe theim aftur their nature,	
Wisely, manly, and godly in mesure.	1148

Sequareis bona opera, & disce Sapienciam a melioribus  
qui fuerint tuo tempore, vitans laqueum quem mulieres  
parant viris, qui est impeditor & disturbator sapiencie,  
et facit assequi malum statum ; hec Socrates.

(165)

Also I wolde thre thinges ye shul kepe :	1149	1. Do good works. 2. Learn wisdom. 3. Don't be too fond of Women.
Folowe goode werkes, lerne wisdam of the best,		
In love of women wade nat over depe ;		
Thus ye shul kepe you peseably in rest,		
In goode werkes, wisdom, & lif honest,	1153	
And come to grete glory and noble fame		
Thurgh your goode liffe & vnblemayshed name.		

Non ponatis dona vestra nisi in locis propriis, quia  
plures simplices exhibent non indigentibus, sicut exhibere  
deberent indigentibus ; hec Socrates.

(166)

Yeve your yeiftes conueniently	1156	Give only to poor deserv- ing men.
To men nedy & truly deseruyng,		
Not scatering your goode rechelesly,		
But after merites, withoute wastyng,		
Tendryng your folkes in your rewardyng ;	1160	
Wherof people wol haue Joy & comfort,		
And of youre high estate make goode report.	1162	

Melior est cognitio quam Ignora[n]cia / quia per cognitio[n]em vitat quis cadere in ignem ; et per ignoranciam facit mergere in profundum ; hec Omerus.

(167)

Better is goode knowlege than Ignorance.	1163	Knowledge is better than Ignorance.
By knowlege, men eschewe in fire to falle ;		
By ignorauce, men have no wise substance,		
From depnes of drowning helpe to calle.		
So goode & wise knowledge <sup>1</sup> is best of al,	1167	

<sup>1</sup> MS. knowlege.

Who that nought knowithe, litle can prouide,  
Ner helpe sike when necessite betide. 1169

---

Iste mundus domus est mercacionis ; & est infortunatus ille<sup>1</sup> qui recedit ab eo cum perditione ; hec Omerus.  
(168)

This world  
is a house of  
merchandise. This world is but an house of merchandise. 1170

He is unfortunat, that vnwisely  
Departith with losse in vntrifly wise,  
Sithe he may wynne heuen aduisely,  
Whiche is the most best merchandise iustly. 1174  
Al the merchandise in this world is nough[t],  
But at last to heuen he be brought. 1176

Mansuetudo eloquii aufert tedium ; hec Omerus.

(169)

A fair speker A feire speker with swete mansuetude 1177  
Refreynethe grete noyes & displeasance,  
Where rigorous Speche, vengeable & rude,  
Subvertithe al polletique ordenance.  
Therfore he that spekith wele in vsance, 1181  
Bothe in hym selfe & many other easithe,  
And Almyghty Jesu hertly pleasith. 1183

---

Non extollat[ur] quis nobilitate habita diuiciis aut  
*dominio* et voluntas dicta et opera equentur ; & sic asse-  
curabit deus eum & procedentes ab eo Successores suos ;  
hec hermes. (170)

Him who is  
not puff up  
by wealth or  
position,  
God shall  
exalt.  
Who that wol not exalte hym for Richesse, 1184  
Or for grete honnour or dominacion,  
And kepe wille, speche & werke in evenesse,  
God wol bring hym to exaltacion,  
And his Successours by nominacion, 1188  
And theim assure in grete nobilite,  
For their goode gouernance & equite. 1190

---

Error sapientis est sicut fraceio nauis, quod cum sub-  
mergitur ipsa, facit submergi multos ; hec hermes.

<sup>1</sup> MS. illi.

## (171)

Therror of a wise man is in lykenesse	1191	A wise man's mistake
As brekyng of a Shippe in his drownyng, Brynging many a man to bitternesse.		
So dothe a wise man grete troble bringing	1195	brings many folk into trouble.
When he is in errour, for men wenyng		
That a wise man guydeth, & nought eschape, And al is holden wisdam & no Iape.	1197	

Prout deceat Regiam dignitatem populum sibi commissum esse obedientem ei, sic deceat ut sit Rex studiosus circa statum eorum prius quam circa statum suum, quia sie est ipse penes eos, sicut anima penes corpus; hec Hermes.

## (172)

As it semeth the kinges dignite	1198	As people obey the King,
To haue of his people obediencee,		
Right so is accordynge of equite		
That the kinge do daily trewe diligence	1202	he should seek their good before his own.
To tendre thair astate with his prudencie,		
Rather than his owne; & euen for why		
They bene hym so nygh as sowle & body.	1204	

Qui incedit cum mundo secundum sui dispositionem non est requirendus ad danda consilia, quia non dabit nisi arbitrio voluntatis, pro eo quod illius qui non mutatur munus est amor intellectualis, et mutantis eum est Amor voluntarius; hec Socrates.

## (173)

A worldly man in disposicioñ,	1205	A worldly self-seeking man can't be trusted to give good counsel.
Folowyng the worlde daily in his mynde,		
May not be of feithful entencioñ		
To yeve trewe & iust counseil in his kynde,		
For astur his wille he wol hym selfe finde,	1209	
And every thinge determin wilfully,		
Aye[n]ste Reason, & eke vnskilfully.	1211	

Si volueris quod non erret tuus filius vel seruus, Id queras quod est extra naturam; hec Pitagoras (*sic*).

(174)

Don't expect  
that your son  
or servant 'll  
never go  
wrong.

- Yef ye hauie in your hert a volunte 1212  
 To<sup>1</sup> your sonne or servaunt er not foly,  
 Ye must be in that liberalite  
 To seke a thing a-ye[n]st nature truly ;  
 For no man can be so perfite Iustly, 1216  
 But he is at somme tyme fallible,  
 And at summe tyme right goode & credible. 1218

Securior est homo ex silencio quam ex multi-loquio, quia per loquiciones potest incedi in errores. hoc non contingit scienti quid loquitur, sed ignorans errat qui loqui vult profue aut diminute. Et commodum tacendi est magis commodo loquendi. Et dampnum loquendi magis est dampno tacandi. Et sensatus cognoscitur ex multa taciturnitate, & ignorans ex multa loquacitate. Et qui per se non taceat, cogetur tacere per alium, & minus appreciabitur. Et qui taceat donec ad loquendum inducatur, est melior eo qui loquitur, donec tacere mandetur, loquio est in posse hominis donec donec (*sic*) loquitur, & deinde euadit a posse Ipsi. Et si homo loquitur, cognoscitur si est perfectus aut diminutus ; et si taceat, dubitatur qualis sit. Et qui vult loqui, prius consideret aspiciat suum verbum ; quia melius est quod ipse suspiciat quam alter. Et eloquium tuum audietur, ergo nitaris recte pronunciare, aut taceas. Et qui taceat, serutatur eloquia aliorum. Et qui dolet, ex eloquio assecuratur, quod sit percussus ; hee Socrates.

(175)

Silence is  
better than  
speech.

A wise man  
speaks little.

- To profit, to be stille is more profit 1219  
 Thanne to speke ; & harme to speke more damage  
 Thanne te to be stille, & grettir discomift.  
 To speke litle, is knownen a man sage ;  
 To speke meche, is knownen a man in Rage. 1223  
 Whan a man spekith, his wit is knowen,  
 To be stille, doubte is how it<sup>2</sup> shal be blowen.

Utere bonis moribus & diligiris, et licet sis turpis, pueritudo morum superabit sanctificacione<sup>3</sup> figurarum. Hee Soocrates.

<sup>1</sup> ? That<sup>2</sup> MS. is it.<sup>3</sup> MS. sanctificacionem.

## (176)

- Man vsing goode maners, shal be Loued  
Amonges goode men & honourable ;  
And thaugh he be foule and diffugured (*sic*),  
The beaute of his maners commendable  
Shal ouercome al other Reproueable.  
And his figure in Recommendacion  
Shal be had, and in Laudacioñ.      1232
- 
- Even if he is  
ugly, his fine  
manners  
shall win him  
praise.

*Qui amore mundi suam animam replet, tribus replet  
eam, scilicet, paupertate quam nunquam vitabit, vt di-  
uicias contingat ; & fiducia, que numquā peruenit ad  
finem ; et impedimento<sup>1</sup> sine expedicione. Hec Socrates.*

## (177)

- Who that wolbe worldly, & it louynge,  
Thre defaultes he shal haue euermore :      1233  
The worldly  
man shall  
reap poverty,  
disappoint-  
ment, and  
hindrance.
- In grete pouerte, for Riches sekynge ;  
In truste, whiche shal never come to end therf[or]e ;  
And in gre[t] impedance more & more,      1237  
Whiche shal never haue expedicion.  
This is sothe, with-oute any question.      1239
- 

*Non est paciens qui tam gravatus est quam tollerare  
potuit, & sustinuit illud ; sed ille qui grauatus est  
ultra possibilitatem sue nature, et sustinuit illud ; hec  
Pitagoras.*

## (178)

- Thus ye shul knowe a man in pacience,      1240  
þat is greued ayenst possibilite  
Of nature, and it sufferith with prudence.  
But he that is greued in aduersite,  
And may wele bere it in his freilte,      1244  
In no wise may be clept pacient  
By this descripcioñ or Iugement.      1246
- 

*Non quiescatis vestris operibus in optinendis magnis  
delectacionibus, quia sustinere non poteris aduersitates  
cum venerint ; hec Pitagoras.*

<sup>1</sup> MS. *impedimentum.*

(179)

Don't live luxuriously,  or you'll not be able to bear adversity.	Kepe neuer your body delectably, Not in softe lyinge, ne delicacye, For ye may nat suffre reasonably Aduersite, ne it fortifie, Ner in no maner wise it iustifie. Therfore be nat meche ouer curios In delicacie, ne delicious.	1247  1251  1253
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Adquesce tuis auribus, nam propter ea, Habuisti  
duas aures, & os vnum, vt plus audias quom loquaris ;  
hec Diogenes.

(180)

You have 2 ears and 1 mouth, that you may listen, and not talk too much.	Euary man hathe oon Mouthe & two ercs, To thentente that he sholde here more <sup>1</sup> thanne speke. To speke meche, many people-is deres ; To here many thinges, & to be meke, Right meche wisdam & wertue it dothe seke.	1254  1258  1260
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Non confidas in mundo, quia numquam soluit quod  
promissoit predecessoribus ; & idem faciet tibi. Hec  
Socrates.

(181)

Trust not in the World, for it does not fulfil its promise.	Lete never <sup>2</sup> man putte in ful confldenee In the world, for he maketh no p[ay]ment Of his promisse, but so in negligence	1261
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[MS. *imperfect.*]<sup>1</sup> MS. more more.<sup>2</sup> MS. neruer.

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